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3 2044 005 627 005

VOLUME XIX.


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LONDON:

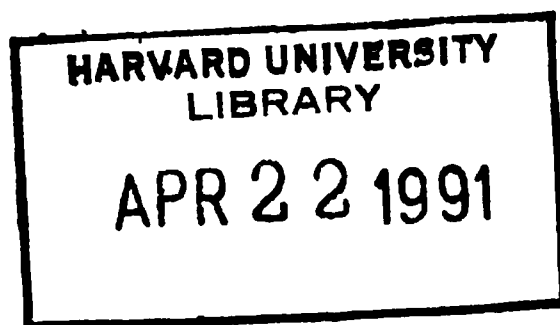
PRINTED FOR J. G. & F. RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL;
AND
SOLD BY BELL AND BRADFUTE, EDINBURGH; AND
MILLIKEN, DUBLIN.

1836.

4
P 302.16.4



Jackson Fund



LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. HOWORTH AND SONS, BELL YARD,
FLEET STREET.

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Quarterly Theological Review,
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JANUARY, 1836.

ART. I. — *Ten Discourses on the Communion Office of the Church of England.* With an Appendix. By the Rev. Robert Anderson, Perpetual Curate of Trinity Chapel, Brighton; and Chaplain to the Right Honourable Lord Hill, and the Right Honourable Lord Teignmouth. London: Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly. 1835. pp. 372.

WE have often wished that there was somewhat less of preaching, and much more of prayer, in this age of religious excitement; more communion of the soul with God, and less of craving after the ministrations of man. And if they, who profess to seek God, were animated with the spirit which pervades this little volume, our wish would, in reasonable time, be certainly accomplished. Our Church has taught us, most effectually, how to pray. The very essence of the Gospel is embodied in her services. Her Liturgy has been placed, even by the judgment of many who have abjured her communion, above all uninspired devotional compositions. We now confine ourselves, however, to the enlightened testimony of a prelate of our own. "The Liturgy," says Bishop Jebb, "is not the work of one man, or of one society, or of one age. Its materials were gradually formed, and safely deposited among the records of various churches, eastern and western, more or less ancient. And when the time was ripe for its formation, its compilers were led, I verily believe, by a wisdom not their own, to proceed on the principle of rejecting whatever was peculiar to any sect or party, to any age or nation; and of retaining that sacred *depositum*, which had the common sanction of all. It is compiled from almost every form of prayer extant at the time of the Reformation." So that, "in addition to the touchstone of sacred Scripture, we have the *semper et ubique* of the Catholic Church to satisfy us,

“ that this, our National Commentary, is framed according to “ the analogy of faith.” And if this be so, what can be said of those who, with this glorious Formulary in their hands, complain that the Gospel is not preached in our churches? What can be said of those, to whom this Formulary is a weariness,—a sort of tedious overture to the sermon; and who sit, drowsily or impatiently in their pews, till their fellow mortal rises in the pulpit; perhaps to exercise their restless understandings,—perhaps to awaken their capricious imaginations,—perhaps to give scope to their powers of criticism,—or, perhaps, alas! to bring down upon them a still deeper spirit of slumber than before! And with what feelings of sorrow (mixed up, sometimes, with certain emotions more hot and more unruly than sorrow) must every mature Christian reflect upon the fact, that the fulness or the emptiness of churches may generally be resorted to, as a faithful gage or measure only of the powers of the *preacher*? And how must the spirit of such a man be stirred within him, at the thought, that, if preaching were for a season to be discontinued, most congregations would, probably, soon exemplify, to the letter, the *meeting of two or three together*! And what is the melancholy inference from these phenomena, but that there are multitudes in the land who are far more ready to listen to man, than to speak to God: and this, too, with a form of words before them, in which they are certain that God may be spoken to acceptably?

We cannot help suspecting that this disease of itching ears may justly be reckoned among the sources of half the heresies and errors which have ever rushed into the Church. For, let us consider the general tendencies of an insatiable appetite for pulpit exhibition; and this, without reference to any particular age or country. The minister, we will suppose, is somewhat of a gifted man. He finds himself bound to answer a constantly recurring demand for oratory or exposition. He *must* keep up the attention of the people, or he is lost. This galling necessity betrays him, perhaps, into the prodigal use of rhetoric, and illustration, and other artifices of popular eloquence. And, in the course of time, rhetoric grows into doctrine. Figures of speech gradually gather substance; and become, as it were, consolidated into dogmas of Theology. Images and illustrations, by a scarcely perceptible process, are at length petrified into rigid arguments; and impassioned statements into articles of faith. Little did the ancient Fathers imagine, when they were dealing forth their glowing phrases, in honour of the sacramental mystery, that they were scattering seeds which would, afterwards, spring up into a harvest of pernicious absurdities. Little did they think that they were, virtually, heaping up offerings to the

superstitious self-complacency of future generations, when they lavished the treasures of their eloquence, in extolling deeds of holiness, and charity, and self-denial. In speaking of the *Election of Grace*, John Chrysostom ventures on the thought that the Divine Choice may possibly be influenced or directed by certain hidden virtuous dispositions, which the eye of Omniscience discerns in the hearts of them that are chosen, and which render those persons fit and worthy subjects for the operation of Divine Grace.* But little did he dream that the doctrine of *Grace of Congruity* would ever be wrought up from the materials of shadowy speculation, such as this! Now, these instances may suffice to show us the dangerous consequences resulting from the elevation of *preaching* to so transcendent a rank among the ordinances of the Church, and the exaction of so enormous amount of it from her local and stationary ministers.

The evils of this system may be capable of further illustration from the devious and eccentric course of Theology in modern Germany. The condition of the professors of divinity in that country, in some respects, resembles that of a preacher who has to satisfy the incessant cravings of a congregation when their spiritual appetite has been pampered and spoiled by a course of highly-seasoned diet. The teacher, in that country, is dependant on the multitude of scholars he can attract to his lecture room, and keep there. His reputation and his maintenance are perpetually at stake. He enters, for the most part, upon his office with the consciousness that bold and hazardous speculation, and original and striking views, must enter largely into his preparations for the day of audience. If these fail, there will probably be a formidable defection; and he will have before his eyes the prospect of ruinous and degrading failure. And, hence, the triumph of Neology.

From mischiefs such as these, indeed, we have been mercifully protected by the discipline of our Church, and the solid rampart of our Articles. With us the parish preacher, or the licensed lecturer, can hardly venture to deal in downright heresy, or wander far into the limbo of Neologism. But he may, often, be compelled, by the mere quantity of his work, to traffic in matters fantastic, unsubstantial, or imperfectly digested. And if his station be one which calls upon him to cultivate popularity, he must contrive to make his crudities as palatable and pleasant as he can. The result needs not to be stated. The pulpits will, in too many instances, be filled with what are called *fine men*; and the pews with *hearing*, but not with *praying* congregations.

* Chrysos. Hom. vi. Rom.

What, then—it will be asked—do we disparage and set at naught the ordinance of preaching? Would we take down the pulpits, and leave only the desk and the communion table? No—not so. Instruction in righteousness and holiness must never cease. Preaching is one mode and form of instruction; and, therefore, preaching must never cease, until the end of all Christian ordinances shall be finally accomplished. Missionaries, of course, must *preach*; preach in the true and original acceptation of the word. And stationary ministers must also preach. For though a merely preaching Church can never stand, so, likewise, is it true, that an unpreaching Church, even though it should rest upon the right foundation, would leave its superstructure in peril of ruinous decay. We are not ignorant, or unmindful, of the might and efficacy which belongs to powerful preaching of the Word. There are difficulties in the Bible which require explanation. There are *apparent* contradictions which stand in need of solution. And the sluggish heart of man requires the voice, and the countenance, and the gesture, of his fellow-man, to awaken his sensibilities, and to keep his attention on the stretch. It is a part of our nature to be moved by the energies, and the emotions, of those who are engaged in the same warfare, and the same peril with ourselves. *As iron sharpeneth iron, so doth the countenance of a man, his friend.* Right words are always *forcible*: but never so forcible as when they issue from the lips of one who is the appointed guardian of our interest, whether temporal or eternal. A powerful appeal to the heart and understanding, when it goes forth from a position so commanding and sacred as the pulpit, frequently pervades a whole congregation, with the rapidity and the force of electric fire. With the truth of all this, every thoughtful man must be perfectly familiar. But it will, likewise, be undisputed by any thoughtful man, that the *still small voice* which comes from Jehovah himself, is mightier than the sound of the earthquake and the tempest. And this *still small voice* is never heard, except by those who lead a life which is sanctified and pacified by prayer. The utterance of a Boanerges is as nothing, when compared with the unutterable groanings wherewith the spirit helpeth the infirmities of the penitent,—or the breathings which go up to heaven from the depths of a broken and a contrite heart. And our conclusion is, that there must be something vicious in the condition of the Church, when the people are habitually impressed with a belief, that they cannot have worshipped God acceptably unless they have listened to a sermon; and that a discourse from the pulpit is as absolutely essential to the completeness of their religious services, as the sacrifice of confession and supplication, of thanks-

giving and of praise. And still more vicious is the state of things when the sermon is regarded as the pure flour, and the prayers as little better than the chaff and bran. And towards this state of things, we greatly fear, there is a powerful tendency at the present day; especially in parishes where the congregation is large, and where they who compose it have just intelligence enough to be agreeably affected by an exercise of their minds, or an excitement of their feelings. In such situations the Church is too apt to degenerate into a sort of theatre; and the preacher to be regarded almost in the light of a performer: and the people will be too apt to disperse, not so much with a disposition to search their own hearts, as with a propensity to sift the merits of their orator. Their discourse, on retiring from the House of God, will, probably, be,—that Mr. — was wonderfully great to-day! or, perhaps, that Mr. — was not quite equal to himself; that he was too tame or too impassioned, or too argumentative, or too declamatory, &c. &c. &c. And, all this while, it may be, that the solemn and soothing accents of the Liturgy have passed away from their thoughts, and have left but little more impression than a tale thrice told.

Now every one must allow that *these things ought not to be so*. That the blessing of God will rest upon the labours of a faithful preacher, is, indeed, unquestionable. But fervent prayer, and devout reception of the Sacrament, bring the soul into immediate communion with the Father of Spirits himself. It cannot therefore be doubted that if a man would but prosecute the work of prayer, with all his faculties, he might pass weeks and months together, without hearing a single sermon, and yet might so advance in holiness, that his profiting should be manifest to all men: whereas, if prayer were discontinued, he might devour sermons without number, and yet his spirit might resemble the leanest of the voracious kine. And any one, who will but recollect this, must see, in an instant, how subordinate a rank the hearing of sermons ought to occupy, when compared with the duty of adoration and thanksgiving.

All this will, perhaps, be conceded the moment it is stated. And then will come the question, what is the tendency of these observations? How is a remedy to be applied to this prevailing misconception as to the manner of rendering a reasonable service to the Lord? And here we feel it most advisable to take heed to our words, and to avoid speaking rashly with our lips: lest we should seem to undervalue the services of many able and meritorious ministers, and the good intentions of many faithful and single-hearted Christians. One question, however, we will venture to propose—whether, if sermons were less frequent, they

might not be incomparably more effectual? . Let us suppose, for instance, that, where a clergyman has now two sermons a *week* to prepare, in addition to other overpowering duties, he had only two sermons a *month*. And let us, further, imagine that these two monthly sermons were so composed, as never to let the hearers escape, without constant inculcation of the paramount importance of keeping close to God in public and private prayer,—without perpetual reference to the inestimable value of our Liturgy, as the channel of communion with Him. Is it not conceivable that more might be done by these two well-considered sermons, towards building up the people in faith, and hope, and love, than by eight unavoidably hasty compositions; and these frequently *got up* under the impression, that nothing but a course of stimulants and drams (if we may use the word) can keep the attention of the hearers in activity? Might not the *comparative* unfrequency of these exercises be amply compensated by an augmentation of their efficacy? And might not the result be, that the congregation would be trained to the invaluable habit of looking more to the power of God, and less to the aid and ministry of man?

We offer these suggestions in a spirit of unfeigned diffidence and caution. We presume to lay down no general or inflexible rule. We attempt not to prescribe the precise measure and proportion in which preaching should enter into our religious exercises. We are distinctly aware, that, if any alteration were introduced, it should be done gradually, and circumspectly, and under the watchful superintendence of our diocesans. We also remember, that much would depend on various and complex local circumstances. But, of one thing we are profoundly convinced,—that a parochial clergyman would have achieved a great and holy triumph, if he had succeeded in the experiment of even an occasional omission of the sermon; and could show a Church equally crowded with worshippers, whether the pulpit were to be occupied or not. And, at all events, we hold it for certain, that, on Sacrament days, the sermon might often be most conveniently and beneficially dispensed with.

The habit of seeking at the lips of the preaching minister for the very life and virtue of all public worship, may be, notoriously, traced to the period which immediately followed the Reformation. It was one effect of the recoil from Romanism. The Popish priesthood preached, comparatively, but little. The divines of the Reformation, more especially those of the Calvinizing schools, thought they could never preach enough. Till, at length, the ordinance of preaching was exalted by the Puritan and Presbyterian pastors to an importance almost as lofty and mysterious as

that ascribed by the Papists to the sacrifice of the mass. The word of God, in their mouth, was infallible truth! And, to this day, the Protestant world is, more or less, thoroughly pervaded with the notion, that the offices of prayer are the form, and that the outpourings of the preacher are the spirit and the essence of all public devotion. Our only desire is, to see this pernicious error, by some means or other, effectually corrected. It would be a bright and glorious day for our Church, if her children should manifest a deep and cordial persuasion that the house of God is, emphatically, the house of *prayer*; and that the word of exhortation or instruction is but subordinate and auxiliary to the prime and transcendent duty of seeking God in the way of adoring supplication.

One mode of gradually bringing about this most desirable consummation would be, a more frequent and general adoption of the scheme exemplified by Mr. Anderson in the volume now before us. He tells us, that it was under a strong and growing conviction of the value and importance of the Liturgy of the Church of England, (as admitted by the concurrent testimony of Christians of various denominations, both at home and abroad,) that he was led, some years since, to deliver a series of Afternoon Discourses on the Book of Common Prayer. The Ten Discourses now published formed a portion of that series; the pressure of other duties having prevented the publication of the rest. Now this is an example which we would most gladly see followed by our parochial clergy throughout the realm. This method would furnish themes commensurate with the highest powers; and it would supply them with glorious opportunities of exposing and denouncing the prevalent delusion to which we have adverted, and of restoring the *reasonable service* of praise and supplication to its rightful supremacy. And if this work were generally taken in hand with the same affectionate and fervent spirit which distinguishes the ministrations and the writings of Mr. Anderson, we should have good hope that our people might, in time, be brought to a more healthful state of mind, touching a matter of such deep and vital moment.

It only remains for us to offer a few specimens of the earnest and heart-stirring manner in which Mr. Anderson has performed his labour of pastoral love and zeal. And first we shall select a passage which suggested to us the introduction of our foregoing observations. It will be found that Mr. Anderson has faithfully seized on a fit occasion to lift up his testimony against the disparagement of the prayers, and the glorifying of sermons:—

“The homilies were intended to impress upon the people, at that time, a sense of the purity of the Gospel, in opposition to the corruptions

of Popery. But they contain 'godly and wholesome doctrine' for every age of the Church; and although the reading of them publicly has fallen into general disuse, the greater part of them may be read with advantage in private, as containing sound and valuable expositions of Christian doctrine, and as powerfully enforcing the rules of the Christian life.

"In the times of which I have been speaking, sermons, as the word is now commonly understood, were delivered, at first, only once in a quarter, and, afterwards, at intervals of a month. I need not say that, in these our own days, much more ample provision is made for giving effect to that part of the exhortation to godfathers and godmothers, contained in the office of baptism, which relates to 'the hearing of sermons,' as an important means of Christian instruction. But while we acknowledge, with thankfulness, the care which has been taken to provide for the due fulfilment of the above exhortation, we should always remember with what solemn emphasis our Church continues her address to godfathers and godmothers, saying, 'And chiefly ye shall provide, that they may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health.' It is this 'health of the soul,' brethren, which is the one great end of all the ordinances of our most holy faith; and, keeping this always in view, we may venture to affirm that, valuable as preaching is as a part of our Church service, it is yet of much less value than the prayers; the right exercise of which, like the pulse in the natural body, plainly indicates the life that exists within.

"But if prayer be indeed the pulse of the spiritual life; if it be, in truth, the breath of God in man returning to its original, how is it that so many professed Christians should appear to despise the privilege of prayer, and to regard the sermon as all in all? This is evidently the fault of itching ears and unsteady hearts. And it would be well if all who profess and call themselves Christians, would consider within themselves how certain it is that a preaching Church, *i. e.* a Church which exalts the ordinance of preaching, to the neglect or the disparagement of the ordinance of prayer, cannot stand. It assuredly becomes us to be thankful, brethren, for the plenteous provision of preaching which we now enjoy; but, at the same time, we must take good heed lest, as in the times before the great Rebellion, it should be exalted and abused, to the hindrance or the injury of any of the other ordinances of the Church. If the body of professed Christians would show that they are desirous of becoming 'wise unto salvation,' they must learn to set their highest value on the most important part of divine service. They must remember that the sanctuary of the Lord is spoken of in Scripture not as a house of preaching, but 'a house of prayer.' They must learn, therefore, to love the prayers; and they may rest assured that they will find all the edification from the sermon to be, as it were, so much gain to them over and above."—p. 80—84.

The sixth Discourse, "on eating and drinking unworthily," deserves high commendation. Its usefulness and power was attested, immediately after its first delivery, by a request for its publication; and it is now reprinted in the present *decade*. That

portion of the service which comprehends the sentences, the *Sursum corda*—the *Tersanctus*—affords Mr. Anderson a noble opportunity, in the seventh Discourse, of manifesting the depth, and the elevation, of his devotional feelings:—

“ Upon reviewing this portion of the Communion Office, may we not say, brethren, in the language of the text, that of a truth ‘ God hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.’ For are we not ‘ raised up together to heavenly places in Christ Jesus,’ when, ‘ with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify his glorious name?’ Dwell, I beseech you, upon the full import of the language here employed: ‘ All the company of heaven.’ ‘ Heretofore,’ says Chrysostom, ‘ this hymn was sung only by the angelic host; but after the Lord had vouchsafed to appear on earth, he brought this melody to the children of men.’ While, therefore, the ‘ cherubim and seraphim are still continually crying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory;’ other voices are heard to mingle in this triumphant chorus. For ‘ the glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, and the noble army of martyrs,’ join in the melody of the armies of heaven. Yea, ‘ Lord God of hosts,’ we, also, who are yet militant on earth, are permitted to join in the mystical songs of the heavenly choir. ‘ We,’ also, ‘ praise thee, O God;’ ‘ we,’ also, ‘ acknowledge thee to be the Lord.’

“ For if, when Christ ‘ overcame the sharpness of death, he opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers;’ must it not follow that all, whose ‘ robes are washed, and made white in the blood of the Lamb,’ are now invited to ‘ sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus?’ Some of this blessed company are yet engaged in ‘ running the race which is set before them,’ while others have joined ‘ the cloud of witnesses’ above; but all the redeemed of the Lord, whether in heaven or in earth, hold communion one with another, as belonging to that ‘ united family of saints,’ which is ‘ named to be the universal Church of Christ.’ And we know, also, that every member of this holy family sings a louder and a sweeter note than the highest of the angelic host. For though angels and archangels can unite in ascribing ‘ blessing, and honour, and glory, and power,’ unto the Lord God of Sabaoth, they cannot say, with the armies of the redeemed, ‘ Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever.’ Though angels and archangels can say, with a loud voice, ‘ Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing,’ they cannot say, ‘ Salvation to our God, and unto the Lamb.’ This is the ‘ new song,’ even the song peculiar to the ‘ redeemed of the Lord:’ for they, and they only, can say, ‘ Thou art worthy to take the book, and open the seals thereof; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests.’ ”—p. 180—183.

The tenth Discourse contains some very valuable cautions against a superstitious estimate of the virtue of the Sacrament. In the earlier ages of Christianity, it is well known, the Sacrament of Baptism was frequently put off till the hour of death; and the sinner then resorted to it in something of the same spirit in which a debtor or a criminal rushes into a sanctuary. It is melancholy to think that, at this day, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper needs to be protected against a similar abuse and profanation. The pastoral experience of Mr. Anderson shows that this wretched superstition is not yet wholly obliterated. And the following is the affectionate caution with which he meets the evil:—

“ If it be an important feature, in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, that it is a ‘ sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another;’ and if, therefore, as often as it is publicly administered in the Church, communicants meet together as ‘ the very members incorporate in that mystical body of Christ, which is the blessed company of all faithful people;’ we can understand how it comes to pass, that, when the Eucharist is celebrated under circumstances which obscure this prominent characteristic, weak and ignorant minds should be apt to attach, almost unconsciously, the notion of a charm to the ceremony. When thus celebrated, in private, in the chambers of the sick, and amongst a few attendants, it almost ceases to be regarded as an act of a Christian congregation, showing forth its union, as such, with Christ, and within itself. And hence it is that this sacred ordinance is too often desired and demanded, as if it possessed something like a talismanic influence on the dying, and as if it were absolutely indispensable to the safe departure of the Christian.

“ But it is not the habitual communicant who is liable to fall into this dangerous error. It prevails wholly, or chiefly, among those who, either never having communicated at all, or not having been habitual communicants, appear to reserve this one act of conformity for the season of sickness, or of death. And, in every such instance, it is certain that a visiting minister's exhortation to the sick person to receive the Eucharist, would be awfully misplaced. It is his duty rather to point out, affectionately but plainly, the great danger of substituting a vague, superstitious reliance on the mere outward administration of an ordinance, for that simple, heartfelt dependance on the blood of Christ, which only can lead the awakened sinner to pardon and to peace. He should then urge upon the sick person the duty of drawing near to God in prayer, that he may earnestly implore forgiveness, as well for the long and serious neglect of which he has been guilty, as for the other ‘ sins, in thought, word, and deed,’ of which he now feels ‘ the remembrance to be grievous’ to him, and the ‘ burden intolerable.’ And if it shall please God to restore the sick person to the assemblies of his saints on earth, there, where it is most appropriate, let him begin and continue the devout observance of this special rite of Christian communion. ‘ For surely,’ as Bishop Burnet says, in his History of the Reformation, ‘ it is too gross a relic of the worst part of Popery, if any imagine that, after an ill life, some

sudden sorrow for sin, with a hasty absolution, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, will be a passport to heaven.' "—pp. 253—256.

Again:—

"As you would hope, at such a season, to partake of that holy Sacrament, to 'your great and endless comfort,' know that Christ must 'dwell in your hearts by faith,' before you can receive the consecrated elements, as the pledges of his love, and as the seal of your acceptance with God. It is plainly and solemnly declared by our Church, of all 'such as are void of a lively faith,' that 'although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ; but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.' Beware, therefore, I beseech you, lest you deceive your own selves, in a matter which respects the salvation, or the condemnation, of your souls. Notwithstanding the unscriptural 'fables and dangerous deceits' of the Romish Church, there is not, there cannot be, any mystic charm in the elements themselves to restore health to those who still remain in impenitence and unbelief. No, my brethren, the work must be going on within, before these consecrated symbols can impart to the soul the sweet and blessed assurance of pardon and of peace. For the 'mean, whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is faith.' And it is only to such, therefore, as 'rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive this holy Sacrament,' that 'the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ; and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.' To all such, the elements of bread and wine are not only 'visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace,' but also the very 'means, whereby they receive the same, and a pledge, to assure them thereof.' And of all such, it may indeed be affirmed, that the 'body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by them in the Lord's Supper.' For, coming to the holy communion in the 'marriage-garment required by God in holy Scripture, they have a real part and portion given them in the death and sufferings of the Lord Jesus, whose body was broken, and whose blood was shed, for the remission of sins; yea, they 'verily and indeed,' partake of the virtue of that mysterious sacrifice, whereby Christ hath 'obtained eternal redemption for us.' "—p. 262—264.

We must now take leave of Mr. Anderson, which we do with feelings of deep thankfulness to the Sanctifying Power who has so thoroughly consecrated the heart of this, his faithful minister, to the service of the altar;—and, further, with the expression of our entire belief that this little volume is eminently fitted to assist the blessed offices of family devotion.

- ART. II.—1. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Gloucester in August and September, 1835, at the Triennial Visitation of the Right Reverend James Henry, Lord Bishop of Gloucester.* Published at the request of the Clergy. Rivingtons, London; T. Jew, Gloucester, &c.
2. *Dissertations vindicating the Church of England, with regard to some Essential Points of Polity and Doctrine.* By the Rev. John Sinclair, Minister of St. Paul's Chapel, Edinburgh. Rivingtons.
3. *Reasons for Refusing to sign the Lay Address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with Hints for increasing the Usefulness and Stability of the Church of England, in a Letter to a Friend.* Hatchard, London.

HAVING much to say as from ourselves, we cannot pause over the publications here mentioned. Indeed, we have only room to introduce them and dismiss them; although Mr. Sinclair's work may be consulted with the greatest advantage; and the pamphlet, which we have placed third, sorry as we should be to subscribe our agreement to all its contents, may at least be read with something of curiosity and interest. If we could venture to pass comments on the Bishop of Gloucester's Charge, we should give our opinion that it was admirable for its talent and its temper: and the words of Dr. Monk will carry with them much weight and authority, although he speaks with the utmost caution and reserve, in regard to the views and intentions of the Church Commissioners; as his lordship has himself been appointed a member of both the commissions.

In adverting to a subject so vast, so complicated, so multifarious, as the constitution and well-being of the Church of a mighty empire, it becomes necessary not only to clothe our observations in some definite shape, but to narrow our inquiry within some specific limits. We abstain, therefore, from offering any argument in support of the principle of an ecclesiastical establishment; or in vindication of the doctrine and polity peculiar to our own. We shall refer scarcely, if at all, to the history of our Church, or the services which it has rendered to the country in times past. We shall not endeavour to ascertain how large or how small a majority its members constitute in the whole population of the kingdom. All these matters have been discussed, both severally and conjointly, with no ordinary degree of care and penetration, of vigour and skill, by men fully competent to do them justice. The field, then, which invites us to enter it, although quite contiguous, and included within the boundaries of the same general province, is still somewhat distinct. The topic,

with which we shall deal, is not the intrinsic excellence of an ecclesiastical establishment, or its quality of adjustment and adaptation, either actual or possible, to the nation and the age; but rather,—these things being assumed or presupposed—the best means to be adopted for its preservation. We shall not ask, *whether* the Church is to be saved—since this point we take for granted; but *how* the Church is to be saved? a question, surely, momentous enough, and solemn enough, to demand our most earnest, and yet our soberest, energies;—to fill us with an intense, an unmixed, an unpolluted desire for the discovery of truth and right; and to guard us against the intrusion of any petty feelings of animosity or servility, of partiality or fear. We may be forgiven, at this critical period, for here and there condensing into one view some points of ever-recurring interest, which we have already handled in detached portions, and more at length.

How is the Church to be saved? But here comes the preliminary question, how, and to what extent, is the Church endangered? Nor can we altogether shrink from this investigation, although we are unaffectedly anxious to avoid all painful or offensive retrospections. Neither can we speak otherwise than with freedom and boldness; because that time-serving and pusillanimous mode of speech, which conceals more than it tells, and arrives at conclusions without venturing to put forth all the premises from which they are drawn, almost always manages to stultify itself; almost always manages to convict itself of false logic, even with a power of resistless demonstration in its grasp; and is, therefore, worse treachery to a good cause than absolute and total silence. The wounds, which are to be cured, must be probed: and they must be probed *thoroughly*; lest, as often happens in the case of ignorant and insufficient treatment, even when they have healed apparently and on the surface, it be found requisite to open them afresh. It is obvious, also, that the things which have been, and which are, must be, partly if not wholly, our index to the things which are to be, or which may be. We must discern the circumstances, which have long menaced, and are still menacing, the Church, if we would form any useful estimate of its existing position and its probable or attainable futurity: and it is beyond dispute, that, if we would “pluck the flower safely,” we must be correctly informed as to the quarter against which our efforts should be directed: we must look steadily at the mischief, from which it is our business to escape: we must understand the parties and the influences, from which we have most to apprehend. In a word, our defence, to be successful, must be regulated by the attack, and be commensurate with the attack. We first, then, ask *how*, and to what extent, is the Church endangered?

Upon this point, almost more than upon any other, we are

solicitous to observe moderation in our statements. And we would hope for attention to them precisely on this account. We have never been mere alarmists. We have never set up the hue and cry about "*the Church in danger*" for political purposes. As far as we can judge of ourselves, it has not been our custom, it has not belonged to our temperament, to magnify objects by surveying them through the mists of terror; or to exaggerate their stature in our representations by depicting them with colours fantastic and overdrawn. Our endeavour has rather been to trace the aspect of things in their true lineaments and dimensions: to feel, and to write, with a calm, and exact, and temperate discretion. And our wish is still the same. We have not sought, nor shall we seek now, to stir up the popular mind into a fierce yet panic-stricken excitement—an excitement, half fear, half fury, half consternation and half violence. But the facts are now too notorious to be denied, and too palpable to be unperceived. The elements of confusion are too certainly at work. There are clouds and storms, and portents in the troubled sky. We see the tempest impending in England and in Scotland, while Ireland is already as a hurricane let loose. To assert that there is no danger threatening the Church, or danger of no unusual proximity and magnitude, would be at the present conjuncture not prudence but childishness, not self-possession but ignorance, not magnanimity but blindness.

For, in the first place, let us see the forces which are ranged on either side; and, in the numbering of this array, let us not deceive ourselves; or reckon among our own host any who in the heat of the conflict will go over to our enemies. The conscientious Papist must wish for the overthrow of the Establishment. The conscientious Dissenter must wish for the overthrow of the Establishment. Nor will they wish it less, if they be not conscientious. If they disguise their sentiments, the moment will come when they will throw off the mask: if they keep back their sentiments, the moment will come when they will advocate them in open day. Then, too, there is the careless infidel, who, at most, can care little about the maintenance of the Church; and who would probably surrender it to-morrow, if he could win, or save, one sixpence by its downfall. There is the disciple of Owen or Carlile, who would fling religion altogether aside, not merely in the regulation of civil society, but in the formation of individual character, and the guidance of individual conduct. There is the Utilitarian theorist, the republican or the Benthamite, who looks upon a state Church as an inroad upon the sanctities at once of conscience and of property; the most disfiguring of all blots in the social edifice; and the most outrageous violation of the canons of

political wisdom. There is the revolutionary anarchist, who has more to gain than lose by disturbance ; who is reluctant to pay for the service of the state, and still more for the uses of the clergy ; who sees in them, in short, the most hateful of tax-gatherers ; and regards the parsons as merely a set of men who rebuke his vices, and put their hands into his pocket. There are the crowds, moreover, whom men like these seduce and mislead. There is the farmer in the country soured and fretted by the vexations of tithe ; the tradesman in the town, to whom church-rates are more especially obnoxious. In a word, most of the Dissenters called orthodox, all the Socinians and Unitarians, all the Roman Catholics, all the dupes of the democrat, and all the eager spirits, half crazed by their Utopian speculations, are vowing on their own peculiar altar the ruin of the Church.

Together, therefore, they constitute a phalanx formidable from their activity and their numbers, their implacable hostility, or their meditated defection.

Peculiarities also of circumstance are discernible, which render this array more terrible to the Church than heretofore. There is not merely the animation, which, as Cæsar said, always gives to the assailants an advantage over those who stand on their defence ; the force which results from the mere impetus and momentum of the advance. But, on the one side, the various parties who are hallooing each other forward to the attack, are inspired by the beckoning finger of hope already successful ; they are elated by a confidence more buoyant as the waves grow rough ; and have lately coalesced into an unusual degree of combination and co-operation. On the other side, there is something of discouragement, and, alas, something of disunion. On the one side, if there is a prodigious deal of violence, there is at least no particle of sloth. On the other side may be traced, *here* something of supineness and apathy, *there* something of irregularity and intemperance. The point, too, at which social science has reached, is precisely one, when liberalized and expansive notions, whether such in reality, or only imagined to be such, are greeted with immediate favour ; while the public mind throughout the whole civilized community of mankind has become so familiarized with the shapes of change, that with large multitudes all instinctive horror of revolution is gradually wearing off, and the present evils of innovation are little taken into the account. Hence the views of bold and reckless speculators are gaining ground, and ride upon the billows which are borne forward by the flowing tide of the philosophy of politics. Political considerations, moreover, are mixed up more than ever with religious ; and, by an almost marvellous coincidence, Popery is lifting her head, because the spirit of

republicanism and democracy is rampant. More and more, therefore, is Ireland becoming a vast hotbed of impatience, a vast storehouse and manufactory of discontents, a vast foundry and workshop of disorders. More and more, is a league sealed and ratified between the superstitious and the godless: and men, who have no other bond of union, are at least for a moment linked, and banded, and confederated together by their hatred to the established institutions.

And whom has the Church to oppose to this heterogeneous, but now commingled mass of antagonists? First and foremost, she has the devout members of her own communion—the men who have an earnest and deeply rooted sense of her value—who are really possessed with the purity and vitality of her creed—who love her Articles for their conformity to the Scriptures of truth, and her discipline for its proved and felt adaptation to its salutary and holy purposes. There are others, again, who have at least a formal and nominal religion, and, perhaps, considerably more;—the men who cherish an habitual reverence for its decencies, if they are not yet thoroughly imbued with its spirituality;—the men, and the women, who have been trained up in the bosom of the Church—whose strongest hopes and fears have been cradled in her lap—who have lisped her lessons in infancy—who have knelt from childhood in her temples of public worship—who have been married at her altars—whose children have been baptized at her font—whose parents repose in her places of burial;—and who have her ordinances entwined around the fibres of their hearts by all the most solemn and the most endearing associations. Such persons will not easily be seduced from the impressions which the Church has made, to learn the catechisms of infidelity and anarchy. There are others, yet again, who have a kind of public and collective regard for the faith of the country, although they are blind, perhaps, to its inestimable worth for themselves as individuals—who, although almost thoughtless respecting the ultimate destiny of their own souls, are yet staunch members of the Church of England, from motives of secular and political calculation—who know little, and care little, about her creed, but can appreciate her steadying and regulating functions as a national establishment. Would to heaven that the worldly prudence of such men could carry them onward to a loftier and sublimer wisdom!

On the side, then, of the Church, we may fairly count the bulk of sedate, and respectable, and virtuous citizens, firm in their allegiance to the appointed authorities and the national institutions: we may count the men—the very strength and stamina of a land—who “fear God and honour the king,” and who “meddle

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not with them that are given to change:" we may count the masters of reputable and well-ordered families, who have some possessions at stake, as well as sons and daughters growing up around them—the men of property and the men of piety, who begin to apprehend, that, in the subversion of the Church, and the shipwreck of the national religion, the honest competence which they have inherited or acquired, may be no longer regarded as inviolable, and the sanctuary of their own hearths no longer free from profanation. Who, indeed, can doubt, but that there must always be a latent heat of attachment to the Church in the heart of every old and long-settled community—in its mind, a fund of sober, masculine, practical and unpretending sense, as opposed to the drunkenness of faction, and the vague dreams of abstract speculation; and a "*vis inertiae*" as opposed to the force of a rapid movement? We may add, too, if we look at the matter with a closer scrutiny, that if many turbulent, and bustling, and seditious spirits are hurling their denunciations against the Ecclesiastical Establishment; and if there are many suspicious indications in one branch of the legislature; there is the conservatism of counties as opposed to the radicalism of towns; and standing side by side, as bulwarks of the Church, the Monarch, the House of Peers, and the majority of English representatives in the House of Commons.

And if the various classes, ranged under the banners of the Church, constitute a very large proportion, if but numerically considered, of the inhabitants of the empire, several causes are apparent which give a particular weight to them and their opinions. We humbly trust, that among them, and over them all, is God's favour resting upon a good cause; and we are sure that we may include many among the noblest sympathies and tendencies of the human bosom. An element not to be overlooked, is the unity which should distinguish the adherents to one national establishment, and the concord which ought to be enforced by the common necessities of self-defence, as contrasted with a promiscuous multitude collected from all quarters, urged by dissimilar views, having, on a hundred momentous points, separate and, perhaps, conflicting interests, and cemented together only by those bonds of connection which the shifting tide of circumstances and events may soon render looser than a rope of sand. Besides, if Churchmen have been lukewarm, they are now bestirring themselves from a sense of danger; and it is almost a moral certainty, that the labours of the clergy in their respective parishes will act more and more as a counterbalance to the local efforts of the apostles of innovation.

Upon a survey, therefore, of the parties now enrolled under rival standards, and soon, perhaps, to be called into actual colli-

sion, we see, as Churchmen, abundant reason for diligence and caution, but none whatever for faint-heartedness and despair.

Before, however, we proceed, we must notice two items, which are altogether necessary to a just and comprehensive estimate of our state and prospects, but to which we have hitherto found it inconvenient to make any allusion. These are, the position of the Ministry, and the attitude of the Wesleyan Methodists.

Now we should really deem it a sad and ill-omened, almost a libellous and indecent thing, to affirm that the government of a great empire, the men entrusted by their sovereign with the administration of its affairs, were hostile to the Established Church of that empire; or, in other words, were seeking to overthrow a fundamental and co-ordinate part of its constitution. But it is only truth to say, that the members of that government, ministerially, if not personally, are so lamentably deficient in strength, as to be compelled to lean for support upon other men, who *are* hostile to that Church; and that the giant who would lay the ecclesiastical institutions of the empire prostrate, is the Atlas who bears them upon his shoulders. They are under the iron pressure of his hoof; because they cannot carry a single measure without his assistance. As far as we can see, looking at the matter simply as a matter of fact, they have no alternative, but either to resign the reins, or permit an irresponsible person to guide them; and the state-carriage is in danger of being overturned, because, while Lord Melbourne is nominally and ostensibly the king's coachman, Mr. O'Connell sits on the box and drives. Wherefore, without impugning the intentions, we may distrust the capacity of ministers: without denying their integrity, we may deplore their weakness. In appearance, at least, to persons like ourselves, who can only judge from the tenor of public speeches and public occurrences, they are not masters of themselves; they cannot answer for the course of their own policy;—they must rather drift with the current, which they can neither stem nor direct. Our conclusion, therefore, and we would state it without offence, for we have drawn it more in regret than anger—in compassion than indignation—is that a very considerable power, which has usually given a preponderance to the scale of the Church, can hardly now be reckoned among its supports.

Then, again, as to the Wesleyan Methodists, how does the case stand? We perceive, not without wonder, from one of their accredited organs, that some of our former observations have raised a spirit of displeasure and annoyance. But why should the Wesleyans be sore? As Churchmen, we can have no wish to make enemies; we have no interest in making them: nay, in all honesty let us add, we cannot afford to make them. Least of all would

we make them of the disciples of John Wesley. We have never spoken of them with animosity, or asperity, or discourtesy: nor, perhaps, have more cordial tributes of respect and admiration ever, or any where, been paid than by writers in this identical Review, to the most distinguished men of their connexion, such as Wesley himself, and Richard Watson, and Adam Clarke. But we must state facts as they are, not as we desire them to be. We cannot conceal from ourselves, that, if other large portions of our fellow-Christians were to fall away from the Church, like the Wesleyan Methodists, the Church of England itself must soon melt and be dissolved, like the mountain snows in early summer. The Wesleyans may be favourable to an Establishment in the abstract, an ideal Establishment, a prospective Establishment; but they are not favourable to the Establishment as it is. For else, why did they secede from it? Why do they stand aloof from it? Why is a separation made between the Wesleyan Methodist and the member of the Church of England? Or what, we must ask again, would become of the Church, if the Churchmembership of the rest was of the same kind as the Churchmembership of the Wesleyans? Surely, this is a time, when the Church requires all, who really belong to her, to rally around her ensigns, and bear her name, and act with her soldiers, instead of hanging upon the skirts of the field as a separate squadron of dubious and undetermined character. We really cannot pretend to understand the position of the Wesleyan Methodists; and, therefore, shall not describe in set terms how very ambiguous and unenviable it seems to ourselves. But, till we see our way, we are constrained to reckon the Wesleyans among those neutral forces, whose component individuals may be well disposed to the Church, but whose collective demonstrations tell against her.

As being even more unfortunate, and more painful, and more hurtful, than this equivocal attitude of the Wesleyan Methodists, we might of course mention some unhappy differences and disputes which burn within the pale of the Establishment itself. But on these things we cannot now venture to expatiate, although we may have occasion to suppose them, and allude to them, in the sequel of our remarks.

Enough must have been said to show that there are many persons and many circumstances, many regular and constant, many temporary and incidental causes, by which the Church is endangered. Enough must have been said to show, not that her friends are to give up her cause for lost, or to drop their arms in despondency, or to make any infuriated sally in the blind madness of desperation; but that, if the Church is to be saved, *all* their efforts and *all* their energies must be put forth to save her. The

great question, then, returns upon us, *How is the Church to be saved?* If our *diagnosis* has been correct, and a true knowledge of the disease is half the remedy, something has already been attained. But our attention must be more minute, and a light must be not merely thrown over the general exterior of the building, but carried into its separate chambers and recesses. Let us also premise, that on many points we simply profess to refresh the memory of our readers, not to bring out any new or recondite truths; and, again, that we shall dwell more upon internal and ecclesiastical, than external or political measures, for the preservation of the Church; because this discussion appears to us less hackneyed; because the matter is one on which there exist, we verily believe, more numerous and more grievous misapprehensions; and because the methods to be adopted depend more upon ourselves, and lie more completely within our own reach.

How is the Church to be saved? The first thing, and the second thing, and the third thing, is, we need scarcely state, an entire conviction, a devout and humble acknowledgment, that safety cannot come from ourselves, but must be supplicated from that Almighty Being, who is the only fountain and author of all good. We must look to Him who is on high—

“Him first, Him last, Him midst and without end.”

We must rest our whole dependence, not upon man's power, or man's wisdom; but upon the power, and the wisdom, and the compassionate tenderness of an All-gracious God. We must seek the divine favour and the divine blessing by contrite prayer, intreating of the Lord that He will save and defend, not only that universal Church against which the gates of Hell can never prevail, but the branch of it established in these realms, which we believe to be pure and Apostolical; that He will cover it with the shield of His omnipotent guardianship, strengthening those who think aright, converting those who are in error, shedding down the influences of His holy spirit, and knitting the hearts of his people in truth and unity together.

Nor must we forget, that, as without the divine protection we can do nothing, and as to be obtained, it must be sought, so the spirit of prayer is the best of human instruments for the preservation of those who possess and exhibit it, both by its reflective efficacy upon their own character, and by its effect on others who behold it in operation. When men connect their principles with their piety, and exalt their thoughts by their devotions, their efforts are of necessity at once vivified and hallowed. There is communicated to them at once an energy and a mildness, a firmness and a tranquillity, an earnestness and a moderation, of which

otherwise they must be destitute for ever. All fretful querulousness, all agitated timidity, all rash precipitation, and, still more, all malignant bitterness, will vanish from the minds of men, who habitually blend their temporal with their eternal interests, and are strong in the calm strength of faith and prayer. They, too, who are regarding them at first, perhaps, with an angry or a jealous eye, will learn in the end not merely to respect the men, while they differ from the opinion; but even, in spite of themselves, to think more kindly and favourably of the cause, from witnessing the language and the behaviour of its advocates.

It is time, however, to speak of the merely human means, by which, under the divine blessing, the Church of England may be preserved, and which Providence, by rendering them necessary, has itself directed us to use;—and, first, of political and legislative measures, that we may clear off this part of the subject in a few words.

It is our firm persuasion, that as far as legislative enactments can remove any real blots and blemishes in the constitution of the Church, they are already in the course of removal. For the excision of the evil of pluralities and non-residence; for the improvement of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, and the consequent cure of faults and imperfections observable in certain departments of ecclesiastical discipline; for the equalization, as far as equalization is desirable, of duties and emoluments;—for these things, and many others, we may safely trust to the Houses of Parliament, acting upon the Reports, either published or forthcoming, of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Nor, in the matter of tithes, or of church-rates, or of concession to the conscientious scruples of Dissenters, is there any fear that the legislature will do too little. But on these points our opinions are on record. Here, therefore, we are content with saying, that it is of course essential to the preservation of an Established Church, to rescue it as much as possible from the charge of being obnoxious, in the practical working of its system, to any large class among the subjects of the empire. We should be glad, then, to see a composition, or commutation of tithes, effected upon just and reasonable terms; because we believe that its accomplishment would do away with much of jealousy, and irritation, and collision—not to speak of lamentable outbreaks of violence and disorder; would weaken the incendiary demagogue by stripping him of one favourite topic of declamation; and would prevent many men, whether sound or utterly mistaken in their views, from secularizing their notions of the clergy—from connecting the idea of a spiritual church with the idea of an odious imposition—from beholding in the pastor of the flock only the collector of a tribute,

by which they find, or fancy, themselves impoverished; and from deserting the Establishment, or, perhaps, even estranging themselves from the Gospel, because, on some pecuniary and economical grounds, they have taken a dislike to its ministers. Not only is the popularity of a church *one* measure of its utility; but, if in any real and extended sense of the word an establishment becomes unpopular, its preservation becomes impossible. But we emphatically repeat, that a commutation, if effected, must be effected upon just and reasonable terms:—not upon any plan, which would quite alter and deteriorate the position of the clergy, by rendering them mere hirelings and stipendiaries of the state, at the mercy, perhaps, of a majority in the House of Commons, and, therefore, in a complete and miserable uncertainty as to the prospective amount of their incomes. We only ask that the Church should receive a fair equivalent for what it resigns; and would add generally, as to public legislation, that three vital principles ought to be kept in view:—one, that a jealous distinction is to be preserved between executive improvements in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs and an alteration of the very basis on which the Church is placed: the next, that as long as an Established Church is a recognized branch of the constitution of the country, so long at least the first aim of the state must be to consult the efficiency of that Establishment, rather than to meet the wishes of men who do not belong to it, and who, if true to themselves, must be anxious for its abolition: the third, that a *joint* regard should be had to the sacredness of property, and to that other condition no less sacred, the spiritual wants and exigencies of the nation.

It will appear, then, that we are far from undervaluing the influence of the legislature, or the force of its enactments, both for good and for evil. The legislature can do almost everything for the demolition of a Church; and, on the other hand, if it sets itself to the task with an earnest good-will, can do very much for its safety. Strenuously, therefore, would we urge the friends of the Church never to relax their efforts in either house of parliament, however forbidding and discouraging the physiognomy of the assembly may seem. Strenuously would we advise others to address the legislature, again and again, by moderate, but urgent statements: to petition for the redress of grievances, for aids of money, and other facilities in behalf of the Establishment and its functions: and, most of all, for still augmented accommodation in its places of worship—a still ampler provision of room in churches and chapels either enlarged or newly built. Strenuously would we advise them to follow the example of their Presbyterian brethren in Scotland; to plead, and to press, the cause of Church-

extension; and, so far at least, to “*agitate, agitate, agitate,*” until the paramount importance of the subject is duly felt. But, nevertheless, legislation must always, and now more than ever, follow the march of public opinion. The will of the real bulk and staple of the population must eventually become the law of the land. The ministers, too, as we have seen, can hardly be designated with propriety as the men in power. After all, therefore, the great business of the friends of the Church is, under and in reliance upon Providence, *to trust to themselves*; and to act, by all available and legitimate means, upon the nation at large, that so they may break, piece by piece, the mass of opposition,—conciliating the hostile, rousing the indifferent, and confirming the well-inclined.

What, then, are the available and legitimate means? Here we get at the very core of the inquiry. And here, once for all, we would speak to the laity, as well as the clergy, among the adherents and children of the Church. On a hundred points we would speak, even more fervently and more directly, to the laity. One, surely, among the most capital instruments in the preservation of a Church, must be the zeal of a Christian laity animated to its defence. The laity, too, in such a cause, are the most likely to slumber, the least likely to be hurried with violence; and, without question, in fighting the battle of the registration courts—in taking care how the votes shall be given on a dissolution of parliament—and, especially, in displaying the value, or in exalting the labours, of the present ministers of religion—in aiding, whether singly or by associations, in the recovery of tithes, and in supporting the rights of ecclesiastical property—the laity can do the work far more gracefully, and far more effectively, than the clergy themselves.

In this stage of the investigation, the first thing, we think, is to *put the case* of the Church, and to *keep* the case of the Church, broadly and distinctly, fully and fairly, before the public eye. Broadly and distinctly, we repeat, fully and fairly;—and therefore, by a necessary consequence, calmly and mildly;—by statements of which the one plain and unequivocal object is to set forth the truth as it concerns the Establishment. The admixture of disputatious and galling matter must serve to disturb the mirror of the waters, and suffer nothing to be clearly seen. It is the exclusive privilege of an unvarnished, uncoloured exhibition of simple facts, to carry a persuasive evidence to the mind as yet unprepared and undetermined to resist it; but, on the contrary, one misfortune inseparable from all fierce and contumelious displays is, that they make the opponent hurry to case himself in an armour of impregnable incredulity; they provoke the will to trouble and distort the

medium of the understanding, and bid the passions rise up in the heart, and shut its door against conviction.

There is, therefore, no inconsistency whatever in the recommendation of a full, candid, explicit, and frequent statement of the case of the Church, and the discouragement of irritating meetings and wrathful speeches at Exeter Hall or elsewhere; or of sermons, in which the faith of Protestantism is subordinated and rendered ancillary to the party-politics of the day. It is, in fact, for the sake of the former that we would dissuade the latter. They *prevent* the case of the Church from being duly seen, or properly regarded. They too often conceal the real objects at issue by the clouds of dust which are raised in the heat and fury of the logomachy: and they obstruct the reception of truth by the bitter ingredients—the “*tetra absinthia*”—in the midst of which it is administered: while they never disarm the opposition of a single spirit already bristling with adverse prejudices.

Such at least—although, as will be presently seen, we are far from denying the use of rightly-conducted controversy in its legitimate sphere—are not the kind of statements which we have in view. But then, it may be asked, why have we not hailed with pleasure the institution and the labours of the “*Established Church Society*,” of which the precise object is to make known the case of the Church by pamphlets well-written or well-selected? Our reply is, that the institution of that Society appeared to us unnecessary, when there were so many older associations, competent to the same work, already in the field. We objected, also, to the name; because no association of persons ought to assume that they constitute the Established Church, or to commit the Established Church to controversial publications, and even to controversial speeches, which may be wise or foolish, temperate or indiscreet; much less an association of persons, who, however respectable, can hardly be entitled to stand forward as the representatives of the Church of England and Ireland. In the lucid and simple statements which the Church requires, we would prefer either publications, whether periodical or occasional, undertaken upon individual responsibility, or such a vehicle as the *Saturday Magazine*, or some other cheap magazine—of a similar description, but intended more expressly for the specific purpose—issued under the authority and superintendence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

We are also very desirous that something of a more imposing and systematic—perhaps of a more authoritative kind—should be attempted. In every age, and beyond all antecedent ages in the present time, when there is such a crush and crowd of objects clamorous and importunate for public attention, and when there

is so much of pains and skill employed to exhibit them with the best effect, we are well assured that "*de non existentibus, et non apparentibus, eadem est ratio.*" We are well assured, that no institution, that no community, stands a fair chance of popular appreciation, if the truth, and the whole truth, with respect to it, be inaccessible, or of difficult access; if it has to be sought by multifarious inquiries and laborious scrutiny in many quarters. Who, indeed, is likely to do justice to a body which does not do justice to itself? The impatient and "*keep moving*" spirit of the times has acquired the habit and the taste of coming rapidly to its results. And we see the advantage which almost all other religious communities and connections have derived from acting in conformity with this temper, from having some repository of their sentiments, and from giving a panoramic and authentic digest of their proceedings at stated periods. Many, in fact, have proceeded upon the plan of having an authorized organ and an official account. Whether a mode precisely similar would be found either practicable or advisable in the case of a vast national establishment, is a matter which may be reasonably doubted. Still the Church inflicts a grievous wrong upon itself—or else its members as individuals fail to discharge a portion of their duty—unless there be furnished to the country a comprehensive and connected view of all its labours in the cause of religion and morality, of public happiness and public improvement, of individual virtue and individual holiness.

Our proposal, therefore, is, or at least our desire, that there should be published, either annually, or at any other interval which might be more convenient, a "*Church Report*;"—a mirror, as it were, of Church of England Christianity, and a register of its ecclesiastical affairs. A work, having some such nature, and some such title as we have ventured to suggest, would of course contain a general view, statistical and partly tabular, of the state and prospects of the British empire ecclesiastically considered—the number of members in the Church—its external and internal relations—the extent of its influence and agency at home and abroad, on the continent of Europe, and throughout the vast colonies and dependencies of Great Britain. It would also embrace a survey of the persons and circumstances which have *affected* the Church: such as the measures and enactments of the legislature—the proceedings at public meetings, and the expression of public sentiments: and again, not merely the collective operations, and the general events, relating to the totality of the Church, but the proceedings of the societies attached to it—of its universities and other places of education—of its parochial working and institutions—and of any important projects undertaken by individuals,

and remarkable occurrences concerning them—with, perhaps, a brief catalogue and synopsis of its current literature. But we need hardly say, that it would be preposterous, with our confined space, to think of mentioning the whole, or the half, of the contents of a good and sufficient Church Report.

The object of such a register could only be accomplished by the adoption of certain methods, and the fulfilment of certain conditions. The conditions seem to be that it should be *accurate*, and that it should be *complete*; that it should be the most convincing and the least offensive—the most satisfactory to the members of the Church, and the least annoying to the members of any other connection. The method, therefore, which it should take, seems to be that it should make its statements, while all-inclusive and carefully arranged, at the same time entirely *historical, documentary, and statistical*, admitting *nothing speculative, nothing controversial, nothing critical*.

It is neither harshness, nor injustice, to assert that this method is not observed, and that these conditions are not fulfilled by any existing publication. Existing publications, as far as we are acquainted with them, do less than is required in one way, and more than is required in another. They neither contain all that ought to be contained, nor exclude all that ought to be excluded. Nor, perhaps, from their frequent re-appearance, can they adequately gather, and condense, and systematize, the various matters which must go to the formation of an annual panorama of an Ecclesiastical Establishment. But they are not the less valuable on these accounts for their own peculiar purposes. They are useful in their own line. They have their own office, their own department, with which it were folly to interfere.

To express, therefore, an opinion that a Church Report is needed, is not to throw disparagement upon a Church Review or a Church Magazine. The three may mutually assist and supply each other; while together, and in their several capacities, they complete the defences of the Church. A Church Magazine is most serviceable; because it is good to have a quick, and not too retrospective, account of immediate occurrences—a reservoir of private communications, and theories, and suggestions, of floating notions and projects rather intimated than worked out—a vehicle for literature, serious in its matter, but not heavy in its composition—and a repertory for papers, and letters, and disquisitions, interesting to the friends of the national religion. A Review may be most serviceable; because, on the most solemn and momentous points, opinions are not to be compromised or disguised; because the theology of an æra ought to be sifted and examined without fear or favour; because discussions are indispensable in order to

elicit truth; and because every interest in Church and State may require advocates to scrutinize transactions, as well as historians to describe results. It is the property, however, of reviews, to erect themselves into a kind of judicial tribunal. "*They are nothing, if not critical.*" And, alas! there is very often a necessity that they should become more or less pugnacious.

But, as the aims of a Church Report must be altogether different, we have disposed of the objection, that it is not wanted. Nor does it, in form or even in substance, exist. There is, indeed, this actual mischief in the ecclesiastical intelligence, which some publications pretend to afford, that instead of making its boundaries conterminous with the boundaries of the Church, it includes *one* particular section of the Church, together with a multitude of other religious communities,—thus, as far as the establishment is concerned, abandoning a large tract of its legitimate territory, to pay visits into a foreign domain. But it may be still urged, with regard to this proposed *panopticon* of the Church, that, although we do not possess it, we can do quite as well without it. The two-fold objection may still be pressed, that it is not feasible, and that it would not be useful.

As to the feasibility, we can, without doubt, anticipate very considerable difficulties in the compilation of such a report. We can imagine points to arise of very considerable delicacy and intricacy,—whether it can be made semi-official, or must rest its claim to be considered authentic simply upon its own internal veracity. We can conceive very considerable difficulty in collecting and methodizing the materials; in distributing them under the fittest divisions and sub-divisions; in allotting and apportioning the room; in selecting the clearest and most forcible modes of exposition; in combining the *maximum* of information and perspicuity with the *minimum* of space; in ascertaining how best to define the limits and draw the lines of demarcation; in knowing what to insert in the text, and what to keep for an appendix, or what supplement to form, having reference to cognate churches, such as the Episcopal Church in America, which are so much influenced and affected, although not governed, by the Church of England:—in a word, in reaching the magnitude of the entire subject, and in mastering the diversity and complexity of its details. We can also conjecture some financial difficulties, in the way of remuneration for the outlay of labour and expense.

Yet, while we allow the difficulties to be great, we can hardly suppose them to be insuperable. We think, that an approximation at least to the desired end might be made at once: and that experience and practice would soon lead to a more finished and perfect excellence. It likewise strikes us, that many persons and

many parties—such, for instance, as the prelates of the Church,—such, for instance, as Church-Societies and their secretaries—who would entertain a just and invincible repugnance to being mixed up with any polemical or speculative publication, might be induced to contribute their aid, or at least their sanction, to a work of this peculiar character. Nor can we but believe,—without alluding to any other facilities which might be discovered,—that, when its value was once felt, there would be found a number of purchasers quite sufficient to repay the costs.

We come, then, to the utility of a Church-Report. Our opinion is, that its utility can scarcely be overrated, provided it should do thoroughly what it would undertake to do; and should do nothing else. How much ignorance might it remove; how many misrepresentations and misapprehensions might it correct; how might it open the eyes of the people, and help to interest the laity in the cause of the establishment: tending, on the one hand, to confute the gainsayer, on the other hand, to confirm the allegiance and verify the attachment of the faithful; to prove the uses of the Church not merely for time, but for eternity; its efficacy in augmenting the sum not merely of public and temporal, but of personal and everlasting well-being; its value not merely as a social institution, but as an instrument, under Providence, of promoting the glory of God, and diffusing the religion of his Son Jesus Christ. Again, it might assist even the government of the country; it would afford the most precious data for the statesman, the historian, the political philosopher, the Christian philanthropist; and might promote, generally, the great science of statistics, both by displaying facts and realities as to one vast interest of the empire, and, perhaps, by inducing other interests to pursue a similar plan. But still we think most of the effects upon the Church itself. An adequate Report would demonstrate that the Church was not afraid of publicity; but could well afford to spread out a delineation of its revenues, its state, and its transactions, full of plainness, and fidelity, and minuteness. We are sure also, that, while of service, politically, by cutting away the very grounds of much obloquy and opposition now levelled against the Church, it would be of service, spiritually, by increasing its efficiency, as well as its credit. One cardinal benefit would be to show churchmen, both what has been done, or is done, by the Church; and, likewise, what remains to be done: what provisions have been made; and, also, what gaps and chasms are yet to be filled up. It would encourage them by the view of good achieved; it would incite them, and spur them on, by the view of other good works, yet to be commenced, or, at least, to be multiplied in their ramifications, and carried forward on a larger scale; it would bid

them consider,—and surely this is among the noblest of moral and religious uses—whether, having in their hands a machinery with power so gigantic, they have accomplished with it all that they were capable of accomplishing; and likewise calculate the relative *proportions* of Christian efforts and Christian liberality, as compared with the relative amount of population, and influence, and wealth, manifested respectively by the members of the Church, and the various bodies of seceders. It is obvious, too, that a Church-Report would assist Church-Societies by directing attention to them and their concerns. Another paramount benefit would be to *bring the Church together*, by keeping away all elements of mutual repulsion, and by affording a neutral ground consecrated against the intrusion of bitter feelings; a nucleus of harmony, a common focus of attraction, even in the sight of those great objects to which all might turn their common regards without contention, and without compromise. It would exclude the Church-politics of different sections by the only way in which they can be excluded; by not coming within the debateable land, and giving events without commentary. While, therefore, as we have said, it would have nothing of private speculation or opinion—for the *veto* must be rigid—it would assist theory by presenting facts, the only basis of reasonings, the true ground for a mighty and comprehensive induction: while it would have nothing critical or judicial, it would afford the only test for forming a correct judgment; while it would have nothing polemical, or controversial, it would settle, or prevent, a hundred controversies. As to the Church, in short, such a report might act both *as a stimulus to the whole, and as a bond of union between the parts*.

This, then, is here our conclusion. Every public body owes to itself, that it should stand right in the eyes of the world. Every public body, therefore, owes to itself, that its character and its affairs should be represented in a strong, and, so far, a favourable light. It owes to itself a full and adequate development of its own objects, and working, and resources. And there is the more need that this debt should be discharged, in proportion as an institution, whether from constant or from accidental causes, is more liable to misrepresentation and reproach; and more important changes with respect to it are either in progress or in contemplation. Wherefore, under the actual circumstances of the Church of England, we can hardly compute the disadvantages under which it has laboured from *not* having such a Report: nor can we easily exaggerate the advantages, which would accrue from giving one connected account of its whole agency, as the ally of the state, the main engine of improving and instructing the people, the great landmark and bulwark of orthodox Christianity:

—from presenting a complete survey of its history and statistics for the past year; a summary and digest of all that it has done along every line of its operations;—in a word, from holding up a picture, at full length, though with moderate dimensions, of the ecclesiastical state of the British empire; and *furnishing a report of the concerns and transactions of the entire Church, as societies connected with the Church furnish a report of their particular and respective proceedings.*

At all events, whether this particular mode be, or be not practicable, we would strenuously urge, in general, the propriety and the necessity of making every legitimate use of that almost omnipotent engine, the press; and of gaining that vantage-ground of extended information, from which, as from a higher point of view, we may look around over the whole horizon of the Church. The first *desideratum* is a knowledge, at once comprehensive and exact, of its real organization and economy; the next is a regular and consistent course of action, adopted and pursued in conformity with that knowledge. On the one point, we cannot but remark, that the want of a wide and precise acquaintance with its constitution and its acts, manifested even by persons of education and reflection, is oftentimes most astonishing, as well as most injurious to the establishment: on the other point we must have more to say, as we trace the serious and growing detriment, of which an unsteady and inconsequential policy is the cause and source.

We now go on to observe, that it is only a sufficient insight into the vast exertions and instrumentality of the Church which can enable us to cover the caviller with shame and confusion: it is only a sufficient insight into the actual imperfections introduced by the mere progress of time and circumstances, which can enable us to put things right, and teach us in what quarter the largest expenditure of our energies must be made.

Thus when we look—to take our former instance—with a steady gaze, we still find a terrible hiatus in the indispensable matters of Church-accommodation and Church-superintendence. The goal at which we must aim, is to *universalize the agency and the influence of the Church*. For we can hardly expect that persons should continue to belong to her communion, who cannot obtain entrance into her places of worship; and whom, from the comparative paucity of temples and clergymen in many districts, her instructions cannot reach. Either, therefore, they swell the ranks of Dissent; or they walk unblushingly about the world in the character of scoffing infidels; or they inflict almost more mischief and disgrace upon the establishment by constituting in reality a godless and heathenish multitude, while, nominally and

by profession, they are Christians and Churchmen. These considerations ought to give wings to the zeal of true piety and true patriotism.

The right theory of a National Church, and, therefore, the point to which its practice should at least aspire, is that it should gather the whole nation within its pale; and that all the sons and daughters of a land should be the sons and daughters of its ecclesiastical establishment, the members and children of the same religious family. But in the present condition of the empire this has become a physical and architectural impossibility. The population has outgrown the Church. It is required, however, not merely that the Church should recover its lost ground, and overtake the present numbers; but that, for the future, the machinery of the Church should be co-expansive with the augmentation of the people. As rational and conscientious Churchmen, who would not willingly see the country dotted and colonized with dissenting chapels and ministers; or else, what is infinitely worse, surrendered back to actual irreligion and profaneness, we commit a kind of suicide—unless we would sacrifice much for the erection and endowment of new churches—unless we would strain our efforts to attain or approach the consummation, that the direct influence of the Church should extend to every individual who is subject to the power of the State. At the risk of subjecting ourselves to the charge of iteration, we would say once more, that, if the Church is to be saved, still more houses of worship must be built—still more clergymen must be appointed—still more resources must be placed at the disposal of the Incorporated Society, and the excellent Diocesan Societies which are auxiliary to it—still more seats or pews, either free or extremely cheap, must be appropriated to the lower classes; so that the Church may fulfil this portion of the ends for which it is designed, and prove its vast utility, nay its overwhelming necessity, as a spiritual provision for the humble and the poor—for the humblest and the poorest.

Many persons, considering the straitened circumstances and ungenial temper of the times, yet having at heart the cause of Church-extension, would prescribe some relaxation in the rigour of its rules, which forbid preaching in the open air. Many, again, would advise, where no facilities exist for building and endowing new churches or chapels, the appropriation, or, if not the entire appropriation, the consecration of other places, such as school-rooms, for the performance of divine service; and also the employment of lay-teachers, where the number of clergymen is insufficient, and there are no funds for the payment of more. The

two parts of this plan seem to be separable; and the former to be less open to objection than the latter. Both the good and evil of the whole scheme are obvious. It would enlarge the action of the Church; yet it would enlarge it upon a process so much like the system of some bodies of Dissenters, that it might ultimately operate in favour of Dissent. But we believe that this and other similar projects have not escaped the careful consideration of men, who from their elevated station can command an extensive view, and who are best able to weigh the advantages and the inconveniences, the probable benefit and the probable disorder. These two postulates will be allowed on all hands,—the first, that *some* spiritual instruction must be provided for the people; and the second, that the regular and more dignified “apparatus” of the Establishment is preferable in itself to any such extraordinary and succedaneous expedients.

For we see only half, unless we perceive that other things are needed for the safety and the glory of an Established Church. One point is, that the Church should have, numerically and superficially, the whole extent of its dominion. Another is, that its authority should be *intensive* as well as extensive, and that over the whole amplitude of its range it should exercise that beneficial and elevating power which can only be attained by the combination of many excellences. We shall be betrayed into a lamentable error, unless we take a lofty and comprehensive view of *all* the uses of an Establishment; so that we may at once widen the sphere of its operations, and preserve the lineaments of its exalted character, rather than multiply its sacred edifices by stunting the growth of its sacred erudition, and promote its local at the expense of its general purposes. The safety of a Church must be the result, after all, of the efficiency of the Church. But the efficiency of a Church cannot be complete without the thorough territorial cultivation—if we may borrow the expression of Dr. Chalmers—of every parish in the kingdom. Neither, however, can there be any complete efficiency without a deep and solid scholarship; nor without a decent maintenance of respectability and even dignity. To be efficient, a Church must be adapted to all the classes of a community, and all the ends of true religion. It follows, therefore, that while there may be a cheerful consent to give up some ornaments of cathedral pomp for the enlargement of parochial means, and the universal diffusion of parochial offices, care must be had to preserve that ammunition of theological learning and wisdom, only to be drawn from the arsenals of patient study, which is a thing of momentous need, if the citadel of the Church is to be adequately defended.

The ecclesiastical economy of an empire is something more

than the mere sum of its parochial ministrations: and the welfare of an Episcopal Church demands that this entire economy should be maintained in its majesty and in its vigour. We must look, then, to the *whole*, as well as the *parts*; and then also to the parts as distinct and several wholes, still in subordination to the ampler aggregate. We must endeavour to avoid partiality and narrowness of vision, and behold the full sweep of objects included in the functions of a National Church; and we must also be sedulous about the filling up of the compartments, and the separate completeness, as well as the united harmony, of the details. We must know, as reasonable and judicious Churchmen, who would understand the institution which they profess to love and reverence, what the Church does, or ought to do, as one vast body or incorporated system—what it does, or ought to do, by means of societies—what it does, or ought to do, by the diligence of individuals.

In its unity, as a body or system, the action of the Church is, of course, to guard the soundness and purity of Christian doctrine, to promote the salvation of souls, “to train up a people for eternity,” and to carry the living spirit of the Gospel into every city and town, and village and hamlet, into every mansion and every cottage, into the bosom of the nobility and the gentry and the commonalty of the realm, the tradesman and the artisan, the operative mechanic and the agricultural labourer. Thus, also, in its connection with the State, it has to afford that inestimable assistance without which all states are indeed feeble and wretched; and to do what mere legislation cannot even attempt. For human laws are almost negative in their effects: it is divine instruction which must instil positive good. Human laws may, to a certain degree, prevent, or repress, the ebullitions of crime; but it is Divine instruction which must break the iron sceptre of an universal selfishness; which, in dependence upon true faith and fervent piety, must introduce into the heart of a nation the sacred charities and protecting virtues of life, ever blessing and ever blessed; the spirit of loyalty and contentment and orderly obedience; the spirit of industry and frugality and self-denying forecast; the spirit of kindness and liberality and active beneficence; the spirit of gentleness and patience and forbearance; the spirit of real courage and magnanimity and heroism; the spirit of temperance, soberness, and chastity; fidelity to all engagements; the discharge of all relative and social duties; and, in short, all the qualities which can consolidate and adorn the prosperity of a land; or which can become the man or the citizen, as embraced under the comprehensive precepts of love to God and love to our neighbour. If we would save the Church, we must not only show

by our personal example, and by our labours in behalf of others, that, as far as we are concerned, these objects have been achieved; but we must do our part in choosing into prominent stations, and investing with means and opportunities of active influence, persons who will strengthen the hands of the Church, by keeping these its objects steadily, religiously, and righteously in view.

The action of the Church by means of societies involves a variety of important, but sometimes neglected, considerations. Some will think that this agency does not touch upon its capacity as a National Establishment, having merely reference to it as a community, or sect, of Christian believers. But this opinion, although partly true, is founded upon narrow and superficial conceptions. A National Church may impart a power and weight to societies, which they could never otherwise possess: the members of a National Church may do by their combination into societies, what they could not effect so well, if at all, either as one corporate body, or as insulated individuals; and, as no man can be a good Christian, unless, having the means, he contributes his aid to *some* Christian societies, so no man can be a good churchman, unless he contributes his aid, with a decided preference, to societies in connection with the Church.

It is the business of associations to act in the mass, although without any strictly imperial and legislative authority; to carry the influence of a Church beyond the exact limits of its peculiar jurisdiction; to form the complement to its functions; to fortify it with new equipments and magazines for its holy warfare in the domains of ignorance and unbelief; to subjugate other outlying and distant provinces to the yoke of the Cross; and, at home or abroad, wherever there is darkness, wherever there is wretchedness, wherever there is physical slavery, wherever there is mental and spiritual thalldrom, there to speak the accents of compassion, and stretch out the hand of relief, there to light up the lamp of truth, and bear onward the mild sway of Christianity.

It is difficult to imagine, how a genuine lover of the Church can abstain from belonging to such associations; or remain, if not unconscious, yet regardless, of their existence. Let it be remembered by all those who would preserve or exalt the establishment, that the most frequent, because the most obvious estimate, as to the comparative numbers and the comparative piety of Churchmen and Dissenters, is grounded upon the comparative wealth and magnitude, the comparatively flourishing or dwindling condition of their religious associations: and let them reflect upon the inference which will inevitably be drawn, if the Church-Societies are not properly and even magnificently supported. The first business, therefore, upon the principle advocated

throughout, that knowledge is the best guide and precursor of action, is to throw a wide and discriminating glance, both upon existing societies and upon the purposes which recommend societies in general; and then, to complete the circle, if any deficiencies and chasms are perceptible, by the institution of fresh associations. But there are two cautions to be observed. The one is, that for the most part it is worse than superfluous to form different Church-Societies, of which the objects are the same. For, here, no spur to emulation is required; because there already exists sufficient competition with the Societies of other Christian denominations. But a slur of suspicion is cast upon the composition or the direction of the older society, by the institution of the more recent; and the tendency is to create, or foster, divisions among the members of the one national Church. The very same reason which prescribes the formation of Societies, as distinguished from individual exertion, namely, the force of combination, seems to demonstrate, that, an equal number of persons being interested in a cause, few societies are more eligible than many. It is manifest that the same amount of resources will go farther in the one case than in the other; that the contingent expenses must be less; and, in fact, that the few societies will be more powerful, more imposing, and more economical. Here, as in all things, there is a golden medium. Prudence will advise, on the one side, that the objects of societies should not be too multifarious, and that their size should not be quite unwieldy; or rather, for this is the real point, that they should not undertake more than they can manage: it will suggest, on the other side, that to multiply societies, without necessity and beyond a certain point, is to impair their efficacy, and strike at the very principle on which they rest.

The other caution—and one, undoubtedly, which it were folly or treason to disregard,—is, that the action of Church-Societies ought not to interfere, by any shadow of hostile collision, with the regular action of the Church. Associations may be so framed, as materially to aid that action. Thus, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for example, provides books and tracts for the parochial minister, without the slightest incroachment or intrusion upon his appointed sphere of duty. But, on the contrary, associations may be so constituted as to impinge, with a violent shock, upon a system at once episcopal and parochial. What, for instance, can we think of Home Missionary Societies, which would carry on their operations in a diocese, without the sanction, and against the will, of its consecrated Prelate; and send preachers into parishes without the permission, and in the very teeth, of the incumbents? Here, it is undeniable, the

Episcopacy of the Church, and the combinations of Churchmen, actually become antagonist powers: and either the Societies must succumb, or Episcopacy is a name, and must become a laughing-stock. Here, there is an overt attempt to unparochialize a land, and to create an *imperium in imperio*, which must be subversive of all order. Similar observations are applicable, although in a less degree, to all schemes, such as a general Visiting Society, having its head-quarters in the metropolis, which would gather funds and influence into a few hands, and fix them upon a particular spot, whence agents and instructions might emanate over the whole country. This, too, might be the beginning of a new kind of centralization unepiscopal and anti-episcopal, unparochial and anti-parochial. Some such societies have been formed with most excellent intentions; but very slight reflection may convince us, that they must sadly disturb the internal polity and discipline of the Church. Nor will it admit of question, that with any novel and independent centre, which should have lines radiating from it to the entire circumference of the kingdom, the existing constitution of the Establishment could not long co-exist. *Two centres a circle cannot have.*

We come, then, to the action of the Church by means of individuals. And, in one sense, this is all in all. We talk of its action as a body: but that body, we must remember, has no real existence apart from the living members which compose it. We talk of its action by Societies; but Societies, we must remember, merely constitute a particular species of agency; for the only true agents are individual men. Still individual Churchmen have all their *several* and *respective* duties; and our endeavour is to stamp a broad, deep, connected impression—not the loose, vague, imperfect notion too generally entertained—of their number and extent. The duties of Clergymen are, of course, as plain as they are imperative. It is their part never to think that they can have done enough, in promoting the service and the honour of their Lord: in Christianizing the field allotted to them; whether in performing the direct and immediate duties of their profession, or in making, as far as they can, the personal acquaintance of all, whether rich or poor, among their flock, and acquiring a personal influence over their minds; in cherishing every local institution calculated for good; in proving the truth and loveliness of Christianity by its blessed effects on their own hearts and lives; and in teaching others to become better denizens of earth, by the consciousness that their citizenship is in Heaven, and more useful members of this human community, by their diligence as candidates, through faith, for the glories of an eternal world. Nor can any Christian layman be exempt, even here, from a terrific responsibility. He,

too, has to "do his duty in that state of life into which it has pleased God to call him." It is not enough, that he should sit in the chair of sloth, and fancy himself a staunch Churchman, because he sometimes goes to Church. He has to co-operate with the Clergy in befriending the friendless, in relieving the necessities of the destitute, and enlightening the ignorance of the blind. If, as a good citizen, he would take care that the state should suffer nothing by his conduct, not less, surely, is he bound, as a good Churchman, to take care that the Church, so far as he is concerned, should gain, and not lose, in estimation and authority, "*ne quid detrimenti ecclesia capiat.*" He has to think that *something*—that *much*—may depend personally upon himself. He has to recollect, that his purse and his person should be at the command of the interests of the Gospel:—that he must assist in the moral tillage of the parish where he resides; in ploughing up and eradicating the weeds of ungodliness and frenzy; in planting the seeds of religion and virtue; in providing, in his station, and to the utmost of his means, that the Church may be identified with every holy and every happy feeling, breathed by the inhabitants of a land; that it may dislodge all the forces of the enemy, and obtain a complete spiritual possession of the whole empire, and its whole population.

There is one all-important matter, which we have reserved; because it belongs, almost equally, to the Church, whether regarded as a corporate system, or with reference to the Societies, or to the individuals, who are to be found within its pale. We mean the Education of the people. It is just in proportion as this great work is thoroughly, or inefficiently performed, that Church principles will penetrate and pervade a country, or merely cultivate for themselves a few patches and fragments, to be soon, perhaps, absorbed and covered over by the growing disaffection of the rest. We need not re-state the reasons which we have so often urged, why, in England, a state-religion is infinitely preferable to a state-education; and why a state-education, if introduced, would inevitably tend to the overthrow of the state-religion. But, after all, there is only one convincing, and irresistible, and incontrovertible argument. If we would keep Education out of other hands, it is for us to show that we can take it into our own. It is for us to show, that the Church can educate the whole people in every requisite department of moral and intellectual training. We must prove, that a State-Church supersedes the necessity of a State-Education; because it includes it under its own labours; or, in other words, that a state-religion is in itself a state-education of the highest kind, and also the instrument of national

instruction in the more popular and complex signification of the term.

Here the chief province is, of course, that chain and *cordon* of parochial education—which it is well, by the way, to connect with the National Society—almost, if not altogether, eleemosynary, by which the heaving and fermenting mass of a population is to be impregnated with the doctrines of its established Church. But this is not all. Education upon Church principles must at least be universal among Churchmen. We need scarcely allege, that the education of the Clergy themselves must be lifted up to the highest attainable pitch of solidity, and comprehensiveness, and spirituality. We would speak of all classes and all ranks. Assuredly, so long as the Church itself is dominant, an education, not dis severed from the Church, must be dominant in our public schools and universities, and be so framed as to have a real and lasting dominion. Assuredly, it is a sacred obligation, interwoven with the very being of true Churchmen, that their sons and daughters should be educated, whether at home or abroad, in a reverential attachment to the Church, and in a correct acquaintance with its tenets and ordinances. Assuredly, too, something *must* be done with respect to persons whom we have already mentioned. We allude to the children of the humble tradesman, to the lower division of the middle order. Seminaries must be formed under the auspices of the Church in the interval, still gaping and yawning wide, between parochial and proprietary schools, between merely charitable foundations and such institutions as King's College. Otherwise, this class of the people, perhaps the most numerous, and certainly not the least active, will be more and more alienated from the Church, and either left to education in Dissent, or abandoned to a method of instruction, for the most part, quite impotent and quite miserable.

But neither is the tuition of childhood sufficient in itself. The Church must take the lead in providing a literature for adults. It must preserve its hold. It must continue to feed the minds, in which an appetite has been excited. Else it only educates for its adversaries. It must instruct the people, as well as the *offspring* of the people. It must carry onward the quenchless light of improvement from age to age, by educating the infancy, and the youth, and the maturity of a nation. The subject tempts us to expatiate; but what more is needed to demonstrate, that, if the Church is to be preserved, the task of supplying both an education and a literature, cheap, suitable and accessible, congenial with its creed and subsidiary to its purposes, is a matter of primary, and vital, and unspeakable necessity?

Great efforts must be made: and they must be made in strict

subordination to the discipline of the Church. There rises, therefore, to demand our notice the delicate topic of Church-discipline and Church-government, on which we may be compelled to dwell longer than we could wish; because, as we have already hinted, there are many intricacies of confusion to be disentangled; and because the ignorance or the carelessness, the superficiality or the bewilderment of ideas, observable, as to the internal polity and administration of the Church, in speeches and pamphlets, in newspapers and other publications, which would treat of ecclesiastical affairs with a spirit meant to be friendly in the extreme, is calculated to lead the inexperienced astray, and to fill the wiser and more considerate with a very painful surprise.

Whether it be a salutary power, or a baneful monopoly, we *have* an Established Church. And we now address ourselves to persons who profess their affection for it, and their desire to maintain it; who believe its doctrines to be rooted and grounded in the Scriptures of truth; and who know its principles to be driven into the foundations of our constitution, wedged and dovetailed into the annals, and habits, and associations of the British empire, 'This Church is a national Church. Its authority is, or should be, co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the state. The anxiety of all real Churchmen must be, as we have said, to *universalize* its operations and influence. But there are two kinds of universality. The one would be attained, if we could bring into the fold all who are now straggling away from the Establishment. The other may be reached by the simple process of turning the fold into a common; of breaking down all the embankments, and flinging the articles and services of the Church into the unconfined and wandering stream; of converting the temples of religious worship into covered spaces, sheltered from the weather, and fit for public assemblies, to be engaged by a variety of parties in succession, like Exeter Hall, or the great room at the Crown and Anchor. A Church may be expanded, either by a real increase in the number of its adherents, or by the mere relaxation of its discipline, and the mere dilution of its spirit. It may be expanded, in fact, into non-existence; like the circles which a boy makes by throwing pebbles into the water, enlarging and enlarging until they become invisible, and are altogether lost. Now, we are not conscious to ourselves of any narrow intolerance or exclusive jealousy. We are not even alluding, in these observations, to any civil disabilities; to Test Acts, or Emancipation Acts, or the question of political power, as it regards the holders of different creeds. We are writing to Churchmen as *between themselves*; and upon a matter which refers, wholly and solely, to the interior government and economy of their Church. Neither, therefore do

we speak about kindliness of feeling, or the amenities of private intercourse, or the courtesies of personal deportment. We speak simply of the public conduct of men in their collective capacity as members of an ecclesiastical body. How many individuals are there among the Dissenters with whom we might be proud to walk hand in hand;—how many are there whom we should rejoice to attract and gain over to our side! But the question with which we would deal is, whether disjunction or intermixture is the safer and fitter principle to be usually observed in the action of religious communities, which differ not only in their creed, but in their constitution.

The position, which we would lay down as essential to the preservation of the Establishment, is that Churchmen should *act together*, instead of keeping aloof from any portion of their brethren in the Church, in order to act with the Dissenters. This sounds like a mere truism—a self-evident axiom—of which even the enunciation is superfluous. And yet how is it practically overlooked!—how often is it denied even in terms! When we find, that, in the communication of ecclesiastical intelligence, in the publication of sermons, in the management of some public, and some parochial societies, the plan is, not to include the whole Church, and keep within the limits of the whole Church, but to take a portion of the Church, and join with it the dissenting connections, what are we to say or think? Is not this process fatal to the very axis on which our Establishment revolves? The principle of a variety of co-equal sects, and the principle of an endowed and territorial Church, are principles not merely distinct, but opposite. The essence of a national Church is to be *one*. It must “stand superior and alone;” or it is nothing. It must be distinctive and authoritative; or it is nothing. It is agreeable and plausible to talk about merging all religious distinctions; but to merge all religious distinctions is to give up the Church. It is agreeable and plausible to talk about cementing all parties together; but, unfortunately, the cement is of a kind which loosens all the stones in the fabric of the Establishment. The Church of England becomes the Episcopal sect: the very idea of a national institution is unsettled or vanishes from the mind, and every association proper to it is disturbed or exiled. Puerile, we must repeat, would it be to discuss in this place the dogmas of social science, or the speculative objections of the Independent. It may be right that every shape of ascendancy should be done away. It may be right that one congregation of believers should stand on precisely the same ground as another; and that each should possess the sole and entire regulation of itself. It may be right even that all forms and articles of worship should be abandoned, and

that no earthly power should interfere in any way between man and his maker. Be it so. These are intelligible and specious, although they may be erroneous and injurious propositions. But they involve no practical and self-destroying absurdity. We, however, assume that an Established Church is a wholesome and admirable provision for supplying the moral and spiritual exigencies of a realm. We assume, that a religion being based upon the Bible, and the truths of the Bible being immutable, and the sense of the Bible being already known and collected, that religion may be promoted by the authority of the state, and embodied in certain articles; although neither the state could pretend to teach, nor articles pretend to embody, an unfixed and progressive science. We assume, yet again, that the business of a Church is to indoc-trinate an entire land, and to be the one great machine for Christianizing the hearts and understandings of its men, and its women, and its children. Of course, therefore, we cannot profess to see in the same light those who would assist, and those who would interrupt, the working of this machine. Such is the theory of a national Church: and it remains for us to make the practice correspond with the theory. No system can stand, in which the constitution and the practice are at variance. It must become like an inoperative law, which only remains upon the statute-book because its being is forgotten; or an effete and exploded system of philosophy, crumbling in its derided decay. A community, whether ecclesiastical or civil, may reform its abuses, or even alter its constitution. But not to act upon it, while it exists, is the most prodigious of all practical blunders,—an inconsistency, which argues weakness and rottenness; or introduces them, where they had no entrance before. Besides, the main element of stability is self-concentration and steadiness of discipline. This has preserved the institutions of the Chinese empire in the midst of many barbarisms, and the Papal economy in the midst of many errors and corruptions. Unquestionably, we do not hold out either the Chinese government or the Papal polity as a model for imitation; and we can conceive higher considerations, to which, in a hundred cases, the stability of systems should be sacrificed. But we cannot discern any valid reason why a principle should not be employed, in its legitimate exercise, to aid the perpetuity of a good system, when even its exclusive and excessive application can invest a bad system with strength and permanence.

At least, let us, as Churchmen, be true to ourselves. Let us take the Church as the basis, and, for usual purposes, the boundary, of our operations. Let the line of distinction be Church-membership. Let our societies be Church-societies. Let our education be Church-education. Let us try what and how glori-

ous things may be accomplished by a Church, throwing the full and concentrated flood of its holy strength against all the barriers and obstructions which would resist the waters of life. Where Churchmen and Dissenters are pursuing the same sacred objects, as by the Divine blessing they often are, happy is it for both. Let their emulation be such as the objects are worthy to produce. Let it be generous, and without bitterness. And where they cannot so well seek any righteous object apart, in God's name let them seek it together. But that each party should go, steadily and honestly, upon its own path, and do the utmost amount of good within its reach by the agency of its own members, is in general, we are convinced, a course more advisable for the Church, and not less advisable for the seceders. The rule should be cohesion among Churchmen, rather than amalgamation with Dissenters; and thus, we may be sure, when extraordinary circumstances bid Churchmen and Dissenters coalesce, their coalition will not be less friendly or less sincere.

It must not be forgotten, that, when Churchmen and Dissenters act as one body, they act, almost of necessity, upon the principles of Dissent. The opposition of the Dissenters may be somewhat neutralized. But this advantage is gained by neutralizing and cancelling the essential ingredients and distinctive character of a Church. We press the argument; because it really seems to us that many are now endeavouring to throw over these subjects the mist of haziness which envelops their own minds. Their motives may be excellent; but the prevalence of their sentiments would render the longer continuance of the Establishment a blessing beyond the reach of hope. Other men might assault the Church from without; but *they* would be powerful solvents within the body itself. The battering-ram of external force might strike off some fragment from the surface; but they would melt away the entire frame into utter decomposition. We are quite ready to believe that they are well-intentioned as politicians; but we are altogether sure that they are injudicious as Churchmen. Again and again must we confess the difficulty which we have to imagine how either the theory or the practice of a national Church could co-exist with the predominance of their opinions:—the theory with opinions which tend to level all distinctions between an ecclesiastical establishment connected with the state, and the multiplication of sects which have detached themselves from it in a greater or less hostility of estrangement;—the practice with opinions which would look with an equal eye upon the agency of Dissenters or of the Church:—when a national Church ought to gather all the inhabitants of a land under the wing of its guardianship; and thus only does the principle of an established Church become

capable of an easy and impregnable defence. Here, again, we might take a lesson from the Scotch Church and their Clergy. We find Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Cooke, and other excellent men, protesting against "the dangerous and alarming principle, that, where the voluntaries had provided religious instruction for the people, there an Establishment was uncalled for;" declaring, "that whatever was done by one sect, or by another sect, an Establishment ought, not the less, to provide means for the religious instruction of the whole nation:" averring, that "the recognition or allowance of a contrary principle would be *felo de se*; and that, unless Churchmen raised their voices against it, they would inflict a wound on that noble edifice which it was their duty to maintain; and it would just come to this, that it was a matter of no moment whether there was any Establishment at all." Oh, why will any amongst us, in seeking to propitiate the Dissenters, stultify themselves as adherents to an Establishment which connects Dissent with the evils of Schism? why will they go far to *make* the Church that monstrous solecism in political arrangements which the Utilitarian and the Sectarian assert it to be? Why put arms against themselves into the hands of the very men whose friendship they are courting? For, reasoning from the premises which they have afforded him, the Dissenter may urge, with the semblance of almost incontrovertible truth:—"You allow the liberal axiom, so that a thing be done, no matter who does it. To you, then, it matters little, or nothing, whether we work as co-equal and independent sects, or as members of one national communion bound up with the state. But to us it matters infinitely much; because, according to us, the principle of an Established Church is an anomaly, and its actual existence a grievance and an abomination. Why, then, should you do violence to our consciences or to our purses? Why should you compel us to pay for the maintenance of a system, which, in our view, is a festering sore, and a nuisance of enormous magnitude; while, in yours, it is a thing of so very subordinate importance. You should make the concession; for you evidently care least about the object in dispute."

No: a national Church can only be maintained by the preservation of Church-principles. If we lose sight of these, we can no longer look with a steadfast and single vision on the great aim to which our exertions should tend—the universality and the universal influence of the Establishment, of which we are members. Energy is crippled; supineness is encouraged, and almost invited to our souls. It will be thought, if not said, "We may almost rest upon our oars, since the dissenters are doing so much, and doing it so well;" or "let us row in the same boat, and cast in our lot with these active servants of religion." But

what is the result? How shall we wonder, if people who once clung to the Establishment, begin to think that adhesion or secession is a matter of no moment,—if they begin to frequent church or meeting, temple or conventicle, just as the distance is least, or the seats are most convenient, or they are told that they shall find a gospel-preacher? Surely, if it makes no difference with whom we co-operate, it can make no difference whom they go to hear. Nor can these loose, and fantastic, and vacillating notions ever pave the way to any ultimate destination—any tranquil port or haven—of peace, and fellowship, and brotherly love. The one system is consistency, not want of charity; the other is not charity, but self-contradiction. The one is always plain, always straight-forward, always even, always the same: it excites no expectations only to disappoint them: it shows that it can respect integrity of principle in other modes of action by respecting itself: it leads to no acerbity and no quarrels, because it avoids collision: it is smooth in its tenor, and easy in its execution; because it requires no skill in strategy, no subtilty of tortuous management, no dexterity of shifting tactics: and it can afford to be mild and calm, because its firmness is known. The other course is always among labyrinths of confusion, thorns and briars of difficulty: it goes from one false position to another, until at last it can neither recede, nor stop, nor advance, without mischief: it rests upon no principle: it is a course on which no man can reckon, and which has no calculable futurity before it: and it eventually necessitates exasperation and strife, because it cannot fulfil the tacit promises which it holds out; and because relaxation of discipline always leads to severity, for the bow must be bent back. It is not in the nature of things that harmony should be the eventual result of an attempt to mix up together heterogeneous and incongruous elements: but the issue, we venture to prophesy, must either be heart-burnings more painful, animosities more bitter, controversies more violent, or else the concession of all which the Dissenters may demand. In Churchmen, at the present conjuncture, it is nothing short of infatuation to begin a course which it is impossible to continue; to awaken hopes which it must be equally perilous to realize or to frustrate; and to rush, as if blind-fold, to the precipice of the dilemma, that they must either seem treacherous to the Dissenters, or be false to the Establishment.

Such, however, will be the only alternative, if Churchmen are to act with Dissenters, rather than with each other; to talk of any non-conformists as the “most valuable class in the religious community;” and to inculcate, without qualification or condition, “the necessity of union among Protestants of all denominations.”

The mere game of playing off the Dissenter against the Papist would be as little honourable, as it is likely to be successful. But we know that this union is proposed in all honesty and sincerity of purpose. Well, then; it must be formed on equal terms. We are mistaken, if we imagine that Churchmen can place the Dissenter on the same level with themselves; and, then, that, at their bidding, he will fall back into his own position without a struggle or a remonstrance. He will not be admitted to an unquestioned parity on one day, so as to stand both literally and metaphorically on the same platform, and then return, on the next, to behold superior and exclusive privileges granted to the Church, without a stronger desire to attain that equal elevation, which has been placed, as it were, within his grasp.

“But is it not a beautiful and a holy spectacle, and one which may strengthen the Church, by extracting the sting from opposition, to see Christian men casting their differences aside, and confederated in the common cause of their reformed religion? And why should they not go together, as long as they are going the same way?” We might answer, that all concur in acknowledging the loveliness of Christian unity, although they may not agree about the road which really leads to it. But let it be observed, that we would speak not so much of extraordinary circumstances which may constitute a fair exception, as of usual circumstances and general rules; not so much of a temporary, as of a constant line of conduct. We may allude to present events for the sake of illustration; but they do not lie at the substratum of our argument. That argument is directed against those who make amity with Dissenters of more consequence than unity among Churchmen. Their course, we contend, must either give up the essential principle of a national Church, or it cannot end in amicable feelings. It is a false liberality which, by its necessary progress, either tends to the irritation of the seceder, and the disruption of all bonds; or undermines the ground itself on which the Establishment is erected.

Sure we are, that the more excellent way is *to work our own system to the utmost*, and leave others to theirs. Thus we have nothing to undo; there will be more of mutual respect, and less of hostile contact; there will be no angry excitement, as the successor of an ambiguous and hollow alliance; no perpetual fretting of ourselves or others; because, while we do more for the Church, we shall do less as personally against the Dissenters.

But it is high time to bring these observations to a point. We say, then, that a *sine quâ non* in the preservation of the Church is strict allegiance to the forms and spirit of its government, with an equable and consistent conduct towards them that are without

its precincts. But how can it be equable and consistent, unless it is based on just and reasonable principles? From the want of such principles, have we not seen—and, alas, do we not see—men, who wish well to Church and state, oscillating from extreme to extreme, shaken with ague fits of heat and cold, varying round to every point of the compass, rushing, up and down, through every degree of the thermometer—their behaviour of to-day no sequel to their behaviour of yesterday, and no index to their behaviour of to-morrow? How lately, according to certain outrageous representations, was Dissent the spawn of Satan, and its aspect, without a figure, diabolical! But now we are told, that seceders from the national Church are not to be called Dissenters, but “by their *old and honourable title of Non-conformists*.” Now, there is an unmeasured and indiscriminate, in some cases a savage and truculent, outcry against the Romanists and their creed, to be followed, perhaps, if we may judge from what has happened in the case of the sectarians, by a re-action in favour of Popery. We opposed ourselves to the fierce war of the waters, when the tide set in against Dissent. And we were reproached, as we expected. We opposed ourselves to the deviations from calm reason and church discipline, obvious in the late Tercentenary movement against the Church of Rome. And we are reproached again. In fact, we are accustomed to be accused, now of liberalism, now of illiberality; merely because we retain the same principles, and apply them impartially to different occasions; because we are not driven out of our course by the gusts of passion, to say more than is justifiable in one moment, and stab our own assertions in the next; and because we have thought and said, that to vibrate between coarse invective, and sudden professions of eternal friendship, which would better become a German school-girl, is as remote from true wisdom as true benevolence. The one accusation affects us just as much as the other. We still think a real liberality to be as estimable and illustrious a thing as a spurious and bastard liberality is mean and contemptible. We still think, also, that a firm and uniform course may secure us, on the one hand, from a fanatical virulence, on the other hand, from paroxysms of consternation, respecting either the growth of Dissent, or the inroads of Rationalism, or the re-establishment of the Papal supremacy. But the question before us, is how the Church is to be saved? Let us hasten to return to it, before we can have said one word which is calculated to give just offence, or which savours of angry controversy.

If, then, we would preserve the Church, let us bear in mind how much the strength of an Establishment depends upon its reputation, and how much its reputation depends upon the *moral*

tone which is adopted towards other Christian communities. We recommend vigilance: we recommend boldness: we recommend an uncompromising assertion of the principles, an unflinching vindication of the rights, of the Church. We recommend also a love for the persons of those who dissent from us, but not a commixture with their system. We recommend a careful discrimination between our individual conduct as citizens, and our united action as Churchmen. We recommend the old and enduring policy of moderation—for nothing is good which cannot last—neither furious nor fraternizing; but pacific and therefore distinct; but distinct and therefore pacific. Oh, let not our thoughts overleap themselves on either side, to the forgetfulness of all distinctions, or to the laceration of all charity. Let the clergy and the laity unite in bringing out the perfect organization of their own church, without any envenomed or rancorous abuse of the Dissenters; both parties remembering—and the clergy most of all—how many blessings may wait upon their prudence, and how fatal their indiscretion may be to the constitution, as to themselves.

Another point, which is closely connected with the tone of moral feeling, and to which due importance has seldom been attached in its influence upon a church, is *the conduct of the understanding* with reference to religion. And this remark may be applied both to the character of the inquiries, and the manner in which inquiries are pursued. The bent of the age verges too much towards the physical and mechanical sciences. But our object, as Churchmen, should be rather to intermix a larger infusion of spirituality and subjective knowledge amidst the cultivation of these sciences, than to decry the sciences themselves. There are some whose aim seems actually to be the establishment of a necessary and irreconcilable enmity between scientific pursuits and devotional feelings—although science, properly understood, is the best handmaid to devotion—instead of contenting themselves with the argument, that there are higher and sublimer things in the intellectual world than physical discoveries or mechanical inventions; and that an exclusive addiction to them is prejudicial both to harmony and completeness of knowledge in the understanding, and to the understanding itself as the instrument of acquiring knowledge: with the indisputable truth that there is an utter insufficiency in all physical without metaphysical, and all metaphysical without spiritual science; an utter inadequacy in all material studies for the production of mental more than moral excellence of the highest order; and a positive mischief if pursued with that narrowness which bounds the horizon of the intellect, and that presumption which puffeth up the heart. Yet knowledge, if real and rightly sought, is surely not more

allied to vice than ignorance; and all the kinds of genuine information which the human faculties can receive, are but as the various stones, to be well fitted and compacted together into the same solid, and enduring, and indestructible arch of universal truth. We have never been able to conceive any natural connection between being in the rear of human learning, and forming the vanguard of divine; or any natural opposition between physics and religion, or even between material and spiritual philosophy. The childish and mischievous attempt to dissociate science from religion, and place a gulf of separation between men of science and men of piety, what is it but to assist in causing the very evil which is deprecated; to make science ungodly and piety fanatical; to make the lovers of knowledge estrange themselves from the Gospel, and the lovers of the Gospel pride themselves upon ignorance? The consequence of such notions, as they affect the established religion of a land, is to raise up adversaries against it in men of nimble spirit and inquiring minds, who might not otherwise be men of profane dispositions; and to represent the Church of a country as the type of some darker period in its history, and the foe to its advancement in intelligence and intellectual activity.

Then, again, as to the manner in which inquiries are pursued. The same school of religionists which would set up an opposition between religion and science, would set up another, equally groundless and pernicious, between faith and reason. Now, every one who has investigated the mysterious complexities of his own being, must be intimately persuaded that reason, or, we should rather say, the logical faculty of the understanding, is not the only, nor, perhaps, the highest avenue of moral truth; and is quite ready to acknowledge with the Apostle, that, if it is with the understanding that man believes unto conviction, it is "with the heart that man believeth unto righteousness." But these men seem, therefore, afraid that the reason may be exercised too much; as if that abuse of reason, by which it would meddle with problems which it cannot solve, by which it would grapple with things that are too high for it, was not, in point of fact, the concomitant, or the consequence, of a reason unexercised and undeveloped, or, at least, developed and exercised in a very limited and insufficient degree. One among the finest properties of the human reason is to set bounds to itself, and teach submission to itself—being, then, the most exercised when the most submissive. And why? Precisely because it has learnt to discern the impassable barriers which are placed by the very constitution of the universe in the way of its ulterior researches; the inaccessible heights, and the unfathomable depths, which the moral and metaphysical, and therefore more especially the religious sciences,

present, and its own utter incompetency for the tasks which it might otherwise be tempted to undertake.

This, we contend, is the inevitable result of a reason improved and exerted to its utmost point of possible perfection. The mischief lies half-way. There is danger, as all allow, in knowledge half-attained, and reason half-exercised. But then the question is, whether we are to push knowledge and reason forward to the better goal, or to stop upon the threshold for fear of going too far. We leave every reflecting man to decide for himself which of the two plans is the more practicable and the more desirable. It is nothing, then, to say that presumption attends upon the exercise of the intellect. We answer, that it is sure to attend upon an intellect half-exercised: just as Bacon has declared, that a little knowledge seduces men into atheism, but a complete sufficiency of knowledge brings them back to religion. There is, alas, such a thing as the *pride* of the understanding; and a very lamentable, a very hideous, a very guilty thing it is. But let us not confound elements essentially distinct. The pride is a moral crime, and an intellectual *weakness*. The real blame is to be laid upon the perversion and the sinister bias of the moral habits and emotions, not upon the too great development of the intellectual capacities; when, in sober truth, the evil has arisen, because that development has been miserably stunted and confined.

The true rule to be laid down is, that men are to exercise reason in matters of religion exactly as they exercise it in all other matters; that they cannot exercise it too much, but most egregiously err by not exercising it enough; that upon religious as upon other subjects, they must use their faculties and draw their conclusions in the same way—for what else can they do?—according to the unalterable laws and conditions of their mental frame; and that they are only to stop, where their reason itself tells them that they can make no progress.

We assert these propositions, which, manifest axioms as they are, will sound strangely in many ears, because the supposed prevalence of contrary principles would be fraught with mischief and ruin in its application to the Church. If it were once understood, more especially in an epoch like this, to be a maxim maintained by an ecclesiastical establishment, that Christians were not to argue on points which demanded their belief, but that it was with them a merit to take things upon trust, without dispassionate and searching inquiry, or a previous foundation of rational assent, then farewell to the benefits, farewell to the stability of that establishment. With respect also to the cognate topic of worldly knowledge, quite agreeing with Dr. Shuttleworth, where he says, in his recently published Sermon, that “whilst the powers of the

intellect may thrive, the faculties of holiness may wither;" and almost ready to allow, that "man is at such a time, if possible, more than ever estranged from God;" acknowledging from the bottom of our hearts, that the "increased cultivation of the physical sciences," "the restless speculations upon the mysteries of government," "the insatiable curiosity which is awake in all directions," can *of themselves* avail little or nothing "towards the production of the momentous second birth—towards our growth in divine grace—towards the eradication of the deadly principle of selfishness from our hearts—towards the fostering of those feelings of submission to the will of God, and that hungering and thirsting after righteousness, which characterize the reign of Christ;" and that they are in themselves, or if considered as the whole, and not as the subsidiary part, indeed "vexation of spirit," and "vanity of vanities"—we must yet put our solemn conviction once more upon record, that these things, in their use, and not their abuse, in their proper, and not their exclusive acquisition, may subserve the purposes of Divine Providence, as the heralds and forerunners of godliness; are necessary to complete the proof and to preserve the soundness of Christianity; may be rendered ministers to faith, by helping to unbrutalize and humanize mankind; and, without pretending to sanctify them, may lead them forwards to the portals of sacred thought, and deliver them over to the direction of better guides. We see in the Eastern Magi prostrating themselves at the feet of the infant Saviour, the truest emblem, and perhaps the designed example, of science doing its homage and paying its tribute to religion. We urge, that although the mind, in stimulating its excursive energies, must always be on its guard against itself, still there is no antipathy between knowledge and piety, no alliance between spiritual illumination and mental darkness. We contend, that, unless we would behold the land parcelled out unto profligate men and female devotees, its knowledge sceptical and its religion superstitious; would see the ministers of Protestantism regarded by the active intelligence of England in the same light as the monks and friars by the self-styled philosophers of the continent; the most fatal of all errors must be for the clergy to throw scorn upon the treasures of human information and endowment, without a competent acquaintance with that which they affect to despise: while, on the other hand, it must be a glorious advantage at all periods, and more especially at a period such as the present, that one conspicuous feature in the enlightenment of a country should be the recognized character of its established church.

Such being our sentiments, we state them without disguise or dread, although there are others who may be far from deeming

them conducive to the welfare of that sacred and time-hallowed institution which it is our common object to preserve. Others, indeed, would rely chiefly, if not altogether, upon projects and modes of action, which we have hitherto by design excluded from the category of remedial and tutelary measures. Some bid us, with a loud voice, which has found many echoes, revive the dormant spirit of Protestantism in our land. We trust that the true spirit of our Protestantism will never be extinguished, will never slumber nor sleep. But there is another spirit abroad, even the spirit of a persecuting enmity, the spirit of a fanatical and puritanical intolerance, the spirit of a turbulent irregularity and impatience of discipline, which we, as Church of England Protestants, can contemplate only with dread. Some would call out for greater exertions in the political arena, and would wish the accents of Church-of-Englandism to resound with more impressiveness and more frequency in the deliberations of the legislature, and in the exhortations from the pulpit. Here we would endeavour to clear away some obscurity, because we believe that we have ourselves been misunderstood. Never can public affairs be "*ordered and settled*" in a realm upon "*the best and surest*," or upon any good and sure "*foundations*," unless respect is had to the "*godliness*," as well as to the "*wealth and peace*," of a people. Nor is it easy to estimate aright the pernicious effects of a low state or standard of religious feeling upon political and legislative discussions. But a wise man will understand both the intermixture and the separation of religion and civil polity. God forbid that a sense of religion should be excluded from our politics; but God forbid, also, that our politics should form a large ingredient in our religion. We want a Christian laity: we want Christian electors, who will choose Christian senators. But these we shall be more likely to attain by having not too political a clergy. We want religious politicians; for irreligious and godless politicians are the bane and the curse, the scourge and the plague-spot, of a country: but, we repeat, although we want religious politicians, we do *not*, for the most part, want political religionists. Exclusive and one-sided allegations, we are careful to avoid; and only children, or dreamers, will say, that emergencies can never arise, when theological topics are to be introduced into the senate, and political into the pulpit; precisely because religion and politics are two vast and kindred sciences, having a common basis of truth in the designs of Providence and the constitution of human nature, and destined to an indissoluble connection, so long as man shall remain as he is, and so long as his present is bound up with his eternal condition. But our capital study should be, rather to raise the lower science, which is politics, to the level of the higher,

which is religion, than to sink the higher to the level of the lower; rather to subordinate our politics to our religion, and test them often by its principles, than to make our religion, as a *cheval de bataille*, subservient to our politics. For these surely are not convertible propositions. But the question, it may be argued, is one of time; that is, not about a principle itself, but about its present application. All allow that exigencies may occur, when questions of state do actually become questions of religion: the only point in dispute is, whether such an exigency has already arrived. Now to pretend that there are no indications of a spirit hostile to the Church, that there are no reasonable apprehensions of attack from some men who have views of religion different from our own, and also from other men who have views in which religion has no part, is, it may be said with great semblance of correctness, to shut up at once our eyes, and our ears, and our understandings. Some of our foregoing observations have been brought forward to show that the Church is like a beleaguered fortress, which forces, previously separate, have combined to overthrow. But still the assaults are as yet made, at least overtly and directly, against the secularities, far more than against the spiritualities, of the Church. Still, therefore, let our defence, while it is earnest, be appropriate. Let our statesmen deal with these things in the houses of parliament; and let our clergy meddle with them rather by the quiet exercise of their franchise as citizens, than by wielding the artillery of Heaven, and making any strong demonstrations in the house of God. Where the sectarian, or the papist, or the infidel, is wrong as to his creed, let us show that he is wrong: where he is wrong as to his views of ecclesiastical polity, and the connection between church and state, let us also show that he is wrong. Where Scripture has spoken, let us appeal to Scripture; but where Christianity has left points to be decided as questions in the science of government and the regulation of human society, let us draw our weapons from the armoury of historical and philosophical knowledge, being assured that religion cannot then be introduced as the arbiter of political disputes, without something of distortion and desecration. The season *may* be at hand when the utmost power of a religious impulse must be communicated to our political movements; but, even then, let our religious impulses be not adverse to our system of Church-government, or kick against the authority of the prelates of our Establishment; and, in the mean time, let them be kept, as a sacred guard, in reserve, ready for use, but not put forward on any less important occasion. A tremendous overthrow may soon be menaced to our civil and religious liberty, our hearths and our altars, the cause of Christ and of his Gospel; and then, indeed, whether as laymen on the stage of public life, or as

clergymen, even in our temples, let us lift up, in a holy warfare, the banner of the living God: but in the mean time, let these burning emotions rather be kept alive within the heart by Christian charity and Christian devotion; or, at least, let them be prudently exhibited, although intensely felt; and, generally, let us trust and pray that politicians may be multiplied among us, who are men of fervent piety, and men of a calm and large-minded sagacity—men who love the Church, and men also who have taken pains to understand its genuine excellencies, and gain a true insight into all its interests.

There are others, again, who think,—and so far, as has been seen, we are inclined to coincide with their opinion,—that much less is to be done for the preservation of the Church by any statesmanship or any political exertions of the moment, than by the superior organization and efficacy of the Church itself—which must be a gainer both by the work and by its re-action—in creating a higher race of politicians, and rearing, upon a pure and spiritual faith, a loftier pitch of public and private virtue. After what we have just said, it must be needless for us to declare again, how vast an importance we attach to the increase of persons among us, at once judicious and devout, who bring the spirit of the Gospel into the business of their daily life, and are influenced in the transactions of this world by the considerations of another. Hence we can never press with too strenuous an advocacy, the necessity of a thoroughly *efficient administration of the Church*. This is the true way to inspire the laity with a just appreciation of its value. In matters of Church as of state, the practical and felt conclusion of nine persons out of ten, is that

“Whate’er is best administer’d is best.”

Men can judge of the administration as partially developed to them in its details, whose thoughts can never mount up to any general theory. Most perfectly, therefore, can we understand the men who tell us, that the *primum mobile*, the very mainspring, under Providence, of saving the Church, is an unblemished purity of character, and an augmented diligence of exertion in the clergy. The Church must be preserved in its maturity by the same means, which cradled it in its infancy, and nurtured it in its youth:—even the unconquerable and indefatigable energy of living men,—by their self-dedication and self-devotion of themselves to their holy office, fervent in business, indeed serving the Lord:—by the glow of spiritual-mindedness spreading its sacred contagion from heart to heart,—by the immolation of profane thoughts and carnal ambitions upon the altar of God. If these things be wanting, how, men may well ask,

shall the Church be saved? Will politicians save it on the floor of the senate? Will ingenious arguments and eloquent declamations save it? Will the theoretical wisdom of its polity or its doctrines save it? Not more than the beauty of a corpse will save it from putridity and decay!—Alas, nothing will save it:—no skill, no statesmanship, no oratory, no logic, no rhetoric; no mechanical or external reforms, if the inward vitality is gone, if it is no longer respected and beloved, no longer enthroned in the reverence and affection of the people;—if it is left without that breathing proof of its excellence which can only consist in the personal holiness, and the individual dispositions, of the men and the women, the clergy and the laity, who are attached to its communion. Assuredly, therefore, we cannot lay too much stress upon the unutterable moment of personal behaviour,—in every member of the Church of England, and in its ordained ministers most of all;—especially when we reflect, how much, and how often, opinions of the Church in the aggregate are only opinions of one or two individuals generalized and generally expressed; how the universal character of an order of men is measured by some local criterion; how the barometer of favour rises, or falls, points to fair or foul, not according to the mean temperature of a realm, but from the atmosphere immediately surrounding it: how the estimate formed of all the pastors of the Establishment depends upon the minister of the spot: how a good clergyman may be almost omnipotent in his parish, and stop the inroads of dissent and disaffection; while a bad one, or an indifferent one, opens their floodgates as with his own hand, and generates infidels, generates unchristian and anti-christian wishes, by generating the belief that the teachers of religion are hypocrites, and that their piety is but a cloak and visor.

But, while we feel how many awful consequences are suspended upon the personal character of the clergy of a land, we have not put the improvement of that character in the foreground of our picture; as if there now existed some striking and palpable and general defect. We are far, very far, from admitting this to be the case. Nor, whatever be the imperfections, and frailties, and faults of human nature, whatever the commission of offences, or the omission of duties, even in the ministers of the Gospel, has the nation to weep over so deplorable a calamity.

Neither have we any great fellowship of feeling with other men, who demand that more of animation and force should be thrown into their regular ministrations of the Church; and who call out for a more attractive and impassioned style of preaching, which will draw crowds to hear, and, through hearing, to believe

and repent. We hold, certainly, that, for the mere effects upon the strength and safety of the Establishment, clergymen of the Church of England can hardly devote too much care, or take too much trouble, in the composition and delivery of their discourses; and we have already urged the mischief which would accrue, if the preachers of the Christian religion were found, not simply in biblical and professional knowledge, but in their general range of ideas, and in their general extent of information, behind and below the intellectual average of the age. But we cannot assent to the proposition, whether we speak positively or comparatively, that the Church is now widely damaged by the inefficiency of its ministers in the pulpit. We cannot think that tameness is the fault of the day. We have almost more fear from the means which may be employed to produce religious excitement, and its constant companion, religious dissipation.

Still less can we condescend to notice with applause the stale, and absurd, and almost exploded clamour, "strip the Church of its superfluous riches, which are only temptations to laziness and luxury;" or the vapid jokes about the rubicund obesity of parsons, and the pampered drones who enjoy all the honey in the hive. Certain recommendations, which we have ventured to suggest, by placing and keeping before the public eye the real state of the case, may do something for the entire confusion and banishment of these childish and cuckoo cries: and infinitely more may be expected from measures, which have been adopted in far higher quarters, and of which the execution is already commenced.

The same remarks will apply to many alleged abuses, which are supposed to weaken and contaminate the Establishment. We need not allude, again, to the imagined cankers of pluralities and non-residence; for these are known to be in the course of extinction. But let us take, by way of example, the abuse of patronage. On this point, too, we might ask, is any *abuse* likely to continue? But the desire of some is to make patronage change hands. Their *panacea* for the Church is the popular election of its ministers. The congregation ought to choose, not the king or the bishop to appoint. This, however, is one of those enticing projects, now afloat upon the surface of religious society, which we are unwilling to countenance:—sincerely and unfeignedly as we wish, that so great may be the force of individual principle, and so pervading the power of public opinion, that no patron, and no body of patrons, will venture to nominate an incumbent, or a preacher, unacceptable to a Christian congregation on any just ground of incapacity, or immorality, or other unfitness.

And so of a hundred others. The reason will be evident why we entertain no sanguine expectation of benefits from any schemes for the re-admittance of the Wesleyan and other Methodists into the bosom of the Church on the principle of mutual concession. Glad should we be—earnestly and devoutly glad—to see them re-attached to the object of their ancient love. But the attempt, we fear, would be found impracticable; and would end, as ecclesiastical conferences have generally ended, in a rebound of greater estrangement on the side of both parties. Nor would it be easy to conjecture where the consequences would stop, if the Church once stooped to make conditions for the return of those who have seceded, when on the old terms they are always at liberty to come back. It might likewise happen, that the serious contemplation of such a project might tend to draw men off from the mighty work of bringing the whole land under the spiritual tillage of the Establishment—a work, of which the accomplishment is hopeless indeed, if Churchmen, instead of putting their own hands to the plough, are fixing their eyes upon other quarters; yet a work quite possible, if attempted aright. For what ought we to think impossible to the Church of England, with all the means and appliances at its command, when we reflect what Wesley, and individuals like Wesley have accomplished, burning to revive religion in a land, yet beginning in the teeth of obstructions apparently insurmountable, with resources miserably scanty, with friends few and unknown, and with scarcely a single gleam of assistance and encouragement?

Our readers may well think that we have written too much; yet, after all, they ought rather to thank us for our omissions. Schemes for the preservation of the Church,—though their contrivers, by the way, are too apt to state one question, and then deal with another,—are “thick as the leaves in Valombrosa,” multitudinous as the stars or the sands; or more at least in number than we have either power, or leisure, or patience, or inclination to count. These schemers are, for the most part, far bolder counsellors than ourselves. They would aspire to re-model, where we only seek to uphold. They talk of Church Reform, but their aim is Church transformation. For there are, indeed, some men, who are never happy but in disturbing and disarranging, and taking up the plants to see whether they grow. As to the Church, many of them would fairly come under the penalties of the cutting and maiming act; for they would leave nothing in it un mutilated by their knives of dashing and slashing awkwardness. They would talk of only detaching the unsound portions from the sound, and lopping off the useless members, and pouring into the veins the vigour of fresh blood. But they would really go

upon the Hibernian system of improving the child by changing it at nurse. We have little sympathy with such projects. We are not in quest of novelties. Where accommodations must be made in regard to the Dissenters, the legislature will undertake them; and they are, perhaps, even now in progress. Where adjustments must be framed in the internal economy of the Establishment, there are commissioners already appointed. As for the several schemes of private manufacture, we have no more disposition to criticise them in detail, than we have to examine all the plans which have ever been proposed for paying off the national debt. We must take the liberty to doubt, whether the vast and complicated matters pertaining to a national Church,—especially when there will be some tampering with an Establishment already existing,—afford the fittest subject for every tyro and novice to make his first essay in the grand art of projectorship. For ourselves, at least, we have no wish or intention to take out a patent for a pet model of ecclesiastical institutions, put together upon new and scientific principles. We shall not display our taste in the invention of fancy articles. We shall have no bill to bring in for amending the doctrines of the Church of England, or altering the Liturgy, or planing away part of the services. The question before us is simply and solely, how is the Church to be saved? not how is the Church to be remodelled? Therefore we would adhere to the Reformation: but we would not talk of *completing* the Reformation, or carrying into effect what are conjectured, at this distance of time, to have been the ulterior intentions of the Reformers. We would cleave to the Articles, but not go beyond the Articles: and we would endeavour to arrive at their real significance in reading them by the light of ecclesiastical history, and gaining the best information in our power as to the design with which they were compiled, and the errors against which they were directed. There are some whose ambition seems to be, not merely to meddle with the present and the future of the Church, but, as it were, to annihilate the past: and not merely to treat as unsubstantial toys, removable at pleasure, its essential institutions, but to dig a grave for its history itself. We have been brought up at the feet of other guides. Our heart's desire is to preserve the tenets and polity of the Church of England, in the integrity of their main and fundamental distinctions. We would even say, "Better to retain these without the Establishment, than the Establishment without these." With these things remaining to her, cut away, if you please, the connection with the legislature, but you cannot destroy the highest honours of the Episcopal Church. We are not at all sure, but that amidst the "new scenes and changes," amidst the "varieties of untried being," through which our country, with its

constitution, has to pass, the voluntary system may be one. But our anxiety is, therefore, only the more profound, that, if the Church be no longer moored to the State, but set adrift upon the billows of individual volition, still, amidst the crash of her political, she may retain her spiritual, existence; and still be as a landmark to millions of Christians, although no more the recognized instructress of an entire people. Yes: thus the Episcopal Church would be still a light upon the hill, a beacon upon the promontory, to prevent many a religious shipwreck. Thus, even if thrown down, she might be re-instated in her place, in any sane and lucid interval of the public mind; or, otherwise, amidst the submersion of her wealth, and the loss of her ascendancy, she might secure from the deep abyss those priceless things, which are indestructible by the recklessness of senators and the madness of the multitude:—those heavenly and everlasting treasures, which no storms of faction can rend, and no billows of popular fury can overwhelm.

On many accounts, therefore, the question of re-modelling—for men would go very far beyond reforming—the Church, is one with which we will have nothing to do. It is a question which we will not entertain. We doubt even whether we are competent—whether we have a right—to entertain it. It may be a very fine speculation in itself, and for those whom it may concern; but it does not concern *us*. If men wish to signalise themselves in this way, we can only recommend them to betake themselves forthwith to some new and distant colony, where they may stamp their impress upon the whole institutions of some nascent empire, and become the memorable founders of a civil and ecclesiastical dynasty; or else to send over their church institutes, legibly written on fine foolscap paper, to some freshly discovered country; as Jeremy Bentham devised, out of his teeming brain, forms of government for the South Americans. But *here* they have been anticipated. Yet, in our eyes, it is a real misfortune, that several of the projects broached among us would utterly destroy the identity of the Church; and, even if practicable and successful, would not half so much constitute its preservation, as the transmigration of the soul could be fairly considered a prolongation of the concrete existence. If a man told us, that his aim was to save the British constitution, and at the same time spread upon our table an elegant pattern for a republic, we might be exceedingly obliged to him; but we are very much afraid that we should laugh in his face. And are not the cases parallel? Have no plans of *Church* republicanism been submitted to the nation for approval, which would be no more a continuance, or even a reform, of the existing Establishment, than the substitution of a republic would be a

preservation of the British monarchy? The most important problem of the day is, how to improve and strengthen the efficiency of the Church, the primordial elements of its doctrinal character and its internal organization remaining undisturbed? But we throw this problem into irretrievable perplexity, and render its solution impossible, if we begin by mixing up with it computations which belong to another. The preservation of the Church is not the same problem as the re-construction of the Church. There is a radical difference in the very end to be attained. There comes, then, the preliminary question to be settled first, namely, which of the two ends we are to seek? We say at once, the preservation, and not the re-construction. We say, that the latter is not needed: we say, that, if it be attempted, the first step indeed may be taken, the step of demolition, but who can insure the rest? When men have pulled down the ancient edifice, which a thousand events have hallowed and consecrated, and on which centuries have shed their mellowing tints, do they imagine that they will be allowed to put one stone upon another according to the rules and proportions of their own favourite architecture? Is there no danger that they will be left without refuge or shelter, to sit down in helpless lamentation over the old structure which they have taken to pieces? They may indeed create a chaos; but it is extremely problematical, whether, out of this chaos of their creation, they will be able to mould the confused and convulsed elements afresh into a new world, in conformity with their ideal prototype of beauty and order.

Against all schemes, therefore, which profess re-construction, or which look like re-construction, we enter our protest. The majority of them are altogether unfit for adoption in any country; there cannot be one of them which is calculated for the meridian of our own. The majority of them are, in themselves, mere misshapen deformities, in their masonry most unsound, and in their decorations most unsightly. But, if they were patterns of loveliness, with the harmony of their parts as conspicuous as the disproportion, we should still discover no place for them *here*. Every such plan, it is rather a certainty than a probability, would alienate more than it could attach; and in bringing over to the Church a new tribe of uncertain supporters, would almost shatter to atoms the affection of its staunchest friends. But we object to them all, in the abstract, and on principle. It really matters little, whether they are, in themselves, clever and well-conceived, or, as usually happens—for a wise man will abstain from making them—wild, rash, and incongruous. The *re-modellers* of the Church are, in fact, among its enemies. It is one secret for the preservation and improvement of an institution, not to aim, or be

supposed to aim, at *more*. Unless plans of re-construction are undeniably required, and devised by persons who are entitled to propose them, their very promulgation must do harm. They excite hopes of triumph in those who wish to overturn; they awaken suspicions of insecurity and corruption in those who are unstable rather than ill disposed. They lead off the thoughts from the right consideration of that solemn inquiry, how we may guard the system as it is, and make the most of it. They distract the minds of Churchmen from the true object of pursuit; and they habituate the minds of others to discussions which cannot even be agitated without danger. To a certain extent, things are, as opinion is concerning them. But here a shock is communicated, by the mere topic which is handled, to all opinion in favour of the perpetuity of the existing Church. If the press groaned, week after week, with projects, founded perhaps on very ingenious theories, for re-modelling the House of Lords, we can easily suppose the nature of their effects upon the safety and comfort of that branch of the legislature. Can our empirical speculators, then, be so busy about the Church, without some similar tendency? Either, like quack doctors, they exaggerate the virulence, and sometimes feign the existence of the malady, that they may gain more credit for the cure; or, at least, they lead men to judge of the awful malignity of the disease by the extreme sharpness of the remedies; and, when they see at once the multitude and the inefficacy of the modes of treatment prescribed, to fancy that the case may as well be given over as desperate; for that there is no chance of saving life.

But it may be asked, have not *we* been making our own plan of Church reform? No: we draw a distinction. We have no wish to undo, that we may show our skill in erecting. We have cautiously refrained from offering one single suggestion, which is not quite consistent with the present constitution and working of the Church. We have not meddled with even the proposal of matters which should emanate from another source, and be backed by far higher authority; and we have rather turned aside from the discussion of the new provisions and regulations, of which the pressure of circumstances may demand the introduction; because it is far better, we conceive, that they should be left in the hands, to which the sovereign power has intrusted them. We may well, therefore, while we deal with the question, how the Church is to be preserved by augmenting its efficiency, deprecate the abstraction of the mind from an inquiry serviceable to the Establishment, by attempts to devise something else which is to be substituted in its room.

In speaking, too, of the preservation of the Church, we have

not formed to ourselves any wretched, and narrow, and sordid conception of either term. We mean the preservation of all the characteristics and all the glories of the Church of England:—the preservation of its doctrines, the preservation of its discipline, the preservation of its learning, the preservation of its theology, the preservation of its literary pre-eminence. Moreover, as we have said, we have neither hope, nor care, for the preservation of the Church of England, unless it be built upon the same rock with the universal Church of Christ. We pay no reverence to its tenets and articles, but from deeming them to be the fundamental and essential truths of Christianity itself. But we verily believe, that we are defending these in seeking to uphold the Establishment; and for this cause we supplicate, and we trust, that an all-merciful God will not suffer it to be laid prostrate by its enemies. We have reasoned throughout upon the hypothesis, that a man is not a worse Christian for being a good Churchman; and that to keep inviolate and in its vigour a system wise and scriptural in its principles, while capable of indefinite expansion in its effects, and to promote the force and directness of its instrumentality, cannot be to depart from the charity which would embrace mankind.

In recapitulation, then, and in conclusion, we ask once more, how is the Church to be saved? Alas, it is too easy to perceive, how it will *not* be saved. It will not be saved by a stupid insensibility, until the tempest actually bursts; but neither will it be saved by rhetorical flourishes and acrimonious invectives, which can conduce neither to religious spirituality nor to political security. It will not be saved—however pitiable may have been the misconduct of some Romish priests in Ireland, and however terrible the exercise of their spiritual dominion over their flocks—by exasperating harangues, which may at last goad millions of an excitable people into a national and anti-English hostility. It will not be saved by crude and fantastic projects of change, run up by scores in the headlong rashness of inexperience and self-conceit. It will not be saved by Clergymen of the Establishment acting as a body of *Independents*:—not moving onwards as parts of one harmonious scheme in their appointed orbit, gravitating to a common centre, and to each other; but either rushing towards new points of attraction, or flying off, singly, as into the regions of infinite space, with some wild, and lawless, and erratic course. It will not be saved by the concession to Sectarians of the very principle on which it rests, as if the Church was like a condemned criminal, who must commit suicide in order to avoid execution. It cannot be saved, if men alienate themselves more and more from their brethren in the Church, to form alliances, offensive and defensive, with the children of Non-conformity; introducing new

classifications and divisions, dissipating the feelings and exploding the usages proper to an establishment, deranging all local appointments, undermining the foundations of the parochial system, setting ecclesiastical discipline and episcopal government at defiance, and trampling all regular subordination under foot. As long as professed adherents of the Establishment make, as if by preference, other bonds of connection and lines of demarcation than Church-membership, and seem to look upon the (so called) evangelical Dissenter, with more favour than the (so called) orthodox Churchman, we are seriously at a loss to know what can be done. If the object were to dismember the Church, and disunite its component parts, in order to put it together again in some other shape; or if it were to league one section of the Church with certain persuasions among the Sectarians in a crusade against the other section of the Church; such men might be wise in their generation; although there are thousands, probably, who would neither give nor take quarter in contending against such a confederacy, or as it would be termed conspiracy:—they might be wise, we mean, in their choice of means, and in their method of employing them. But they can hardly suppose that their process will tend to the efficiency of the Establishment, if its constitution is to remain intact, and its polity unaltered. Thus, at least, the strength arising from combination must be forfeited; and the Church, we might almost say, must act at a mechanical disadvantage.

If the Church is to be defended, we must defend the principles which belong to it, and on the maintenance of which alone the Church itself is maintainable; not unwilling, indeed, if the actual necessity exists, to sacrifice a part for the preservation of the rest; yet taking care, that it shall not be such a part, the loss of which involves the loss of the whole. If the Church is to be saved, it is to be saved only by making *what is, the basis of what is to be*; not by being guilty of the fraud, or the misnomer, of pretending to preserve, where we aspire to rebuild. It can only be saved by bending our undiverted and undivided efforts to the task of occupying by the national Establishment the whole ground of the national territory; not by resting contented with its occupation, or the chance of its occupation, by other Christian cultivators. Our part, whether we are labourers in a parish, or look in our speculations over a more extended sphere, is to endeavour to bring all the population into the flock of the Church; yet, while keeping this object constantly in view, to pursue it with every feeling of individual kindness and consideration, studying, perhaps, even more courteousness and mildness of personal deportment,

because our ecclesiastical views may seem less facile, and conciliatory, and complaisant.

The very key-note of our opinions is *completeness and unity of knowledge followed by completeness and unity of action*. The first thing is to understand what a national Church really means, what is its design, and what are its operations; the next thing is to make our conduct square with its true signification, and take our share in the practical attainment of its ends. We have therefore ventured to propose the formation and annual publication of a *Church Report*, which may do much to fuse the clergy together, and serve as a manual for Churchmen, without having any admixture, which would vitiate its character, or impair its utility: we have suggested the necessity of taking a comprehensive and accurate survey of all that the Church is, and all that it does, and all that it wants; of regarding it, both as one vast machine, of which all the parts must act *together*, and also as a variety of parts, each of which has its separate and peculiar action in subordination to the whole: we have advised some sacrifices for the *extension* of the Establishment, the erection and endowment of new places of worship, not as proprietary chapels or on the voluntary principle, but in unison with the regular system of ecclesiastical government;—great and even gigantic efforts for the education and instruction of the people in connection with the Church; the adequate support of Church-Societies, the completion of their designs, and yet care and caution in the institution and proceedings of new associations:—and some other matters which we need not repeat, having for their aim the increased efficiency and stability of the Church, so as to provide both for simultaneous action upon all points, and for successive action in future generations, when our own shall have passed away. We have touched—perhaps, we ought to have done more—upon the need of interesting the laity, and engaging their active services, in the cause of the Church: and we have presumed to speak of the tone and temper, which Church politicians ought to take;—even that temper of concentrated resolution, equally remote from panic and from violence, which is always a calm and equable and consistent thing, because it knows its purposes, and is determined to execute them, in the spirit of Christian zeal, and yet of Christian forbearance and Christian charity.

We do not say that these measures will save the Church of England; for the issue is in the hands of Almighty God. But we think that, humanly speaking, they afford the best chance of saving it. They appear to us to proceed upon the true principle of conservative reform; making the due distinction between administrative and organic changes: adding to the present foun-

dations what circumstances require to be added, removing what necessity or prudence bids to be removed, yet keeping the entire spirit of the institution itself; putting helps rather than obstacles in the way of any safe amelioration, in character with the original design; not wantonly disturbing a single brick or a single ornament; yet evincing a frank and hearty determination to supply deficiencies, and to remedy abuses;—yet abjuring theoretically and practically, the wish for the perpetuation of abuses, and the mischievous obstinacy which would waste its energies in resisting inevitable, or worse than waste them in opposing salutary alterations. These measures appear to us to be portions of one coherent scheme, connected among themselves, and useful to each other. They likewise appear to us feasible and easy of adoption. For, although their operation cannot be too extensive, and all may participate in bringing them to bear, yet they do not depend upon any vast and improbable combination of agencies, nor need they stop for a complication of wheels and springs, which must “move altogether, if they move at all:” but their execution may be begun to-morrow, and every man may do something, without waiting for his neighbour, provided only he is master of himself, and has the control of his own conduct.

Even that part hangs upon individual volition, which most demands the conjunction of many. We allude to the principle that Churchmen in Church matters should act unitedly among themselves, yet *by* themselves and *for* themselves. This principle we have pressed, and we must press yet again, as we finish our remarks, at the risk of some misconstruction and some obloquy; for it is proper to every religious denomination which has specific tenets, and is actually indispensable to every religious establishment which would assert a national and distinctive authority. With Dissenters we are rather Christian competitors; with Churchmen we ought to be Christian coadjutors.

What, then, is the general aspect, which the Church of England ought to present? The aspect, surely, of a Church which knows how to preserve that solid depth of erudition, that consistent soundness of theology, and that commanding moderation and dignity of character, by which, in other times, it became the human bulwark of the Protestant religion, and stood alone in its unscathed integrity, when ruin fell upon other Churches, as if the lava and the cinders of a moral volcano were covering them for ever. What should be its aspect towards the legislature? Surely, the aspect of a Church, which would petition, which would expostulate in all legitimate methods, and by all legitimate organs, against any invasion of its rights, and still more against any diminution of its spiritual usefulness; but yet would con-

form itself with calmness and temper to circumstances brought about by constitutional means, striving that neither party should exhibit the sad and unbecoming spectacle of the actual Church of a country at variance with its actual legislation. What should be its aspect towards the intelligence and the science of the times? Surely, the aspect of a Church, which would show that it has a due knowledge and appreciation of human acquisitions in every region of mental research; but that the Churchman differs from his antagonist, because he has also some knowledge and appreciation of far higher, and more glorious, and more comprehensive things, to which the infidel is a stranger in heart and understanding. What should be its aspect towards the people at large? Surely the aspect of a Church, which has nothing aggressive, except a strenuous and sacred aggressiveness against the unbelief and the depravity of mankind;—the aspect of a Church, which has for its mighty object to improve, to instruct, to purify, to bless; to promote “peace, unity, and concord” in a realm by the lessons of faith and piety; and to fit all, who accept its ministrations, for earthly duties and heavenly enjoyments. What should be its aspect towards other Christian communions? Surely, the aspect of a Church, which can distinguish between persons and opinions, respecting conscientiousness while it opposes error; and, also, between the prosecution of other and indifferent affairs, and the conduct of matters, which appertain to a Church, and with which ecclesiastical doctrine or polity is implicated. One sentence will explain our views. If the Church is to be saved, the pulses of that Church must beat equably and regularly: but they cannot beat equably or regularly, while there is a fever raging in the veins:—if the Church is to be saved, that Church must act with wisdom, with charity, with efficiency, and with vigour: but there is no wisdom in inconsistency, there is no charity in passion, there is no efficiency in disunion, there is no vigour in self-exhausting intemperance.

We must remember, too, that the strength, the authority, the safety of an establishment will be at last determined mainly by the general character of its proceedings, and by the estimate which is formed of it by reflecting and dispassionate persons, and by the public mind at large in its cooler and more sober moments. For a brief and delirious period, violence, by the excitement which it causes, may communicate a stronger impulse in the direction which is required. But the re-action is terrible: the heat passes away: the vehemence defeats and spends itself: the intoxication is succeeded by shame and languor: and, in return for the possibility of a momentary advantage, the theme of an eternal argument against the Church is furnished to its adversaries, and

a mark is set upon it, at which the finger of reprehension and derision may point for evermore :—while a steady moderation, not merely professed but exhibited, even if seeming to bring upon it a comparative obscurity for an instant, still carries it onward with a quiet and increasing dominion, and invests it with a mantle of genuine respect. Who will eventually have done the deepest and most irreparable injury to the cause of the Whigs? We answer at once, Mr. O'Connell, by the stigma of virulence and extravagance, which his connexion with it, and support of it, attaches to that party. Who will eventually have inflicted the most fatal wound on the Roman Catholics, as a religious body in Ireland? We answer at once Dr. M'Hale and priests like Dr. M'Hale,—Father Kehoe, for instance,—who affix odium on the whole sect by the folly and the ferocity of their words and actions. We, as Protestants, and as conservative politicians, if we merely considered the triumph of our party, might well rejoice over the inebriation of such men. That inebriation is our gain: but the imitation of it would be our disgrace and our downfall. If we even put aside higher and holier inducements, let not *us injure ourselves* by rendering unto them curse for curse, and railing for railing. Let them heap the coals of fire upon their own heads! Let us, standing upon our own ground, and fighting our own battle, hold fast those glorious principles of truth, and toleration, and firmness, which have made the Church of England the great buttress of both liberty and loyalty in the land.

Whether our words shall be quite thrown to the winds, or have weight with any of our Christian brethren, we have delivered our own consciences, and uttered our honest persuasions in the hope of doing good. All may be well, if Churchmen,—we repeat the words advisedly,—are true to themselves and to each other. But strange and shallow doctrines are afloat, the prevalence of which will be "*the beginning of the end.*" We have spoken of the avowed enemies of the Establishment; but what would *they* be, if there was nothing more to dread from inward weakness, and disunion, and even disorganization? The real danger is, lest the outward attack should fall upon the Church, while it is labouring in the very throes of an internal revolution; while hidden and subterraneous fires are helping to upheave it with a tremendous earthquake. Perils beset us; and we distrust many among the plans of defence. Lord Winchelsea, for example, with other men of equal sincerity and probity, have proposed one vast and homogeneous (how should it be homogeneous?) Protestant (it will be called Orange) Association, to be composed of Churchmen and Non-conformists, as a counteracting power against the devices and encroachments of the Papists. The

Papists and their encroachments let us earnestly repel:—but to our eyes the Church of England is, for such purposes, a great association beyond which we need not go. Of the two landmarks which we would set up, as the one is, that we ought to think of the preservation, and not the re-construction, of the Establishment; so the other is, that the quiet combination, the firm attraction of cohesion, between the clergy and the laity within the Church itself, is something more feasible and more eligible, than a formal association of all descriptions of Protestants. Can we forget, how, in other times, our Church, after having thrown off the tyranny of Rome, was overturned by Puritans and Independents? Can we be ignorant, how thousands are now clamorously protesting, or insidiously hinting, that our Establishment is still disfigured by the marks of the Beast, and that too many of the rags of Popery are still sewn into the garment of Episcopacy? And shall we not beware, lest, on the one side, we should be plunged with our allies into embarrassments which may become inextricable; and lest, on the other side, the Church should be committed by the intemperance of her sons, and almost overwhelmed in that fiery hail of odium, which falls as with a deluge upon obnoxious societies. Already are we growing accustomed to see contumelies heaped upon the Establishment for the unauthorized acts of unaccredited individuals, who seem “*frighted from their propriety*”—acts, which in reality are an infraction of the rules of the Church; which moderate Churchmen, high even more than low, have regarded with a deep astonishment and a bitter regret; and which, assuredly, have been most surprising to us poor bigots, bred up in the school of a prelatical orthodoxy: who are silly enough to wish that our conclusions should be linked to our premises; and that our ecclesiastical practice should be regulated by our ecclesiastical constitution.

What is it to say, that it is *too late* for the Church to take this high ground;—*too late* to assume an attitude of domination and exclusiveness:—for that its high and palmy days are over, and that its night of trouble and disaster is at hand: and that it only remains, therefore, for us as Churchmen to conform our policy to our weakness, not perhaps by artifice or finesse, but by a more supple and pliant management, which would entwine itself with some external support? Oh! it is too early, we trust, for the Church to be compelled to lean for aid upon the Sectarians. We trust that things have not come to this pass already. For, if they have come, how has it happened? Yet the objection might be valid, if we wished the Church to exact terms from the Dissenters, which it is in no condition to enforce: or if we had recommended a haughty, and arrogant, and

imperious demeanour. But we recommend the reverse. We recommend a mild and uniform deportment, acknowledging with thanks the good wishes expressed by other religious persuasions; recognizing the activity of their Christian efforts; rejoicing, where they uphold what the Establishment upholds, and oppose what it opposes; ready to receive with open arms all, who would return to its standards and leave the motley forces of sectarianism: yet not altogether making common cause, where the cause cannot be altogether common; yet not so co-operating with any Dissenters of the day, as to be fairly responsible for their excesses; yet not taking them, as it were, into partnership; because the coalition must lead to eventual collision, unless one party or the other is to act against its secret convictions; and because streams cannot flow together, unless the direction of their current is the same.

What is it, moreover, to say, that our views as to the Church established among ourselves are in many parts of the British Empire quite impracticable to their full extent; as,—to put Canada out of the question,—even in Ireland, or in the East or the West Indies? Our remarks, it is evident, are, mainly and primarily, applicable to England: and we should have to write a volume, instead of an article, if we were to fence them about with all the qualifications and exceptions which particular contingencies might render advisable. Yet, where, from local circumstances, the Establishment must relax the strictness of its rules, it is because in those places the Establishment itself is but imperfect and half-formed. And, if there are territories abroad, where we cannot yet apply the true principles of a national church, is that a reasonable plea why we should abandon them at home? Should it not rather be our aim, to carry out by degrees the perfect action of the Establishment to the remoter provinces of the British dominions, than import the imperfect action from a distance? This at least is manifest, that, unless we maintain the integrity of the Church in England, it must inevitably perish elsewhere: and, therefore, it is our first duty to look well to our behaviour as Churchmen in that country, which to almost the whole circuit, perhaps, of Protestant Christendom, and certainly to the whole extent of our own empire, is as the metropolis of its religion.

On the whole, in the present state of things, we are as far as possible from wishing to see inaction on the part of the Church;—to see a real or affected unconcern. We wish to see Churchmen rouse themselves, and be awake. But we wish to see the activity of the Church such as becomes a national institution on which the eyes of the whole nation are intently fixed. We are far from wishing a pusillanimous, and yet fermenting, taciturnity

on the part of the Church, in the midst of false statements and evil measures, which may shake to its centre, not merely the ecclesiastical establishment, but the country at large. We wish to see the sense of the Church, and especially of its most exalted and influential members, fairly collected and extensively made known. We wish Churchmen to speak out, but to speak temperately: as remote from indifference as from virulence; neither keeping back their opinions, until the day is passed when the expression of them would do good; nor hurling them fiercely against their adversaries, and tipping, as it were, the shafts with poison. We wish to see them neither neglect the proper occasions, and the proper channels, for making their sentiments understood and felt; nor resort to ways, and times, and places, unsuitable to their cause or their vocation. Sooner or later—probably at no distant period—the good sense of the people of Great Britain will appreciate such a course, and form a just judgment between the violence of one party and the firmness of the other; although they will be utterly bewildered, and perhaps utterly estranged, if both parties are violent alike, and, on the score of intemperance, they find nothing to choose between them. In fine, the main prop of all that is valuable and venerable in Protestantism must be the efficiency of the Church of England: and that efficiency must be the result of steadiness in the Church, and of *union among Churchmen*. In connection, too, with union, there ought, we should say, to be the nearest possible approach to perfect conformity and perfect uniformity. Wherefore, we could ardently wish, that certain points, which there is no space left to enumerate, yet on which the existing variations of opinion and practice are deeply to be lamented, could be referred to the proper tribunal, and brought to a decisive issue:—points, which could, we think, be adjusted at once by the respective prelates, where they are matters of local or diocesan regulation; or which, where they generally concern our ecclesiastical interests, do indeed require and demand an immediate settlement by a convocation of the clergy, or rather by a synod of the archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland. We need hardly add that an united and connected *view of the Church* would be one step towards its united and connected *action*; and to that general uniformity which is so much to be desired.

It will be said, perhaps, that some of these supposed differences are merely verbal distinctions, which require not any authoritative verdict or mediation, but simply a clear enunciation in unambiguous terms. Be it so:—then let the fact be asserted, and the points ascertained. There are others, it will be said, upon which, in our present state and capacity of knowledge, per-

fect agreement is the most visionary and chimerical of expectations, while differences of opinion inflict neither mischief nor discredit upon the Church in which they occur. Be it so: then let those points be marked out and enumerated. Still there are other points of disagreement which do eat deep into the unity and integrity of the Establishment: and on these, sooner or later, there must be some judicial arbitrement. But if sooner or later there must be, why is it not at once?

Here, however, be it observed, mere general directions, are not enough:—they are utterly and lamentably insufficient. It is almost futile to lay down the position, that mutual concessions must be made; unless the nature and extent be in some measure specified of the concessions which each party is to make. It is almost futile to talk of the necessity of adjustment, unless some indication be added of the *terms* on which an adjustment will be equitable and righteous. At last, we repeat,—and if at last, why not without delay?—the prelates of the Church must give some definitive and collective opinion upon the points which divide it: there must and will be demanded, a plain declaratory statement from the competent authorities. Otherwise, if such adjudication is impossible, if no such award can be given, the mouths of those men at least ought to be stopped, who, in a hundred shapes, and by a hundred publications, have been declaring or insinuating, from within her precincts—alas, from within her sanctuaries—that the Church of England has departed from the faith, that she has begun to drink the cup of papal adulterations—that falsehood, as well as truth—that poisonous and unscriptural, as well as evangelical and saving doctrine, is maintained by her ministers and promulgated from her pulpits. If nothing else is done, we will ourselves do something: and when we next find a clergyman of the Establishment flinging about these loose and general aspersions against his brethren, we will not scruple to call down upon his head ecclesiastical censure; because we cannot conceive a graver ecclesiastical offence.—The day of disengenuous concealment, the day of studied mystification is past. The temper of the times will not bear it, more than genuine reason or genuine Christianity will bear it. It will not avail, in any way, to halt between two opinions, or to have no opinions at all, upon points which must be either true or false; and of which the truth or falsehood must be of unutterable moment to every sound understanding and every honest heart.—Many, we are well aware, will think that we press these sore and tender points injudiciously, unwisely, uncharitably: but our firm conviction immediately recurs, that a few frank and determined explanations now, may prevent the necessity of entering into a deplorable struggle hereafter, and

of directing at every ordination, to every candidate for the sacred office, the strictest and most searching inquiries as to the opinions entertained upon the most delicate questions of church-doctrine and church-polity.

It is desirable, then, on all accounts—it is more than desirable, it is indispensable, that the points in dispute within the Church should be brought to some quick and decisive settlement. There are many things, therefore, which we could wish referred to the bishops of the Establishment for their deliberate and serious adjudication. But there are others, also, to whom, and of whom, we would venture to speak. It is to us most unspeakably painful to see men, of considerable influence, although not of the very highest station—moderate men, whose interference could alone do good—not *cautiously*, for true caution would tell them that in timely interference lies the only hope of safety—not cautiously, then, but timidly, declining to interfere. It is to us beyond measure astonishing, to see men who must behold the breach in the Church widening day after day, and who must be aware of the inevitable consequences, if it widens much more; who must know that the differences are just now capable of reconciliation, but, if at all aggravated, or enlarged, or confirmed, must become irreconcilable—to see such men, not merely refusing to take any active part, as if both sides could be right, or as if the right and the wrong were a matter of no moment; but studiously and by design keeping back their opinions, when their mere expression would be of immediate use and incalculable value, as an encouragement to some, and a check to others, and a guide to all. Such men might do much towards the attainment of that union, which is the sheet-anchor of our human hopes. We have talked long of other things; but above all things union is requisite. Although the influence is reciprocal, union is necessary to them, even more than they are necessary to union. Without such union, that efficient and vigorous action of the Church, on which its very preservation depends, is plainly impossible. Would that it existed! Would that we could see how it was to be attained! Much—how very much—would we surrender for such an object:—almost all indeed, except the essential ingredients of the Church itself, and that spirit of truth and wisdom, without which no union can be lasting. Hitherto we have never made attacks upon any, except those who have attacked their brethren in the Church; and, for the future, we would keep silence from all polemical offensiveness, if others also would keep silence. The word *coalition* has often an ominous sound, most inharmonious to the ear of an honest heart; and the *thing* has often been effected when it was unprincipled, and tried when it was impracticable. Yet there are now *two*

great *coalitions*, which have become, perhaps, absolutely indispensable to the safety of the country and the Church. *The one is, a coalition between the moderate members of the Whig and Tory parties in the State: the other is, a coalition between the moderate members of the two sections in the Ecclesiastical Establishment.*

But here is the difficulty. The union which we need is the union of Church-membership—the boundaries of the Church its limits—the doctrines and discipline of the Church its foundation. But an impassable barrier is raised against this union, as long as Churchmen are planning and striving for unions of other kinds. Oh, when will the Church of England have its due? For too many years, besides the inertness and apathy observable, perhaps, in some,—besides the narrowness of view and extravagance of spirit observable, perhaps, in others—there has been in all, we apprehend, a want of co-operation and concert. Who can yet know how great and how beneficial an impression may be made by an Established Church, tolerant and yet firm; not splenetic and irascible, yet not loose and vacillating; not molesting, yet not yielding to molestation; pursuing its own way, widening and deepening its own hold upon the people, keeping its steady place between the two extremes, avoiding the flexibility which is compromise, and the virulence which is frenzy?—by the separate and yet conjoint action of such a church, all its members subservient to the general utility, yet all working in their respective stations, as if every thing depended individually upon themselves?—by many thousands of zealous, and well-educated, and conscientious clergy, by many millions of attached, and devoted, and religious laity, moving onward against the mass of scepticism and profaneness, as one compact and united body, animated by one intelligent and ardent heart? If we ask, at last, how the Church is to be saved, we would point to such a vision—for, alas, it is as yet but a vision—for an answer. At present, although we say again that there is no feeling of despair to weigh down our spirits, the very magnitude of the things at stake is abundant cause for anxiety. If the Church goes, all goes. At least, the whole constitution of the empire will be out of joint. Its aristocracy and its monarchy will hold their existence by a tenure as precarious as the life of one man when doing battle against a hundred; the hideous uproar of fierce and evil passions will be let loose upon society; and Christianity will suffer interruption, if not a temporary eclipse, by the dislocation of the system through which its blessings have been administered. For the sake, therefore, of tranquillity, for the sake of piety, for the sake of God and man, we pray that the Church of England may be preserved; and we rejoice to think that its preservation is linked with its efficiency, and its efficiency with its doctrines;

since we could never consent to sacrifice one reality of the Gospel for the consolidation of an Establishment. The Gospel, we verily believe, is necessary even to this present world; and the Church of England, we would hope, has been long a proof and a monument of the virtue which issues from the Gospel. Yet we trust that it has brighter days in reserve than it has ever witnessed. We, who are incredulous of political or private ameliorations, unless based upon religion—we, who are penetrated with the conviction that Christianity is the true engine of human improvement, the real instrument of the greatest happiness of man, would fain see one National Church planted in the souls of a population by the roots and fibres of the benefits which it confers, and carried, as an example to all others, to the utmost height of excellence and influence. Thus will be realized, more and more, the picture which Virgil has so nobly drawn—for we may not lift our thoughts to the inspirations of Isaiah—when, under the auspices of Him who is divinely born, an era shall commence more fortunate and more august, and the mighty months shall roll forward pregnant with universal good, and a new order of things shall arise subject to the benignant rule of justice, and mercy, and peace, and concord, and holiness.

ART. III.—*Memoirs of Simon Episcopius, the celebrated Pupil of Arminius, and subsequently Doctor of Divinity, and Professor of Theology in the University of Leyden; who was condemned by the Synod of Dort as a dangerous Heretic, and, with several other Ministers, was sentenced to perpetual Banishment by the Civil Authorities of Holland for holding the doctrine of General Redemption; to which is added, a brief Account of the Synod of Dort; and of the Sufferings to which the Followers of Arminius were exposed, in consequence of their attachment to his opinions.* By Frederick Calder. London: Simpkin and Marshall, and John Mason. 1835.

If there be any portion of the Reformed Church History which more than another we should gladly see erased, it is included in the records of the Dutch Church. We do not mean the detestable Persecutions of D'Alva. Men, for the most part, are purified by adversity; and the blood of the eighteen thousand martyrs which that ruthless and unsparing Bigot shed like water upon the land, tended only to irrigate the good seed, which fructified and bore a plentiful harvest in due season. But when the tyranny of Spain had passed away, and the heroic struggles of a suffering People had broken in sunder her yoke of iron, we turn with disgust from the fierce collision of angry passions which ensued

between confederates, who, instead of being disunited amongst themselves, ought to have remained firm in support of a common cause; between brethren who, being such, never should have fallen out by the way.

The times, therefore, in which Episcopus flourished, are by no means grateful to our remembrance; and however eminent were the services which he rendered to his party—however much we are inclined to prefer that party to its antagonist faction—we are not prepared to admit that any revival of the memory of the controversies in which he was engaged, is either seasonable or desirable. The student of Ecclesiastical History is, alas! far too amply provided with materials in the original documents which he *must* consult; and we do not think that to give general currency to exploded Polemics, is the readiest way to “seek Peace and to ensue it.” We therefore opened these Memoirs with considerable misgiving; but our fears were soon relieved. The work of Mr. Calder is not likely to find its way into the compendious course of modern popular reading.

Simon Bisschop, or, as according to the pedantic fashion of the times the name was Latinized, Simon Episcopus, was born at Amsterdam on January 8, 1583, during the height of the Religious contest so gloriously maintained by his Countrymen with Philip II. The unfavourable picture which contemporaries have drawn of the manners of that gloomy tyrant, are perhaps, for the most part, but little exaggerated; yet we hesitate in admitting that he was “sighted like a Basilisk,” and “could kill the innocent gazer by a look.” Mr. Calder, however, has no such misgiving; and he assures us that an Inquisitor, who had been used to dignified familiarity in his intercourse with Charles V., was so disgusted by the cold and haughty disdain with which he was received by his son on his first audience, that “he left his presence gnashing his teeth with rage, and retired to the house of the President Viglius, where he fell down, became deranged, and died shortly after in a state of madness.”—p. 10, note.

Be this as it may, the assertion of the Reformed doctrine by any Netherlander was, at the period to which we advert, attended with infinite danger; and the courage and the sincerity of Egbert Remmetzen, and of his wife, Geertruyd Jans, the worthy and honourable parents of Simon, were amply evinced by the constancy with which they adhered to their profession of Faith. The capacious memory and the ardent desire for information which Simon exhibited from his very childhood, excited a wish that he should receive a learned education; but the means of his Father, burdened with ten children, would have been wholly inadequate to the design, if he had not obtained assistance from an ancient

Burgomaster, whose name deserves remembrance as the earliest patron of the future Theologian—the Heer Corto. Under this protection, Simon advanced so rapidly in Latin and Greek at the Public Civic School for those Languages, that the Council of Amsterdam soon received him as an *alumnus* or *voesterling*; and, at a proper age, he was declared to be “fully competent, and deservedly meriting, to be sent to one of the Universities, where he might further pursue his studies in the higher branches of Literature.”

Leyden was the University selected; and thither, on terms similar to those which Arminius had accepted some years before, the young aspirant proceeded. Having passed the usual Academical course, during which period he had to lament the decease of both parents, Simon prepared to do that which an English Biographer would dismiss in four words—to “commence Master of Arts,”—but which Mr. Calder has expanded into the following *ampullatory* paragraph. We cite it not because it is of distinguished excellence *per se*; but because it may be accepted as a specimen of the general tone of the whole volume. The narrative, indeed, creeps on lazily, like some of the phlegmatic rivers of the Country to which it relates, inundating, but not fertilizing, the vast expanse of low, flat, and level plain, over which their muddy waters are overspread:—

“As the time was approaching when Episcopius must quit this seat of learning, having studied there nearly six years—the period allotted for college residence to students in the universities belonging to their High Mightinesses the States of Holland and West Friesland—he therefore deemed it necessary to have recourse to the measures adopted in such circumstances, to obtain the degree of master of arts. Having passed the examinations usual on these occasions, he was publicly honoured with this distinction on the 27th of February, by the professor of mathematics, Rudolphus Snellius; and, on the 10th of the following April, he also received from John Kucklinus, regent, and Peter Bertius, under-regent of the university, the most honourable and flattering testimonials of diligence, learning, piety, and purity of conduct.”—p. 42.

Simon, after having graduated, became exclusively devoted to the study of Theology; and, by constant attendance at the Lectures of Gomarus, Trelcatius and Arminius, he soon showed so great a proficiency in the science, that his superiority “attracted the attention of the honourable Curators of the University, and he was pronounced every way worthy, though comparatively young, to sustain the office of the Ministry.” His first probationary Sermon, as it may be considered, was delivered in the New South Church; and, although no record is left of it, a Biographer may be forgiven for supposing, that “it was highly creditable to him—

self, and produced a strong impression on the minds of his audience." It is believed to have introduced him to the friendship of Uitenbogaerd, a great Preacher of the time, whose fame, like that of many other great Preachers, seems to have existed very much *durante voce*. Meantime, the disputes on Predestination had arisen between Gomarus and Arminius. The Clergy of Leyden, for the most part, had become attached to the former, and they interposed so many delays to the ordination of Episcopus, who had adopted the opinions of the latter, that he resolved to withdraw to Franeker; where he proposed, as he pretended, to live free from the bray of controversy, and to benefit by the Hebrew Lectures of John Drusius, at that time in the zenith of his reputation.

His arrival at Franeker was expected, and had excited great sensation. On his way to Church on the Sabbath morning on which he entered the town, he was much gazed at in the streets, till one of the gathering crowd, more impatient or more impertinent than his companions, put the direct question,—“Are you Mr. Episcopus?” The affirmative circulated with rapidity, and hosts of Professors, Students and Burghers, turned out to greet him. Although he had resolved to adhere to the sound advice of Arminius, and not to engage in any of the College Disputations, the love of Polemics burned too strongly within him to permit restraint, and he publicly opposed a Thesis of Dr. Sibrandus on *Romans*, vii. Much reputation followed this first exhibition—much envy and jealousy attended a second display of controversial talent which he was induced to make after a short visit to the dying couch of Arminius. Sibrandus was again Respondent, and the subject argued was the ticklish point of Justification. The defeated Calvinists endeavoured to impute Socinianism to their successful antagonist, and his victory was accompanied with the accusation of heterodoxy.

Over this heavy charge, however, he eventually triumphed, notwithstanding the vehemence with which it was urged by the Minister Smout of Amsterdam, who exerted himself to the utmost to prevent the grant of requisite testimonials for admission to the Ministry. Immediately after Ordination, Episcopus received a call from the Church of Bleiswick, and was set apart as its Pastor. So great was the popularity acquired by him as a Preacher, that he was one of the few leading Ministers who assisted in drawing up the Dutch Confession of Faith, which succeeded the Petition on the Five Points offered to the States of Holland by the Arminian Clergy, who henceforward were known as “the Remonstrants.” He was a Deputy, also, to the Conference at the Hague; where, “by the splendour of his eloquence, the depth

of his learning, and the soundness of his judgment, he excited the astonishment and admiration of that illustrious audience." The reputation which he thus obtained was so extensive, that the citizens of Utrecht negotiated for his Ministerial services; but their gratifying invitation was superseded by the offer of a far more important post, that of Divinity Professor in the College at Leyden; into which high dignity he was inaugurated in the twenty-ninth year of his age. He commenced his duties by expounding the second and third Chapters of the *Apocalypse*; the treatment of which exposed him afresh to the accusation of Socinianism, which he most strenuously rebutted.

The charge, however, was not easily dissipated; and it was fraudulently and uncharitably urged on every occasion which seemed to afford opportunity for its advancement. Another calumny, of a widely different nature, arose out of a visit paid by him to Paris during one of the Academical recesses. It was said that he there maintained intimate correspondence with the Jesuits, and especially with one of the most intriguing of their Order, Pierre Cotton, the Royal Confessor; moreover, that he had purposely avoided communication with Peter Du Moulin, the resident Dutch official Minister. Episcopius had, in fact, more than once sought for Du Moulin, but always unsuccessfully; and his intercourse with Cotton was confined to an accidental distant sight of him as he was stepping into a carriage at the Palace gates. Nevertheless, the reports were deemed of importance, and considered likely to be so highly injurious as to demand a formal refutation by the Dutch Plenipotentiary at the French Capital; and a personage of not less dignity than the owner of the following rumbling titles, furnished a denial written by his own hand, and attested by his seals of office:—"Gedeon van den Boetseler, and Asperen, Baron of Langerick, Lord of Newport, Carnis, &c. Ambassador from the High and Mighty Lords the States General of the United Netherlands to the Court of France."

The charge of Socinianism was revived by a *mauvais garçon*, of whom Mr. Calder gives the following unpleasant character, translated, as we suppose, from Limborch:—

"This man was a minister at Leyden, named Festus Hommius, and from his residence near the celebrated Dutch university, was made, by the bigoted Calvinistic clergy, the confidant of their suspicions and jealousies as to the spread of Arminianism. And whilst he seemed to be sensitively alive to the honour of the confidence thus reposed in him, the temperament of his mind made him capable of performing the work of a spy upon the conduct, first of Arminius, and subsequently of Episcopius. He was cool, insinuating, artful and treacherous; slander and detraction were aliments for which he had a voracious appetite; and while he

nourished a taste for such materials, the feelings that rendered him capable of receiving them, necessarily disposed him to present them to others. In perfect accordance with the duplicity of his character, he was, as the reader will recollect, among the first to congratulate Episcopus after he had delivered his inaugural oration, on his appointment to the office of theological professor, asserting that he was highly gratified by his elevation, because he knew him to be an amiable and peaceable man. Thus, by subtle and feigned compliments, he attempted, assassin-like, to put the victim of his base designs off his guard, that he might the more fiercely pounce upon him in the hour of confidence and security. Occasionally attending the professor's disputations, he nodded assent, and thus appeared to approve of the sentiments he advanced; but, at other times, with the students who were in the practice of taking down his propositions, as they were given *viva voce*, he was secretly holding correspondence, and obtaining imperfect notes of them, and also of what passed at the disputation of them. These he treasured up for the day of exposure, when he thought he could convict Episcopus of heterodoxy. When he had succeeded in obtaining what he deemed sufficient grounds of charges, he at first retailed these in the way of surmises, to those who had set him on the dark work of a spy; and afterwards proceeded to make open and avowed statements of them to one of the senators of Amsterdam, that great seat of bigotry, where Plancius, Becius and others were always at work to injure the Remonstrants, and fan the flames of dissension and strife."—pp. 159, 160.

Against this enemy, Episcopus defended himself in a lengthy Conference held before the Curators and Burgomasters of Leyden, the details of which our readers will thank us for not transcribing; which terminated in a declaration from Festus that he was satisfied; and in a certificate to that effect from the Lay Arbiters, upon whose decision, according to the just and decorous system of the Calvinistic platform, the character, and therefore the existence of their Professor, depended.

The discomfort arising from these squabbles was materially heightened by the jealousy which Polyander, the joint Divinity Professor, began to express of his colleague, and which, on one occasion, certainly led that great and excellent Divine a little beyond the limits which good breeding prescribes. At a large supper party Episcopus expressed himself favourable to mutual concession, as the surest means of healing the disunion prevalent in the Church; Polyander, on the other hand, loudly exclaimed against all innovation, and stigmatized the advocates of any change, be it what it might, as "rascals, villains, rogues and thieves." Episcopus rejoined, that to say those who differed from ourselves in opinion erred and were wrong, was bearable; but that to brand them with foul language and offensive and injurious epithets, was intolerable. The company plainly showed that their sentiments

inclined to those of the latter speaker, and Polyander concluded by a surly remark, that he "could bear nothing so ill as contempt."

The Remonstrants, meantime, were more and more shunned every day by the Hyper-Calvinists of Amsterdam, who took the outrageous step of deposing from the Ministry Simon Goulart, who had preached against the absolute Reprobation of Infants, and had shown upon Scriptural grounds that they were not created for the sole purpose of increasing God's glory, by condemnation to everlasting misery. The following passage from his Sermon was laid before the Consistory:—

"Christ delivered us from the curse of law, by becoming a curse for us; for it is written, 'cursed is he that hangeth on a tree;' so that, instead of our being doomed to perdition under that curse which Adam brought upon himself and all his posterity, the blessing of Christ, securing the possibility of salvation, comes in its place, he having obtained it for all mankind. But none can partake of so great a benefit but only believers, who lay hold on it by faith. As for unbelievers, who, by their infidelity and ingratitude, reject this benefit, they are excluded from it, and continue under the curse, according to the declaration of St. John, iii. 36, 'He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life, and he that believeth not on the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.' He, therefore, that believes in the Son, shall obtain the blessing, and as believing, he is chosen to the blessing; but he that believes not the Son is prepared for the curse, and the curse remains upon him, as the apostle witnesses in his Epistle to the Galatians, iii. 9, 10, saying, that 'they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.' And that, 'as many as are of the works of the law, are under the curse.' We must not imagine that the gracious God has appointed, by an absolute and unavoidable decree, any infants, especially of believing parents, from their mother's womb to the everlasting torments of hell. This rash and foolish notion is incompatible with the words of God, 'who will have all men to be saved.'—(1 Tim. ii. 3.) And, 'who is the Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe.'—(1 Tim. iv. 10.) And, 'who has no pleasure in the death of him that dieth.'—(Ezekiel, xviii. 32.) The door of his mercy and blessing, which our Saviour Christ hath opened, is shut against none. Are there any that remain under the curse? It is their own fault, so far as they, by their unbelief and unthankfulness, reject the blessing that is offered to them, and choose the curse; as it is said in the 109th Psalm, 17, 'As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him; as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him.' Let not, therefore, the mothers who now hear me, nor any other believing women that have children, ever fancy that any of them are thus appointed to the curse before their birth, in order to be cast into eternal fire. But much rather assure yourselves, ye believing parents, as often as you think of your children, or see them before your eyes, that Christ died for them, and that, by his bitter sufferings and death upon the cross, he has done away the curse. And when they attain to years of discretion, instruct them in the same assurance, to the end that, by laying hold of

Christ and his blessing through faith, you and they may be made joint partakers of everlasting life."—p. 193—195.

The above doctrines were declared to savour of Arminian Pelagianism. Goulart was accordingly suspended from preaching and administering the Sacrament, and excluded from all officiation, until he should recant the opinions herein expressed, ask pardon for his violent attack upon established doctrine, and profess that he was on all occasions willing to assist in confuting the innovations of the Remonstrants.

In a tumult raised by some Fanatics, a Remonstrant Minister very narrowly escaped from his pulpit with life; and soon afterwards the house of Rem Bisschop, brother of Simon Episcopus, was plundered by the mob, while the Magistrates abstained from interference. Some estimate may be formed of the Theological knowledge of the rioters by the reply which one of them made when asked why he entertained such bitter enmity against the Arminians? He answered, "because he thought fellows should not be suffered to preach who asserted that one man was born to salvation and another to damnation." Rem Bisschop's loss amounted to 5000 florins (£500 in English money), yet the letter in which he announced it to his brother was written with the utmost calmness and composure; but notwithstanding this Christian resignation, himself and his wife were excluded from the Lord's Table on the ensuing Sabbath.

Venator, the Minister of Alcmaer, was deprived and banished in consequence of a publication entitled, "*Theologia Vera et Mera Infantium et Lactantium in Christo;*" and Polyander and Episcopus were appointed to examine him at the Hague. The conduct of Episcopus in this affair exhibited indecision; but before his return to Leyden, although not without much manœuvring, he obtained the honour of an audience with Prince Maurice, who endeavoured to gain him by honied words. In a short time, however, that Prince avowed himself a direct Calvinist; and for the undissembled purpose of crushing Arminianism, he seconded the Gomaristes, till a National Synod was formally proclaimed. Episcopus was invited to attend this Synod, and there to take his seat amongst the other Professors.

On his arrival at Dort, however, accompanied by three Remonstrant Ministers, he was informed that, if he appeared in the Synod at all, it must be as one cited to answer a charge—not as a Counsellor to assist its deliberations. All objection and appeal was refused; and after a good deal of indecorous bickering, Episcopus was allowed to address the Fathers in a set oration. The speech is of considerable length, is well known, and therefore need not be cited. It occupied an hour and a half in delivery,

and the President, before pronouncing judgment *quo spiritu et genio pronunciata esset*, demanded a Copy. Episcopus replied, that he had no Copy *handsomely written*; but if the Synod would have patience, he would cause one to be transcribed. The President, however, insisted upon the delivery of that from which he had spoken. He still retained the original rough draught, in consequence of the existence of which he was charged with having uttered a deliberate falsehood, as if he had said that he had no other Copy.

In some subsequent and most stormy sessions, the Remonstrants protested against the legality of the Synod, declaring that they were ready to dispute, in defence of their own opinions, but were by no means ready to obey the command of the President, by simply stating what those opinions were. Gomar averred that Episcopus had falsified the doctrine of Reprobation, in representing it as merely designed to exhibit the severity and power of God; "for no one," he added, "maintains that God absolutely decreed to reprobate men without respect to sin. But as He decreed the end, Reprobation, so He decreed likewise the means as the foundation of it; that is, as God predestined man to death, so He predestined him to sin, as the only means of death." The "ever memorable" Hales, in reporting this debate to the Ambassador, Sir Dudley Carlton,* speaks of the self-complacency exhibited by Gomar at the delivery of this wordy explanation; but, as he justly concludes, "he was merely playing the part of a tinker, who, in attempting to mend a kettle, makes it worse than it was before." The concluding scene speaks sufficiently in itself for the coarseness and the violence of the members of the Synod.

"On the fourteenth of January, after being summoned into the presence of this assembly, a long speech was made to them by the president, on the subject of the liberty they requested, and the resolution of the synod not to grant that request, he stating, at the same time, that they were bound to obey their governors; and then asked them, if they would plainly and without any condition obey the orders of the lay-commissioners? To this question Episcopus, answering for all the cited persons, said, 'he held in his hand a document containing an answer to the president's question, and entreated that it might be read.' Bogerman refused, and insisted that they should peremptorily answer yea or nay. Episcopus said, 'such an answer is to be found in this document.' A long debate between him and the president then followed. At length the professor said, 'it seems very strange that in a free synod there cannot be granted to us so small a favour as to have our answer to a question read.' This occasioned the paper being received and read.

* Hales was Chaplain to Carlton, the English Envoy at the Hague, and thus, although not strictly a member of the Synod, obtained admission to its sittings—more information respecting which may be found in his *Golden Remains*.

It contained a further declaration of their sentiments on the first article, to which was prefixed a statement of their reasons for not complying with the order of the synod, and their determination to abide by their former answer. The president then asked each of the cited whether he abided by this reply, when all having answered yes, he desired that they should individually sign this document. They said they had done it already. But not satisfied, and as though determined to show his authority and mortify them, he required that they should come to his table and sign it again. Episcopus, as professor of theology in the principal seat of learning belonging to the states, felt that he was insulted by this requirement from an individual who was his inferior in rank, and rising from his seat said, as he approached the table of Bogerman, *What slavery is this?* and having signed it, he retired with a countenance expressive of his estimate of the man who could thus treat him with contempt, because by the power of a faction he had been invested with a little brief authority. Bogerman having in this manner gratified his feelings in trampling on the giant of the party, allowed the paper to be handed to the others, who signed it at their own table. This being done, it appears he was determined to repay what he considered the haughty demeanour of the Remonstrants, as shown in the conduct of the Professor Episcopus, and in the form of a dismissal thus denounced them—
‘The synod, up to this very period, has treated you with all gentleness, kindness, forbearance, patience and tenderness; openly, sincerely and honestly; but you, in return, have only treated it with deception, artifice, frauds and lies. And from your conduct in relation to the writing you last presented to the synod, it appears you intended to end as you began, *for with a lie you began, and with a lie you ended.* Episcopus in the first instance denied having another copy of his speech, and in the second he declared that your last writing was ready for delivery, and then subsequently denied it. God, who is the protector and defender of his Church, and the searcher of hearts, sees and knows the tricks and the subtleties with which you have endeavoured to deceive this venerable synod; he knows also the sincere desire and inclination of the synod to effect your good, of which he will take account, and also punish your conduct, which has been marked by falsehood, wickedness, fraud, deceit and contempt. And, therefore, that the synod may proceed peaceably to execute the will and intention of their High Mightinesses the States, in searching and examining your doctrines, which hitherto, in consequence of your presence, it has not been able to accomplish, it is therefore resolved that you be dismissed from the synod, and that too in the manner which you have merited, namely, as being false and deceitful. And the synod deems it right that you should be informed, that because your obstinacy and disobedience have been so great and manifold, it is designed to publish your conduct to the whole Christian world; and that it be stated to you, that it is not without those spiritual arms, by which it can punish you for your contumacy, obstinacy and disobedience, or the means to vindicate the sentence thus passed upon you.’ He then added in a most scornful and commanding manner, ‘*Dimittimini, exite, depart, begone.*’

“ The Remonstrants having received this contemptuous dismissal with the utmost composure, Episcopus rose with manly dignity to speak on behalf of himself and his brethren, and said, ‘ In imitation of our Blessed Saviour, we shall pass over these reproaches in silence, and let God judge between us and the synod as to the insincerity, fraud, wickedness and falsehood with which we are charged;’ when he was interrupted by the president with his usual exclamation of *satis, satis*, when he wanted to hinder them from speaking. The Remonstrants then rose together to leave the synod. Niellius exclaimed, in passing through the crowd that witnessed their dismissal, ‘ I appeal from the injustice of the synod to the just judgment seat of Jesus Christ.’ Næranus added, ‘ that he appealed to the throne of God, where those who sat in the synod as judges should finally appear to be judged themselves.’ Hollingerus said to those who passed before him, ‘ depart, depart from the assembly of the wicked.’”—p. 344—347.

All fear of personal opposition having been thus summarily removed, the Calvinists thought they might secure an easy triumph over an absent enemy; and they undertook to pronounce judgment upon the written doctrine of the Remonstrants. But the patience of even Dutch Divines was exhausted, when, after fourteen days’ labour, the excluded Ministers presented 204 sheets of closely written manuscript, as their commentary on only the First of the Five Articles. The examiners, enraged and disappointed, swore that their opponents dealt with the Devil, without whose aid they could never have written so much in so short a time; and discreetly resolving to escape from the burden of this huge mass of controversy, they referred it to their President and a Select Committee, who were mercifully enjoined to *glance* at its contents, and to report accordingly. In order to prevent a recurrence of the great danger thus adroitly eluded, only ten days were allowed for the discussion of the remaining Articles, and they were accordingly embraced in the moderate compass of 133 additional sheets. From the labour of reading these papers, also, the Calvinists emancipated themselves by eagerly fastening upon a declaration made by Episcopus, that they might accept them if they pleased, but that they were not prepared for their use, “ seeing that we (the Remonstrants) disavow all further connexion with them.” The Dialogue between two leading members of the Synod, Bogerman the President, and Balcanqual a Scotchman, is *piquant* and characteristic. “ What,” said the frightened President, “ all these papers! Read them? It is quite impossible.” “ Don’t be thus alarmed, my friend,” was the reply; “ through God’s mercy they have disclaimed us.”

The Synod broke up on the 9th of May, 1619, having on the preceding 24th of April pronounced a heavy sentence against the Remonstrants, in which, to their credit be it remembered, that the

Foreign Divines, (with exception of those of Geneva,) more especially the English, refused to appear as consenting parties. The following was its purport:—"That the Remonstrants—being introducers of novelties, preachers of error, guilty of corrupting Religion, creating schisms, and destroying the unity of the Church, obstinate, disobedient, and promoters of faction, by which they have given grievous offence and caused much scandal—be therefore deprived of all Ecclesiastical and Academical offices, until they repent of their false doctrine, and are able to produce unexceptionable evidence before the Dutch Church of the sincerity of the same. And that the other Remonstrant Ministers be handed over to the Provincial Synods, in order to see if it be possible to induce them to relinquish their doctrines; and if not, that then they be deprived of all their offices in like manner." Even Balcanqual thought this decision most harsh, and remarked that no Church, either Old or New, had ever stretched the power of Excommunication so widely. But the majority rejoiced as if they had obtained a splendid victory; they accepted a sumptuous banquet from the States, in which they were abundantly "cheered with provisions, wines, fruits and music;" they struck a commemorative medal, bearing on the obverse a representation of one of the Sessions, with the legend *Religione assertâ*. "On the reverse is a Mount with a Temple on the top of it, over which is inscribed the name of Jehovah in Hebrew. The four Winds also are represented by four chubby faces, from each of which issues a stream directed towards the Mount. The whole is surrounded with the following inscription, *Erunt ut mons Sion. CIOICXCIX*. Several of these were struck in gold, to which was appended a chain, both together being worth upwards of fifteen pounds sterling. These were presented to the Foreign Divines. Silver ones were given to the Dutch members of the assembly."—p. 368. And, finally, the Calvinists exulted in the zeal of the Provinces, which had allowed them to expend in this disgraceful exhibition of bigotry not less a sum than one hundred thousand pounds, according to the value of money at that day, so greatly inferior to the present estimate.

It yet remained that blood should be shed; for without such a draught the rabid thirst of Persecution is never sated. Barneveldt, the Grand Pensionary of Rotterdam, had ever opposed the ambitious designs of Prince Maurice, who by his recent connection with the Hyper-Calvinists had acquired great increase of power. To that Body the Pensionary also had given deadly offence, by requesting its deputies, when they applied to the States in support of Queen Elizabeth's mischievous and unprincipled Lieutenant, the Earl of Leicester, "not to abandon the

task of saving souls for the purpose of mixing with worldly and State affairs." The sarcasm was well justified by the officious and meddling deviation of the Ministers from their spiritual duties; but it, perhaps, was imprudent, and it certainly was never forgotten; so that when Maurice felt sufficiently strong to undertake Barneveldt's destruction, and originated or encouraged the report that he intended to restore Popery and the Spanish despotism, he found active coadjutors among the dominant Ecclesiastical Faction. We need not pursue this tragedy in detail to its nefarious close; the upright and aged Pensionary was arrested by stratagem, examined with secrecy, and condemned to lose his head.

"On the following morning, being the thirteenth of May, the last act of this tragedy was performed, by the sacrifice of this innocent victim, to serve as the seal of sanction to the synod's labours. Brought into the presence of his judges, the sentence was read, in which, amongst other things, he was charged with *troubling religion and vexing the Church of God*, for which he was to die. This sentence ended thus: 'That the said John Oldenbarneveldt shall be conveyed from hence to the place of execution, there to have his head cut off by the sword of justice, [what awful mockery!] and his goods to be confiscated.' 'He received this sentence of death,' says Cross, 'with an undaunted countenance, and when it was finished, he said, "I was in good hopes that your lordships would haue beene satisfied with my bloud, and by reason of my long seruice would leaue my goods to my wife and children."' These last words he uttered with a faint voice and dejected countenance; but being informed by the president that he must submit himself to his sentence, he resumed his firmness, and rising from his seat was immediately conducted through the great hall to the scaffold. The hall was full of his friends and acquaintances. He took no notice of any of them as he passed, and continued to bear himself with the same grandeur and serenity on his way to the scaffold,* leaning on his staff, and supported by his servant. When he arrived there, he asked, 'Is there no cushion or stool for me to kneel on?' and then kneeling down on the rough boards, he prayed for a while. He then rose, and began to prepare himself, saying, while pointing to the executioner, 'That man need not touch me.' Before kneeling down to receive the fatal stroke, he addressed the people, exclaiming aloud, 'Good citizeus, do not believe that I die a traitor, but, on the contrary, a true patriot;' and then kneeling down, lifted up his hands towards heaven, and said, 'Christ is my guide; Lord have mercy upon me; Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit;† when the executioner instantly struck off his head at one blow. And thus fell this distinguished statesman and Christian. Many of the people instantly rushed to the spot, and dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood. 'His remains were shortly after borne away in a poore vnpolished coffin, and he was buried by the executioners, in the chapell of the inner court, without any assistance of friends or kinsfolkes.' "‡—pp. 381, 382.

* Crowe.

† Cross.

‡ Idem.

Episcopus and eleven of his exiled brethren wished that Walwick in Brabant might be assigned as their place of banishment, and thither accordingly they were conveyed, after resisting much importunity which sought to obtain from them a promise of future silence. But they remained firm and impenetrable by either entreaties or menaces. In naming Walwick they had acted judiciously, for the Lord of the district treated them with marked kindness; and, on his representation, the Bishop of Bois-le-duc, under whose Ecclesiastical jurisdiction the territory was comprised, invited them with great courtesy to his table. This hospitality was at first declined, from a prudent fear of misinterpretation; but, upon an assurance that no disputable matter should be introduced during the visit, they at length waited upon the good Prelate. Their fellow-guests were two Jesuits, two Dominicans, a Licentiate Canon, and the Father Confessor of the Nuns of Walwick. The Bishop unequivocally condemned the proceedings at Dort; and pointedly avowed his opinion, that "it was an abominable blasphemy to assert that God is angry with men, and damns them for a fault which they cannot possibly avoid." The Jesuits cordially assented, and the Dominicans, bursting with inward rage, were compelled to remain silent. They avenged themselves, however, by exciting the village Pastor, who was nothing loth, to preach against the Remonstrants on the following Sunday; a custom which he pursued, greatly to their annoyance, till he was removed by the more tolerant Bishop. Episcopus meantime published two accounts of the Synod of Dort; one in Latin, *Crudelis iniquitas, &c.*, which is generally known; the other in Dutch, *Antidotum, &c.*, which necessarily has a less extensive circulation on account of the language in which it is written.

More than eighty out of the two hundred banished Remonstrant Ministers who had been ejected were assembled at Walwick, where they formed an Association for the defence of their Church, of which Uitenbogaerdt was elected President, Episcopus his assistant. These eminent men, in conjunction with four Directors, drew up several papers for the government and information of the Institution over which they presided. One was a *Declaration* regulating moral conduct; another, *Acta et Scripta Synodalia Remonstrantium*; but the most important was a *Confession* of their Faith, put together with becoming care and precaution, and accompanied by an explanatory Preface, which the writer (Episcopus), with a shrewd knowledge of the general treatment of Prefaces, earnestly requests may always be read. This Confession was most warmly applauded by Grotius, after his romantic escape from prison: he declared that the more he read it the better he

liked it; and within a month nearly 3000 copies of it were sold in France, England, Denmark, and Germany.

The Arminian clergy who ventured upon return to the Netherlands were treated with much cruelty. All the Professors at Leyden suspected of inclination to their doctrines were forcibly ejected; and among them we trace some celebrated names in Classical Literature—Vossius, Barlæus, and Meursius. The ambition of Festus Hommius, whom we have already mentioned, was gratified with the cast gown of Episcopus; and it hung upon his shoulders as strangely as did the lion's hide of our own Richard upon those of the recreant Duke of Austria.

Those Ministers who refused subscription to the Canons of the Synod of Dort, and to the *Act of Cessation*, a document by which they pledged themselves not to preach the doctrines of Arminius, were immediately deprived. Large sums were given to spies for denunciation; and a ludicrous anecdote is related of a barber who, suspecting one of his customers to be a Minister in disguise, nicked his hair in a particular manner while dressing it, and purposely cut his chin during shaving, in order that he might recognize him by those marks. Much to the disappointment of this new Olivier le Diable, the unconscious victim whom he had thus deformed turned out to be a very harmless Calvinistic master-mason.

But we wish similar levities were the only memorials of these most wretched times. On the contrary a system of *Dragooning* was adopted, and a merciless soldiery were let loose to hunt down the proscribed Remonstrants, wherever they secretly gathered together for worship. Blood, accordingly, was often spilled, and ladies of gentle birth were stripped of their jewels, and subjected to ferocious outrage. We hasten from this odious subject, after citing two of Mr. Calder's anecdotes as authorities.

“ When the sheriff of any town received information that a meeting of the Remonstrants for worship was to be held, he usually hastened with soldiers to seize upon some of the parties, for the purpose of their being fined, or conducted to prison. The sheriff of Haerlem being engaged in this work one night, entered a house where a meeting was being held. The people took the alarm, and began to escape, when this officer laid hold of a lady in the passage, whom he could not distinguish on account of the darkness. Having seized her hand, he found she was a person of quality by the rings she wore, and insisted upon her telling her name. She remained obstinately silent for some time, till at length he urged her to tell her name in a way that was unpleasant, when she exclaimed, ‘ I am your sister Mary! but did our common mother bring you into the world for this end, that you should persecute the church and people of God? I am sure our father never taught you to act thus, or to cherish the principles you have imbibed.’ He was thunderstruck, said not a word,

but led her by the hand to the back-door, charging the soldiers not to interrupt her."—p. 419.

"In one instance, a father and his two sons endeavoured to escape by getting into a boat, when the soldiers levelled their muskets at them. The father entreated them not to fire, promising to tell them where they lived, which they disregarded, and instantly shot one of the sons, a young man of twenty-two years of age, through the head, who fell dead into the water; and the father with difficulty escaped being stabbed by them. The reader must here be informed, that the under-sheriff was called out of church for the purpose of directing the soldiers in this business, and after its melancholy close he returned, says an historian, with his hands wreaking with blood, to receive the sacrament. Of course no judicial proceedings were instituted against the murderers, it being understood by the magistrates, that the Arminians were as sheep marked for the slaughter."—pp. 420, 421.

Niellius and Poppius, two of the foremost Ministers, who had been appointed among the Directors at Walwick, were arrested at Haerlem. After numerous separate examinations they were threatened with the rack, and it is said that the latter was absolutely stripped in order to undergo the agonies of the Question. He begged a short delay for prayer; and he then prayed so fervently and so earnestly for strength wherewith he might undergo his trial, that the bystanding magistrates, however stern in their general mood, were powerfully affected; and after several hours' deliberation remanded him to his dungeon, untortured. The chief opponent of this merciful decision was Triglandius, a Contra-Remonstrant Minister, who, as Mr. Calder not unaptly remarks, "would have made a fine Inquisitor-General." The Judges, in issuing their definitive sentence, were divided between death and perpetual imprisonment. The latter, fortunately for their reputation, prevailed; and the castle of Louvestein was selected as the place of confinement. Rem Bisschop, also, was again persecuted, and thought it prudent to retire from Amsterdam. On a change of magistracy, in the following year, he returned, and was publicly excommunicated by the Consistory: an infliction under which he was consoled by Episcopus, who addressed to him a letter, showing that such an excommunication was but a vain and foolish assumption of power.

Episcopus, while at Antwerp, was greatly courted by the Roman Catholics; yet he stood firm against the lures which the Spaniards threw out to him to join them against the ungrateful country which had rejected him from her bosom. In 1623 he proceeded to France, and during his abode in various parts of that country, he engaged in a controversy on Free Will with John Cameron, Professor of Theology at Saumur. The loss of his

brother, Rem Bisschop, was a source of very acute sorrow; but the death of Prince Maurice about the same time, and the immediate accession of his brother, Prince Frederic-Henry, to the Stadtholdership, excited fairer hopes among the exiled Remonstrants, and induced Episcopus to return to Holland in 1626. There he almost immediately published a Defence of the *Confession*, and found the country sufficiently calm to induce him to venture upon matrimony. The bride whom he selected was Maria, daughter of Jan Passer, of Rotterdam, widow of Henry Niellius, (a brother of the Minister,) whom, in order to prevent opposition, he espoused under the assumed name of Simon Egbert. Soon after his marriage he accepted an offer from the Remonstrants at Rotterdam to become their Minister, in spite of a renewed imputation of Socinianism.

The clergymen, seven in number, imprisoned at Louvestein, failing in every application for release, at length determined to attempt escape, which, by the assistance of a sentinel whose favour they had secured, was effected after considerable difficulty. They were received and entertained by Episcopus, whose pen was diligently employed in various writing, until, in 1634, he was called to act as Divinity Professor in the Remonstrant *Theological Institution*, then first established at Amsterdam. The lectures, not published till after his death, under the title of *Theological Institutes*, are charged by Bishop Bull with Socinianism; and assuredly they contain some passages relative to the filiation of the Son of God, which require more full explanation than they have yet received. Thus he suggests many ways in which Christ might be called the Son of God metaphorically, as in relation to the dignity and majesty of His office as Messiah; the only office which Episcopus affirms to have been acknowledged in the confession of St. Peter, St. Matt. xvi. 16; by Nathaniel, St. John i. 49; by the Ethiopian eunuch, Acts viii. 37.

“*Quid ergo, inquires, sibi voluerunt ista locutione quando confitebantur Jesum esse filium Dei? Certè aliud nihil, quam Jesum esse Christum sive Messiam, aut Regem illum Israelitis promissum; quem, quia Rex singularis erat, unctusque oleo lætitiæ (id est oleo quod cum Regis capiti superfunderetur lætam acclamationem populi excitabat, ‘vivat Rex’) super consortes suos (id est supra Reges alios omnes) Filium Dei καὶ ἑξοχὴν vocarunt; prout patet ex eo quod Nathanael vocem illam ‘Filii Dei’ exponat, ‘Tu es Rex ille Israelis;’ et quod confessionem illam Petri, ‘Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi:’ Marcus et Lucas non aliter referant quam hisce verbis, ‘Tu es Christus et Tu es Christus ille Dei,’ id est Rex ille Deo unicè gratus et Deo proximus.*”—*Instit. Theol.* iv. 2. 34.

Two other arguments, which our limited space will not allow us to examine, are added; and that which appears to be a very latitudinarian deduction is drawn from them.

"Atque hæc sunt tria argumenta nostra quibus adstruimus Fidem et professionem specialis istiusmodi Filiationis Jesu Christi non esse ad salutem necessariam."—Id. ibid.

Episcopus was much solicited to return to the pulpit at Rotterdam; but the Theological Institution appeared to him to have more claim upon his exertions. He was frequent, however, in keeping up intercourse with the city from which he had removed his residence; and, during a visit, in August 1640, having been detained a considerable time under the walls before the gates could be opened, he contracted a fever which confined him to bed for four months, and at one time rendered his recovery almost desperate. In the following year, he was more grievously shaken by the death of his wife, and after lingering through a painful and distressing illness, he expired on the fourth of April, 1643, aged sixty years and three months. Episcopus has always been favourably spoken of, even by the Romish Divines; and Père Mabillon remarks of his *Institutes*, that Grotius valued them so highly as always to carry them about with him. Upon this statement Limborch pithily observes, that the *Institutes* were too large to be portable, and that they were not published till five years after the death of Grotius. It is remarkable that this gross mistake has escaped the sagacity of Bayle, who has an express note on the commentary of Père Mabillon.

There is but little probability that the literary reputation of Episcopus will be revived; and such a consummation is, we think, very unlikely to be achieved by Mr. Calder. In parting, however, we must do him the justice to remark, that he is in possession of unflinching courage; that he commits his opinions to paper either careless or unconscious of the deafening buzz which they will soon bring about his ears; and that he has never abstained from exposing the odious bigotry of the Sectarians who made Episcopus their victim, from any apprehension *ne irritentur crabrones*—from any dread of the manifold heavy visitations with which the modern Calvinists no doubt are preparing ere long to assail him.

ART. IV.—*On the Mental Illumination and Moral Improvement of Mankind; or an Inquiry into the Means by which a General Diffusion of Knowledge and Moral Principle may be Promoted.* By Thomas Dick, LL. D. Collins, Glasgow. Whittaker, &c. London, 1835. pp. 672.

THE aim of this book is vast, and the contents are various; but we altogether doubt, whether the value is considerable. The

whole production is daring rather than great, ambitious rather than successful. Dr. Dick appears to us to be one of the philanthropic enthusiasts, who lose the useful by straining at the impracticable. He defeats his own object, by attempting too much. In this single volume there is scarcely any one department of science or practice, on which he does not give some loose and often trifling directions. He skips about from topic to topic with a kind of comfortable self-complacency, as if nothing could come amiss to him; dictating and dogmatising, now on the elements of logic, and now on the form of a child's shoe;—now on the *camera obscura*, and now on natural theology. Again, in the second part, which embraces "*Miscellaneous Hints in reference to the Diffusion of Knowledge and the Improvement of Society*," we find a most incongruous and ill-assorted jumble of confident remarks on "*Improvements in Preaching*"—"Union of the Christian Church"—"*Improvement of Towns and Villages*"—"Plan of a small Town;" and then, following each other in immediate succession,—"*Changes requisite in certain Laws, Regulations, and Customs*"—"Taxes on Knowledge"—"*Postages*"—"Position of the Names of Ships"—"*Perquisites of Waiters, Postillions, &c.*"—"Hissing at Public Meetings"—"*Defects of our Civil and Criminal Code*," and so on, almost without end. That ingenious and serviceable suggestions are interspersed here and there, it would be preposterous to deny; yet, if not altogether, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*," they still incur imminent hazard of being lost and absorbed in the ocean of unconnected and desultory materials. We must also take the liberty, of observing, that to skim the surface of a hundred subjects and get to the bottom of none, is not the way to effect real and permanent good: while an almost indiscriminate disparagement of existing institutions and antecedent labours is hardly the best foundation on which a new castle-builder can erect the fabric of his projects.

From the specimens already given, our reader may estimate the degree of skill and discretion, with which Dr. Dick has executed his self-imposed and gigantic task. If we look for oddness of language, we find many instances like the following, which has reference to the sun.

"Supposing him no farther distant than 100,000 miles, *he behoved to be* nearly a thousand miles in diameter, or about the size of Arabia or the United States of America."—pp. 406, 407.

If we look for temerity of sentiment, we find many examples like the following, which has reference to the awful and mysterious theme of the Millennium.

"Is it inquired, *when* we may expect the Millennium to commence? I reply, *just when we please*. Are we *willing* that it should commence in the present age? We have the means in our power, if we choose to

apply them. In the course of *forty years* from this date the Millennium might not only be commenced, but in a rapid progress towards the summit of its glory."—p. 550.

If we look for confusion of ideas, and incompetency of knowledge, in an attempt at the nomenclature and classification of the sciences, our attention is solicited by an extraordinary jumble which meets us under the head of, "Subjects connected with Logic." Dr. Dick tells us,

"A brief view must be given of the peculiar characteristics of *mind* and *matter*, and a more particular survey of the sciences, or the knowledge which men have acquired respecting the objects of human thought, which might be arranged under the three following heads:—1. *History*, comprehending sacred, prophetic, and ecclesiastical history; literary history, including the history of philosophy and the arts; civil history, including particular history, general history, memoirs, antiquities, and biography; also, geography and chronology, which have been denominated the *Eyes* of history; *natural* history, including mineralogy, botany, and general zoology, meteorology, geology, and the facts which relate to the heavenly bodies.—2. *Philosophy*, including ontology, the mathematical sciences, pure and mixed; natural and revealed theology; *esthetics*, or the science of our feelings and emotions; ethics, logic, political economy and legislation; natural philosophy, chemistry, physical astronomy, medicine, the physiology of plants, human and comparative anatomy, &c.—3. *Art*, including the *fine arts*, as poetry, oratory, painting, architecture, gardening, &c.; the *liberal arts*, as practical logic, practical geometry, practical chemistry, surgery, &c. and the *mechanical arts*, as dyeing, weaving, clock and watch-making, &c."—pp. 401, 402.

In this wonderful arrangement, we find under history the sciences of "zoology, meteorology, geology and the facts which relate to the heavenly bodies;" the second head, philosophy, although defrauded of its "facts," includes chemistry, physical astronomy, and sundry other departments of knowledge, of which we were sadly afraid that history must have robbed it; and the third division, or Art, includes "*gardening*" under its highest branch, or the *fine arts*; while in the next division, or the *liberal arts*, we find "*practical logic*," as contradistinguished, we suppose, from the *theoretical* logic, of which Dr. Dick is an illustrious professor.

In short, throughout the whole book, the writer is overtaking himself by efforts beyond his strength; and the talent, which he unquestionably shows, is disfigured by the perpetual blemishes of extravagance and bad taste. Thus, after a disquisition on proposed "Improvements in Preaching," to some points of which we are willing to assent, Dr. Dick recommends "the example of Messiah, the great 'Teacher sent from God,' *seated on a mountain, with the vault of heaven above him for his sounding board*." We might also mention the "recapitulation and con-

clusion of the volume," which exhibits "the prospects of the future ages;" "the preludes of the Millennial Eras;" and the towering edifice of human perfectibility surveyed through the medium of imagination, and reared, we apprehend, in but an airy and cloudy architecture. I "behold," exclaims the eloquent seer "rapt into future times"—*I behold*

"Our highways broad and spacious, accompanied with cleanly foot-paths, and at the distance of every half-mile furnished with seats and bowers for the shelter and refreshment of the passing traveller, and every bower furnished with Penny Magazines and other works for the instruction and amusement of every one who has leisure to peruse them."—pp. 663, 664.

"*I behold the scenery of the heavens* more fully explored, and new prospects opened into the distant regions of the universe—the geography of the *moon* brought to perfection, its mountains and vales thoroughly explored, and traces of the existence and operation of its inhabitants exhibited to view."—p. 665.

The strictures of Dr. Dick serve to confirm our often expressed opinion, that the introduction of a State Education, on the plan wished and intended by its hottest advocates, would be fatal to the Established Church. He thus expresses himself in speaking of the Bill brought forward by Mr., now Lord, Brougham, in 1820, 1821,

"Entitled, 'A Bill for better providing the means of Education for his Majesty's Subjects,' which was imbued with a spirit of illiberality and intolerance which would have disgraced the darkest ages of the Christian era. The following were some of its leading provisions. 1st, 'No person is capable of being elected as *Schoolmaster* by the parish, who does not produce a certificate *that he is a member of the Church of England as by law established.*' In this sweeping regulation, it is roundly declared, that, among all the six or seven millions of respectable Dissenters; that, among all that class of men who have descended from the congregations formed by Baxter, Owen, Watts, Doddridge, and a host of other illustrious Divines, renowned for their sterling piety and learning; that, among the whole of that class of men who, for the last forty years, have shown more disinterested zeal and activity for the instruction of the poor than any other class in the British empire! there is not a single individual that deserves to be entrusted with the education of youth! and for no other reason than because they have dared to think for themselves, and refused to submit to ceremonies and ordinances which are not appointed in the word of God. In another regulation, power is given to the clergyman of the parish, 'to call before him the person chosen by the parish, and to examine him touching his fitness for the office, and if he shall not approve of the person chosen, he may reject his appointment, as often as he pleases, without assigning any reason, save his own will and pleasure, and *from this decision there was to be no appeal!*' which rendered nugatory, and little short of a mere farce, the previous election made by the qualified householders of the parish. After the teacher was supposed to be approved of and fixed in his situation, a set of arbitrary

regulations and restraints were imposed upon him by "the rector, curate, or other minister of the parish." "He may at all times enter the school, examine the scholars, question the master touching his government of the school; may direct, from time to time, *what portions of Scripture shall be read, either for lessons or for writing in the school*, which direction the master is hereby required to follow.' The teacher was also enjoined 'to use select passages [of the Bible] for lessons, whereby to teach reading and writing, and shall teach no other book of religion without consent of the resident minister of the parish where such school is held, *and shall use no form of prayer or worship in the said school except the Lord's Prayer, or other select passages of the Scriptures aforesaid.*' Such regulations and injunctions reduced the teacher to something very little superior to a mere machine, or to a slave in the hands of a clerical despot. He was every day liable to be degraded and insulted in the presence of his scholars, whenever a haughty clergyman took it into his head to enter the school, and to display his magisterial and consequential airs. By the regulations enacted in this Bill, the *children* of Dissenters were likewise degraded. For, although they were to be *permitted* to attend the schools to be established, yet they were to be *distinguished*, in many respects, as *speckled birds*, different from those of the immaculate churchman, and compelled 'to learn the liturgy and catechism of the Church, and to attend the Divine service of the Church of England,' unless their parents '*proved themselves to be Dissenters from the Established Church*, and notified the same to the master.' Such is only a *specimen* of the spirit and enactments which pervaded 'Brougham's Education Bill;' enactments repugnant to the views of every liberal mind, and pregnant with bigotry and intolerance. It was a fortunate circumstance that the bill never passed the House of Commons; otherwise, it might have prevented the establishment of a liberal and efficient system of education for a century to come.

"It is to be hoped, that in any future deliberations on this subject, a more noble and liberal spirit will be displayed in the arrangements connected with education. Indeed, no efficient system of national instruction can be established on an exclusive or sectarian principle. Persons of all religious denominations ought to be eligible as teachers, visitors, superintendents, and members of school-committees, on the sole ground of their intelligence, piety, and moral conduct—and of the knowledge they have acquired of the true principles of education, and the mode in which they should be applied. As, in every country, numerous classes are to be found differing in sentiment respecting subordinate points in religion, it could not be expected that they would come forward either with voluntary subscriptions, or submit, without reluctance, to be taxed for such establishments, if any particular sectary were to be invested with the sole superintendence, and all others excluded from a share in the deliberations and arrangements connected with their operation. Such an arrangement would be an act of glaring injustice to the parties excluded, since they have an equal right of management on the ground of their subscriptions, or of the taxation to which they would be subjected; it would foster invidious distinctions between the different parts of the same community; it would tend to prevent inde-

pendency of thinking on religious subjects, and to promote a spirit of hypocrisy and sycophancy, in inducing persons to sacrifice the dictates of conscience to the emoluments of office; it would throw into a state of unmerited degradation a large portion of the most respectable characters in Christian society—for eminent piety, intelligence, and benevolence, are not confined to any section of the Christian church; it would nourish a spirit of alienation among the different portions of religious society, which has too long rankled in the human breast; it would prevent some of the most worthy and enlightened characters from coming forward as candidates for the office of instructors; it would interpose a barrier to that harmony and affection which should subsist among all ranks and denominations of society; and would ultimately frustrate, to a very great extent, the grand objects which an enlightened education is intended to accomplish. Nothing but a spirit of selfishness and ambition, of bigotry and intolerance, inconsistent with the harmony of society and the principles of our holy religion, will again attempt to establish education on such illiberal and exclusive principles. In this point of view, we cannot avoid reprobating an attempt which is now making by certain individuals to extend the system of parochial schools.”—pp. 561—565.

Again,

“Some of our members of Parliament, when they talk of education, appear to mean nothing more than giving the mass of the community a few general instructions in reading, writing, and arithmetic, according to the old inefficient system which has so long prevailed. The only gentleman who has broached this topic in the House of Commons, and who appears to entertain *clear and comprehensive views* on the subject of education, is Mr. Roebuck; but, unfortunately, his proposals and his luminous exposition of this subject, seem to have been, in a great measure, unappreciated and neglected.”—p. 524.

Dr. Dick, in “his maxims, and first principles of Education,” displays occasionally cleverness and acquaintance with his subject; but even here he pushes just sentiments too far; and gives us only one side of the truth. Thus, he insists that “the *principle of emulation* should be *discarded*,” and again, maxim vii. is, that “young people should always be treated as rational creatures; and their *opinions* occasionally *solicited* as to certain points and *scholastic arrangements*.” As to his remarks on corporal punishments, we coincide, for the most part, in the spirit of his remarks, although we cannot approve all his expressions; and certainly we should be sorry to have subjected Dr. Dick, or any of his friends, to the discipline of that terrible Swabian, whose formidable feats are commemorated in the following terms.

“In the German ‘Pedagogic Magazine,’ for 1833, we are told that ‘there died lately in *Swabia*, a schoolmaster, who, for 51 years, had superintended an institution with old-fashioned severity. From an average inferred from recorded observations, one of the ushers calculated, that, in the course of his exertions, he had given 911,500 canings,

124,000 floggings, 209,000 custodes, 136,000 tips with the ruler, 10,200 boxes on the ear, and 22,700 tasks to get by heart. It was farther calculated, that he had made 700 boys stand on peas, 600 kneel on a sharp edge of wood, 5000 wear the fool's cap, and 1708 hold the rod,—amounting in all to 1,421,208 punishments, which, allowing five days for every week, would average above a hundred punishments every day.”—p. 579.

Our author, we need hardly say, is a strenuous champion for a national education, to be undertaken by the state on the very largest scale. Dr. Dick is not a man to be deterred by trivial obstacles. Such a paltry barrier as the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of a country is not to stand in his way. In his eyes the amalgamation of all religious systems is an advantage. For him, the compulsion is no bug-bear, the expense is no stumbling-block. “*Limited views*” are the objects of his peculiar scorn: and a few millions more or less must not arrest the march—they are scarcely worthy to occupy the thoughts of a sage.

“In the whole island of Great Britain there would require to be established *sixty-eight thousand three hundred and thirty-three schools*.

“Let us now consider the expenses which would be incurred in the erection of such schools. Estimating the expense of each school at £1000, that is, about £700 for the building and play-ground, and £300 for maps, views, library, apparatus, museum, &c., the neat cost of the schools for Scotland would be *ten millions* sterling. But, if infant schools, wherever they are required, were to be connected with the other schools, so as to be under the same roof, the former on the ground flat and the latter on the upper,—a building consisting of two stories, with suitable accommodation for both departments, could, I presume, be erected for the sum of £700. In this case, the number of erections would be reduced to 7500; and the whole expense would amount to £7,500,000. On the same plan, the number of school-houses required for England would be reduced to 45,750, and the expense would be £43,750,000; that is, about *fifty-one millions* for the whole of Great Britain. If we suppose, what is not improbable, that the number of infant schools, instead of bearing a proportion to the other schools as one to three, as here supposed, would require to bear a proportion of one to two, or half the number of the other schools, the number of school-houses would be reduced to 6,666 for Scotland, and the expense to £6,666,000; and for England, to 38,889 schools, and the expense to £38,889,000; so that the whole amount of expenditure for both divisions of the island would be about 45½ millions.

“This”—proceeds Dr. Dick—“will appear in the eyes of many a most prodigious sum—a sum which we can never hope to realize:” but, after enumerating the “enormous sums expended in war,” and the “money spent on spirituous liquors,” he goes on—

Let us consider, farther, a few more items of our expenditure, which might be saved and appropriated to purposes of human improvement. We have, for example, a *pension list*, the amount of which, for the last

half century, would more than accomplish all the objects to which I allude. This list includes the names of many hundreds, nay *thousands* of individuals, who never performed the least service for the benefit of their country, and yet have been permitted to devour thousands, and even millions, of the wealth of the nation. A considerable portion of these individuals are *ladies*, connected with the nobility and gentry, *no one of whom ever wrote a treatise on any subject, promoted a useful invention, or handled a single musket in defence of their country.* One of these ladies, since 1823, has pocketed more than £10,000; another, since 1803, above £16,000; another, since 1784, above £28,000; and two ladies, belonging to the same family, £28,096. One family, consisting of four individuals, one of whom is a lady, since 1787 has *swallowed up* no less than £86,000 of the national resources; and two individuals, belonging to another family, the sum of £60,816. About a dozen individuals, belonging to seven or eight families, have consumed no less than £280,000, wrung from a nation ground down under the load of excessive taxation. What, then, would be the amount of *all the sums* which have been expended on the *thousands* of individuals whose names have been recorded in the pension list during the last 50 years!"—pp. 513, 514.

Of course, we give up to condign punishment at the hands of Dr. Dick these atrocious and wicked women, who never handled a musket,—yet is not *female archery* enough?—or took out a patent for an invention—never even—*horrendum dictu*—"wrote a treatise upon any subject." There is not a word to be offered in their defence; unless we may hint, that it might sometimes be as well, if the contagion of their indolent silence communicated itself to some of the other sex. But the ladies, we regret to say, are not alone in their guilt. Dr. Dick makes a significant allusion to that rapacious speculator and plunderer, the Duke of Wellington, who has never done anything to deserve his recompense; who must never obtain a niche in that temple, on which the inscription is, "*aux grands hommes la patrie reconnoissante.*"

"It has been calculated, that the incomes of only eleven persons connected with the "Peel and Wellington ministry," along with some of their friends—derived from sinecures, places, and pensions—amount to about £88,000 per annum, besides their official salaries as ministers of the crown. The Duke of Wellington alone—including pensions and interest of grant—is said to cost the country £33,104 a year."—p. 514.

It remains to be observed, that, as the Duke is to be fleeced, there can be no objection to shearing the bishops. These greedy prelates must disgorge their ill-gotten gains, and be disencumbered of their enormous superfluities.

"I shall only add farther, that, were all the *bishoprics* in England reduced to £2000 a-year, the balance would furnish several hundred thousands of pounds a-year which might be devoted to educational pur-

poses; and both religion and education would be promoted by such an arrangement. Still, our bishops would have more than double the income of Protestant bishops on the Continent, and would likely perform more substantial services than they now do to the cause of religion. Conversing lately with an intelligent Prussian gentleman on this subject, he informed me that the clergy in Prussia of the same rank with vicars and rectors in the Church of England, have an income of from £100 to £250, reckoned in British money; and that the salaries of the bishops are only from £300 to £500, and they are far more actively engaged in the services of the church than the bishops of England.

"Thus it appears, that there is, in reality, no want of resources for establishing an efficient system of moral and intellectual education on the most splendid and extensive scale. *Instead of forty millions in all, we could raise forty millions per annum.*"—pp. 517, 518.

What magnificent beings are these projectors on paper: these universal legislators, who regulate the affairs of the world in a closely printed octavo. We know of no conjuror, no magician, who is worthy even to be their gentleman-usher, or to light them up to bed. Here is a man who can raise, in addition to our present income, forty millions sterling per annum with a few strokes of his pen. Why does not Mr. Spring Rice vacate his post forthwith? Why is not Dr. Dick immediately made Chancellor of the Exchequer? He would pay off the national debt with as much ease as he can introduce the Millennium. Since we have read his book, we really, for our part, cannot rest contented with any other financier.

Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis.

The only possible fear is, that, under such auspices, the collection of the revenue might assume, by degrees, the awkward appearance of a general pillage: and the wretched bigots, who are still enthralled in the bonds of prejudice, might think that the spoliation of the glorious, or the defenceless, was but an unfit basis on which to lay the first stone of "*the mental illumination and moral improvement of mankind.*"

But—to drop irony—it is, in our view of the case, really a matter of serious regret, to see this rabid radicalism polluting an elaborate inquiry into the individual and social well-being of man; to hear this virulence of vulgar faction blending its discordant bray with the trumpet, which sounds, in a loud key, the notes of religious profession. The intrusion of this baser stuff is as needless as it is out of place. It altogether disturbs and deranges the temper of mind, in which disquisitions of such a nature ought to be either written or read. Nor can we wonder, as we behold so strange an apparition, that we trace, throughout, the marks of a deficient or disordered judgment:—that nothing is profoundly or thoroughly investigated: that we have to renew our acquaintance

with the familiar features of certain venerable truisms which it would be positively unkind and ungrateful to treat as strangers, although Dr. Dick seems inclined to introduce them to us in the disguise of novelties:—and that, in fine, we are compelled to say that there is no moderation in his conceptions or his statements: that almost all is dreamy, and exaggerated and Utopian; so that the truth itself loses its usefulness when mixed up with these rash and visionary speculations—these chimerical and impossible projects, the mere rhodomontade of philosophy and philanthropy.

On the whole, we would allow to Dr. Dick full credit for the excellence of his motives. We conceive him to be a man of quick and sometimes original thought, active-minded rather than wise. We quite believe, also, that the mainspring of his effort is a sincere love of religion and virtue, not unmixed, however—for what is perfect in man?—with some alloy of vanity and pretension. We quite believe, that he is impelled by an ardent desire for the temporal and spiritual progress of his fellow creatures; and is in intention always, if not always in effect, a friend of the human race. His book, nevertheless, still strikes us as an aspiring abortion. We took it up with sanguine expectations; we laid it down with vexation and disappointment. The subject, “*one, yet manifold*,” is, perhaps, the most interesting, which can engage the attention of any man, who truly and practically takes an interest in the concerns of mankind. And even this volume may be of essential benefit, if it should put other and more philosophical inquirers on the same track, with views and expectations at once more comprehensive and more chastised. We might have been glad ourselves, in our fugitive and cursory way, to throw out a few hints on the cardinal points of moral and intellectual improvement:—but we prefer to postpone them, until we can light upon some other publication, constructed upon sounder and more rational principles. For it is difficult to recognize the features of a Christian sage, amidst this speech almost of mummery, and in this grotesque and masquerading garb. It is Tony Lumkin, we think, in Goldsmith’s comedy, who, after pretending to take his mother a long journey, overturns her at last in a horse-pond on her own grounds. Dr. Dick plays us a trick not very dissimilar: for while affecting to conduct us into the noble domains of moral and intellectual amelioration, and as far as the geography of the moon, he precipitates us, after all, upon the pension-list, and draggles us through the mire and slough of our domestic squabbles. At most, he only plants us, where Tony affirmed that he had conveyed his unfortunate parent—on *Crack-skull common*, about forty miles from home,—the most notorious spot in all the country.”

ART. V.—*Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria.* By John, Bishop of Lincoln. London. Rivingtons. 1835.

“MANY heads that undertake learning,” quoth Thomas Brown, Knight, M. D., “were never squared nor timbered for it.” And, “as there are many great wits to be condemned, who have neglected the increment of arts, and the sedulous pursuit of knowledge; so are there not a few very much to be pitied, whose industry being not attended with natural parts, they have sweat to little purpose, and rolled the stone in vain.”

Such is not the case with John, Bishop of Lincoln. On the contrary, he has laboured hard in what we conceive to be the field of religious and useful learning,—and, in his vocation, as a pious, upright, and undaunted prelate, amidst the strife of modern tongues, and amidst the *husks* of too much of modern theological literature, he has set before the student of Divinity what it is well for him to have an insight into. Indeed, we are fully convinced, that much which now-a-days falls into the hands of those who are being brought up to wait upon the sanctuary, requires to be counteracted by that strong and wholesome meat, which the record of the past is ready to afford to such as can receive it. In that, if our moral and intellectual vision be not darkened, we may see the errors wherein we are but too likely to fall. Error is not new, the garb of it only is fresh. *The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun.* Moreover, *that which hath been, is now.* The errors of bygone days have risen up in a fruitful and fatally pernicious crop; and the minds, more or less, of all, but especially the minds of our youth, are sure to be led astray, unless a standard be lifted up with the record of truth inscribed thereon, *This is the way, walk ye in it.* Whosoever, then, shall now lift such a standard up, when the enemy is come in like a flood,—that man, whatever his station in life be, as a true Christian soldier, is found at his post. The Urim and Thummim of the Lord are before him. The cross has not been signed on his forehead in vain. He has taken it up in his life. He has proclaimed the truth,—not as some *men* proclaim it, but *as it is in Jesus*,—after the singleness and after the simplicity of the Gospel.

But this is a matter in which all have a voice; for although none should preach unless he be lawfully called, and none *can* minister the sacraments unless he be sent,—still every man’s words should be seasoned with salt to the edification of the hearers. Every one,

as far as in him lies, must do good unto all men, as the burning and shining light of a Christian life, by the sobriety of his counsel, by his prudence, by his knowledge, by his faith, hope, and charity. This, as we said, concerns all,—but it is the *especial duty* of the taller cedars of Lebanon,—of the Bishops and dignitaries of *our* Church, and of *every* Church,—to stand in the breach,—and not only so, but to withstand and convince the gainsayers. And in this duty (blessed be God!) the pure and Apostolical branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church established in these kingdoms has not been wanting. At their ordination they have been presented as godly and well learned men, and for the most part, (let the exception prove the rule,) they have by their life and doctrine shown that they were so. As concerns the excellent Prelate whose work heads this article, let it, and his other works on Tertullian and Justin Martyr, and his life, make answer to the question: "Are you ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God's word; and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to the same?" *

The works just now alluded to,—upon Tertullian and Justin Martyr,—we suppose to be in the hands of most students of ecclesiastical history. The present volume may be considered as belonging to them, and in it he proceeds to examine that evidence which the Fathers undesignedly give to the pure and apostolic doctrines of the Protestant Church, even though in some things they should err, and give way to much trifling. In the Bishop's preface to the second edition of his work on Tertullian, he has occasion to make the following remarks:—

"In the Introduction to the present work I have stated, that *the object which I proposed to myself in my Lectures on the writings of Tertullian was, to employ them, as far as they could be employed, in filling up Mosheim's outline of Ecclesiastical History.* After this explicit declaration, it may appear almost unnecessary to add, that I never intended to compose an Ecclesiastical History of the second and third centuries. My labours were directed to an humbler object,—to assist in collecting materials for a future historian of the Church. My persuasion has always been, that a good ecclesiastical history of that, or of any other period, will never be composed, until the works of each writer, who flourished during the period, have been examined; and the information which they supply arranged under different heads. I did not mean to propose Mosheim's arrangement as the best which could be devised; I followed it because his history is that which is in most general use among the theological students in this country. I deem it also most essential to the successful

* See "Consecration of Bishops."

execution of such a plan, that the testimony of each author should be kept as distinct as possible."—pp. xxii, xxiii.

The justice of these remarks need not be questioned, and they who examine the works of the Fathers with the diligence and the learning of Bishop Kaye, and give the result of their investigations to the world, are any thing but uselessly employed. Their labours will turn to account after many days; and the probability is, that our own land will be possessed of an ecclesiastical history of standard repute, and preclude the necessity of our turning so frequently as we do to the volumes of our German* neighbours on these points. Not that we undervalue what they have done; on the contrary, we admit it with thankfulness, and acknowledge the learning and research which, as most laborious pioneers, they have thrown out on almost each successive century. But what we wish to see is such a work as may ever be at the right hand of our clergy and theological students, without the leaven of scepticism, and that proud restlessness as relates to received opinions, which is the destruction and the ruin of all that is holy, just, and good:—a restlessness which, joined to other heavy causes, *once* subverted the Established Church in these realms, and *may* do so yet again. May God, in his great mercy, avert it, and forgive us all our sins, negligences, and ignorances; and endue us with the grace of his Holy Spirit to amend our lives according to his holy Word!

On the study of the Fathers we have frequently had occasion to dwell in these pages; and it is not our purpose now to say over again what has been said before. There are, however, one or two remarks which we are anxious to throw out ere we proceed to our consideration of Clemens Alexandrinus.

In the first place, then, we strongly and earnestly advise all students not to listen to that but too common depreciation of ecclesiastical learning which is now to be heard amongst a certain grade of *Professors*—a term, in these days, used just as it was in those dark and gloomy times when there was reason to fear our candlestick was about to be displaced. Nothing possibly can be more vain or futile than such remarks; and, for the most part, they proceed from ignorance, and sloth, and pride. And, besides this, the moment any *party* would overthrow a doctrine,—for example, that of regeneration in baptism,—the first thing is to put a bridle upon the lips of antiquity, and then to interpret the words of Holy Writ as it seems good in their own eyes. And further, could ignorance but once be made general, the probabilities are, that those very ecclesiastical historians depreciated “for the nonce,” would

* See what Burton says at the commencement of his first Bampton Lecture.

be appealed to as the supporters of strange and unheard of doctrines. We know that this has been done, not only in the Arian and Pelagian discussions, but also to bolster up the fond inventions of the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, let the young divine especially take care not to listen to, and not to follow after the vain jangling, which would sap the foundation of that *faith once delivered to the saints*, and acknowledged by the writers next to the apostolic age. To what is here stated we may likewise add, that however much the Roman Catholics *do down* learning amongst the people, they take care *to keep it up* amongst those that are likely to be called upon to defend their errors, and to make the "worse appear the better reason." Let those, then, who are studying in the schools of the prophets bear this warning in mind, and let it be received in the words of the ever-memorable Bishop Bull:—

"If learning and the schools of learning be once suppressed amongst us, we shall in a little time have no learned men to stand in the gap and to keep out Popery. *Hoc Ithacus velit*, this is that which the Jesuit would have, and that which he passionately desires. In short, Popery was born and bred in ignorant and unlearned ages; and, as soon as learning revived, Popery began to decline, till at last the happy Reformation ensued, which we now enjoy; and if ever learning run to decay again, we must expect to relapse into Popery, or something else as bad as or worse than that."*

Another hint we would throw out to students is this; it is well for every one to have some one book on hand at all times, and in that to be well read,—to be what Thomas Aquinas calls the *homo unius libri*, of all antagonists the most to be dreaded. This hint is for all students,—but for the theological one, the choice ought to light upon some Father of the Church, and in his writings he should be quite at home. In fact all *classical* studies, which we may presume the Divine to be adequately versed in, are but, or ought but to be, † *drudges and day-labourers to Divinity*. And, independent of the Biblical lore to be gathered from such a course of study, independent of the instruction in righteousness, which is the great point,—the man who is occupied with the Fathers will meet with again, so to say, the delight which he was used to feel in the reading of the Classics. No man can subject himself to such a course of study without reaping many and manifold advantages, and without laying up

* See Sermon on 2 Tim. iv. 13, vol. i. p. 257. Ed. Burton.

† Thomas Jackson's remark is, that "As from Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea, we may find out the pleasant streams and first springs of Jordan, so from the degenerate and corrupted relish of decayed truth, which is frequent in the puddle and standing lakes of heathen writers, we may be led to the pure fountain of truth, contained in these sacred volumes of Scripture."—*Works*, vol. i. p. 30. ed. folio.

in store such a fund of information as shall supply his discourses with fulness and vigour throughout his ministry. Endless instances might be quoted here, but that of Barrow will suggest itself to all the readers of his peerless,* sermons. The spirit of Chrysostom, whose works he read at Constantinople,—*in ipsâ cathedrâ*, as it were,—hovers over them, and line upon line, precept upon precept, is embodied in each page from them.

We conclude what we have to say on this point with an extract from Burton's second Bampton Lecture, wishing heartily that his true and plain remarks may turn the scholar to an examination of some of those authors in which he is, as it were, *a master in Israel*.

“ If the second century, instead of the fourth, had witnessed the conversion of the Roman government, the Fathers of the Christian Church might have been ranked among the classics; or if, from defect of style, this name had been denied them, there is no reason why Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Clement of Alexandria, might not have held as high a rank in literature, as Plutarch, Lucian, or Athenæus. If style and language are to decide the question, the Christian Fathers need not fear the test. Both parties may have drawn from the same corrupt sources of eloquence; but Justin Martyr is much less obscure than Plutarch, and decency is at least not outraged by the Christian writers. If depth of argument be required, Irenæus is as close and as convincing a reasoner as his heathen contemporaries; and if the lighter reader loves to gather in Athenæus the flowers of ancient poetry, he may gratify the same taste in the amusing and diversified pages of Clement of Alexandria. The Christian Fathers are not surely neglected, because, abandoning the speculations of men, they give us truths which are revealed from heaven; or if philosophical opinions have so great a charm, and if we must know the systems and the fancies which one man has invented and another has destroyed, there never was a greater record of intellectual absurdity, than the history of Gnosticism.” †

Having made these remarks, not irrelevant to the subject before us, we shall endeavour to set before our readers some account of Clement of Alexandria, and of his writings, referring throughout to the excellent work of the Bishop of Lincoln, which stands at the head of this article; and, we would remark at starting, that we have examined the Bishop's work throughout with the original Greek, and have found it correct in every instance. We say in *every instance*, because, when a passage is

* We say peerless with reference to their matter and easy flow of language; but we look upon South's Sermons (allowing for his girding remarks, and *clenched* sentences,) as the *model* for every preacher. We would apply to the two, the saying of Zeno the Stoic.—“ Rhetoricam palmæ; Dialecticam pugni similem esse dicebat quod latius loquerentur rhetores, dialectici autem compressius.”—*Cic. de Fin.*, lib. ii. c. vi.

† See Bampton Lectures, pp. 33, 34.

a *disputed* one, it does not become a scholar dictatorially to pronounce either *this* or *that* interpretation wrong—

“Grammatici certant, et *adhuc* sub iudice lis est”—

and it is excellently well observed by Tillotson, that “meekness, and modesty, and humility, are the proper dispositions of a scholar.”

The full name of the Father before us was Titus Flavius Clemens. He was born most probably at Athens, and acquired the name of Alexandrinus from his long residence at Alexandria; a title which served also to distinguish him from Clement of Rome. So that, to use the words of Cave, “when Epiphanius tells us that some affirmed him to be an Alexandrian, others an Athenian, he might well be both; the one being the place of his nativity, as the other was of his constant residence and employment.” According to Jerome, “he was a Presbyter of the Church of Alexandria, the scholar of Pantænus, and, after his decease, master of the Catechetical School at Alexandria. While he presided in it he had the honour of numbering the great Origen among his scholars. He flourished during the reigns of Severus and Caracalla (i. e. between A. D. 192 and 217), and was contemporary with Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem.”* Under the persecution of Severus he appears to have fled to the East, and when at Jerusalem to have made this acquaintance with Alexander, afterwards bishop. From him Clement was the bearer of a letter to the Church of Antioch, and to him he dedicated the Ecclesiastical Canon, or, his Ἡ πρὸς τὰς Ἰουδαίζοντας. From Antioch he returned to Alexandria.† But as no account of Clement can be perfect without the chapters ‡ Περὶ τῶν Κλήμεντος Συγγραμμάτων in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, we shall give them here at length, and make such observations upon them as shall appear requisite. We venture to transcribe the words of the old English version by Meredith Hanmer, of Porkington, in Shropshire,§ altering them occasionally as the original Greek may require.

* See Bishop of Lincoln's work, p. 4. Du Pin thinks he did not die before A.D. 220.

† It does not fall within our limits to give a detailed account of that celebrated church, and its Catechetical Schools. For that we must for the present refer our readers to that very valuable work,—Newman's Arians of the Fourth Century. The third section of Chapter I. is devoted to the subject, and will richly reward any one who shall examine it.

‡ Lib. vi. c. xiii. xiv.

§ We quote from the fourth edition, 1636, folio. The work contains translations of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, his Life of Constantine, with Constantine's oration to the Clergy, together with Socrates, Evagrius, and Dorotheus of Tyre's Lives and Ends of the Prophets, Apostles, and LXX. Disciples, and a Chronographie. As the book is now only known to collectors, we have here shown its contents. We need scarcely say that it lacks the assistance of modern scholarship.

“The books of Clemens entitled *Stromateis* are in all eight, and extant at this day, bearing this inscription: *The divers compacted books of Titus Flavius Clemens of the science of true Philosophie.* There are also, of the same number, books of his, entitled, *Dispositions or Informations,*” (in the original *ὑποτύπωσεων*, perhaps *Adumbrations*,) “where by name he remembereth his master Pantænus, expounding his interpretations and traditions. There is extant another book of his, of *Exhortation unto the Gentiles*, and three books entitled the *Schoolemaster*, and another thus, *What Rich Man can be saved?* Again a book of *Easter*, and, *Disputations of Fasting*, and, *Concerning Slander.* An *Exhortation to newnesse of life to the late Converts.* The *Canon of the Church*, or, *Against the Jews*, dedicated unto Alexander, the bishop above named. In the books called *Stromateis*, he has not only interspersed divine lore, but that of the Gentiles also, whenever anything worthy of mention appeared to be said by them,—thus unfolding the opinions received by the many, those of the Gentiles (or Greeks) at the same time, and those of the barbarians. And beside this, he confuted the false opinions of Heresiarchs, dilating many histories, and ministering unto us much matter of sundry kinds of doctrine. With these he mingleth the opinions of philosophers, fitly entitling it for the matter therein contained,—*Στρωματεῖς*, or, *Tapestry Work.* And in them he makes use of the testimony—*τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἱερογραφῶν*—of those Scriptures not admitted by all into the Canon, as out of the book called the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Jesus Sirach*, the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *Barnabas*, *Clemens*, and *Jude*. He maketh mention also of the book of Tatian against the Gentiles, and of Cassian, as though he had written a *Chronographie*. Moreover, he makes mention of Philo, Aristobulus, Josephus, Demetrius, Eupolemus, Jewish historians; and how that all they pronounced in their writings, that Moses and the nation of the Hebrewes and the Jewes, were far more ancient than the Gentiles. The books of the foresaid Clemens containe many other necessary and profitable tracts. In the first of which, speaking of himself, he says that he was next to the succession of the Apostles. And then also he promiseth to publish commentaries upon Genesis. In his book of Easter he confesseth himself to have been overtreated (*ἐκβιασθῆναι*) of his friends, that he should deliver unto the posterity in writing those traditions which he had heard of the elders of old. He makes mention in the same book of Melitus and Irenæus, and of certain others whose interpretations he alledgeth.

“But to be brief, in his books called the *Hypotyposes*, he has given a compendious account of all the canonical Scriptures, and has not passed over those which by some are not admitted; I mean the Epistle of Jude, and the other Catholic Epistles, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Revelation under the name of Peter. The Epistle unto the Hebrewes he affirmeth to be Paul's for undoubted, and therefore written in the Hebrew tongue for the Hebrewes sakes, but faithfully translated by Luke, and preached unto the Gentiles, and therefore we find there the like phrase and manner of speech which is used in the acts of the Apostles. It is not to be misliked at all, that “Paul an Apostle” is not pre-

fixed to this Epistle. For writing unto the Hebrewes he said, who had taken up a prejudice against him, and suspected him, altogether prudently he did not, by using his name at the outset, turn them from him. And shortly after he says, 'Even as the blessed Presbyter said: For so much as the Lord himself was the messenger of the Almighty, and sent to the Hebrewes, Paul for modesties sake (*διὰ μετρίωρητα*) being the apostle of the Gentiles, wrote not himself the apostle of the Hebrewes, partly for the honour due unto the Lord, and partly also for that he who was the preacher and Apostle of the Gentiles wrote, as it were,—*ἐκ περιουσίας*,—from overabundance to the Hebrewes.' Again, in the same books, Clement writes of the order of the Evangelists, according to the tradition of the elders, in this wise.* 'The Gospels which contain the genealogies are placed and counted the first. The Gospel after Marke was written upon this occasion (*ταύτην ἐσχέκεναι τὴν οὐκονομίαν.*) When Peter preached openly at Rome, and spake out the Gospel as he was moved by the Spirit, many of the auditors entreated Marke, being the hearer and follower of the Apostle for a long time, and one that well remembered his words, to deliver them in writing such things as he had heard Peter preach before. Which things, when he had signified to Peter, he neither forbade† him, nor commanded him to do it. John, last of all, seeing in the other Evangelists the humanity of Christ set forth at large, being intreated of his friends, and moved by the Holy Ghost, wrote chiefly of his divinity.' Thus farre Clemens of Alexandria. Againe the foresaid Alexander, in a certaine Epistle unto Origen, writeth how that Clemens and Pantænus were become his familiar friends after this manner:—'This you know very well was the will of God, that our friendship, began even from our progenitors, should remain inviolate, yea, and become more fervent and steadfast. We take them for our progenitors, who, going before, have taught us the way to follow after, with whom we shall hereafter be coupled, I mean Pantænus, blessed most surely, and my master, and the holy Clement my master also, who did me much good, and if there be any other such by whose means I have knowne you for my master and brother.'"—pp. 102, 103.

Such is the record which has come down to us in the valuable pages of Eusebius; and, as we said, no account of Clement can be complete without it. Of the several allusions in it we need not say much, and for the arguments relative to the catholic epistles, and the epistle to the Hebrews, we must refer our readers to those works, where the several arguments are drawn together. Our own studies have led us to the conclusion of the Church in general; that is, that the evidence in favour of the epistles above mentioned, and for the Revelation, is as strong as evidence well

* We have altered less in this latter chapter, and have only just seen that it did not depart altogether from the original. The Greek here is, *Προγράψασθαι ἔλεγε τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας κ. τ. λ.*

† But see lib. ii. c. 16, where, with reference to the sixth Book of the Hypotyposes, St. Peter is said to have sanctioned St. Mark's Gospel.—Kaye, p. 5, note.

can be. What Clement says relative to the Epistle to the Hebrews having been translated by St. Luke into Greek, will hardly be borne out by internal evidence, nor has it much more evidence in its favour. Indeed, when any one compares the *paronomasia* which occurs in it, we think, without great violence offered to the language, he will hardly be in favour of its Hebrew origin. See, for example, in the tenth chapter (v. 34, 39,) the reference which the several words *ὑπαρξιν* and *ὑπαρχόντων*, *ὑποστολῆς* and *ὑποστείλῃται*, bear to each other. We should add, by the way, that neither Clement nor Eusebius ever imagine any one else than St. Paul to be the author of it. What is said of St. Mark's Gospel was not uncommonly reputed in early days; but this and other matters we must now lay by, and proceed with the work we have in hand.

The books of this Father which have come down to us are the following:—The *Στρωματεῖς* in eight books. One book addressed to the Gentiles, three books entitled *Παιδαγωγός*, and the Tract, or Discourse, entitled, “Who is the Rich Man that shall be saved?” On these several books, with the bishop for our guide, we shall make such remarks as may seem necessary to call the attention of the theological student, as well as to give him an insight into the stores of learning, and piety, and sound doctrine, which are scattered up and down the time-honoured tomes of the Fathers of the Church. As to the books of the Hypotyposes, in which Clement is said to have indulged in strange doctrines,—Photius,* who gives us some account of them, throws out his doubts as to their being really and truly the work of his hand. And it certainly would appear that they were not, inasmuch as all the writings of his which have come down to us are free from the absurdities, and the heretical notions, attributed to him in the books referred to.

But before we turn the attention of our readers to the contents of the several books of Clement which have come down to us, let us beg of them to consider this extract from the Bishop of Lincoln's Introductory remarks.

“In the age immediately subsequent to that of the Apostles, the heathen philosopher, how reluctant soever to believe that a religion issuing from Judæa would deserve his regard, would still be unable to close his eyes against its rapid progress, and the extraordinary effects which it was daily producing. The union of gentleness and fortitude in the Christian character—the sincere and unalterable affection which the members of the Christian community displayed towards each other—the unshrinking courage with which they encountered the persecutions of

* See the Bishop of Lincoln's note, p. 6, and the original Greek, amongst the “*Testimonia*,” in Potter.

their adversaries—the strict conformity of their lives to the belief which they professed, a conformity sought in vain in the manners and morals even of the teachers of Gentile philosophy—these were phenomena which could scarcely fail to arrest attention, and to excite a wish to obtain a nearer acquaintance with the causes in which they originated. When, however, the philosopher began to make Christianity the subject of his speculations, and to investigate its evidences, his previous pursuits and modes of thinking would lead him to regard it under a peculiar point of view. With him the argument from prophecy would have comparatively little weight, because he had not, like the Jew, been nurtured in the expectation that a great deliverer, pointed out by a long series of predictions, was about to appear on the earth; nor would the exertions of supernatural power, to which Christ himself appealed in proof of his divine mission, produce their due effect on the mind of one whom the heathen mythology had rendered familiar with stories of portents and prodigies; he would regard Christianity chiefly as a rule of life, and estimate it by its tendency to improve the dispositions and practice of mankind. Under this point of view Christianity was regarded by Justin, who became a convert to it, because, as he assures us, he found it to be the only true, and sound, and safe philosophy; under this point of view it was regarded by Clement of Alexandria," whose remaining works we now proceed to. See pp. 2, 3.

To begin then with the *Λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας*, or, The Hortatory Address to the Greeks. The object of this treatise was to persuade the nations of the world to believe the Gospel. Accordingly Clement begins by showing the infinite superiority of the Gospel, as well over all the religious systems, as over the philosophy of the Greeks. They worshipped dumb idols, and their lives, for the most part, were worthless as the rites of their temples. Philosophy even herself groped in darkness, and philosophers were oftentimes at their wits' end. Their very subtlest disputations were but guesses at truth, and their firmest conclusions but as one guess amongst many. So that, in sober truth, the "*Græcus vulgaris in hanc sententiam versus*," and nothing more, might be applied to them all.

"Bene qui conjiciet, vatem hunc perhibebo optimum."

From these vanities—from reason run mad—from the deifying of heroes—from the worshipping of those that were no gods—from horrid rites—from customs lascivious, and songs unholy—Clement would turn them to the "*Songs of Sion*," into which entered nothing to offend, for those songs were the songs of the lamb, and their purity was of heaven. The grace of God that brought salvation,—the eternal Word,—this is the *new song*, τὸ

† Cic. de Div. lib. ii. c. 4.

ᾄσμα τὸ σωτήριον,* “ This is the new song, the appearance which has now shone forth amongst us, of the word who was in the beginning, and pre-existed; the Saviour, who was before, hath appeared lately; he hath appeared who is in Him who is, (ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄντι ὢν,) because he is the Word which was with God; the Teacher hath appeared by whom all things were made; the Word, who was in the beginning, gave life when he formed us, as the Creator hath taught us to live well, appearing as a Teacher, that he might afterwards give us eternal life, as God.” Such is the pure strain of orthodoxal truth with which Clement begins this Treatise. He proceeds to inveigh against the oracles, the public games, the cursed out-pouring of life at the gladiatorial shows, stating that the demons delighted in blood. He then proceeds to speak of the vanity of image worship, and that extremity of folly which is able to induce a man to believe that he can make a god unto himself out of perishable matter, such as gold and silver, ivory and marble.† The theological student, however, who would know the fulness with which Clement treats these different subjects, must turn to the original. Condensation in such an Article as this is quite out of the question. What we have said in some five or ten lines extends, in the Greek, to as much as fifty pages. Our object only is to show the way in which Clement treats his subject, and the sort of appeal which *he* makes to the heathen who, as living amongst them, must best have known what would weigh most with them. But to proceed as we began: Clement next goes on to enumerate the opinions of the philosophers concerning the gods, then to the “descriptions of the Deity given by the prophets, taking his first instance from the Sibyl.”‡ In the account of the progress of the convert which follows, he tells us that he is “introduced by faith, taught by experience, instructed by Scripture.” He tells us that the word is concealed from no one, that all may come to the light if they will, and it is their own faults if they will not. The greater part of what remains of this Treatise is taken up in answering the heathen’s objection, “that it is not creditable to subvert the customs handed down to

* The original Greek will be found in p. 7 of Potter’s ed. The translation here adopted is that of Burton in his *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ*, p. 112.

† We are constrained almost to give the following in the original, χρυσός ἐστι τὸ ἀγαλμά σου, ξύλον ἐστὶ, λίθος ἐστὶ, γῆ ἐστὶν, ἐὰν ἀναθῇ νοήσης, μορφὴν παρα τοῦ τεχνίτου προσλαβοῦσα· γῆν δὲ ἐγὼ, πατεῖν, οὗ προσκυτεῖν μεμελέτηκα· οὐ γὰρ μοι θέμις, ἐμπιστεῦσάι ποτε τοῖς ἀψύχοις τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλπίδας.—Potter, vol. i. p. 50.

‡ We have no space to dilate on the quotation from the Sibyl. On the subject of the Sibylline oracles, (till a fit occasion presents itself to us to treat of them in the *British Critic*,) we must refer to Prideaux, *Connection*, part ii. book ix. vol. iv. pp. 342—362.

us by our forefathers," which they made an excuse for continuing to follow their *dumb idols even as they were led*.* On this point Bishop Kaye has made many extracts, to which we must refer our readers. We cannot, however, help extracting the following from p. 23.

" You have received, O man, the Divine promise of grace ; you have heard the opposite threat of punishment. By these the Lord saves, disciplining man by fear and grace. Why do we delay ? Why do we not avoid the punishment ? Why do we not receive the gift ? Why do we not choose the better part, taking God instead of the evil one ?—Wisdom instead of idolatry ?—Life instead of death ? ‘ Behold,’ he says, ‘ I have placed before your face death and life.’ The Lord proves you that you may choose life : as a father, he counsels you to obey God. ‘ If ye hearken to me and are willing, ye shall eat the good of the land.’ Grace follows obedience. ‘ But if ye will not hearken or be willing, the sword and fire shall devour you.’ Judgment follows disobedience. The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it : the law of truth, the Word of the Lord.”†

On this passage we would once for all remark, that, as far as we have been able to observe, there is not the slightest vestige of Calvinism in the writings of Clement ; and we are quite sure that there is much now delivered from an English pulpit, and misnamed Evangelical, which Clement would not have considered, *according either to godliness, or the faith once delivered to the saints*.

In what remains of this Treatise, Clement proceeds to magnify the goodness, and the mercy, and the long-suffering of the Almighty,—his goodness and his mercy in redeeming fallen man, and restoring him to liberty after the bondage which he brought upon himself by his ejection from Paradise,—his long suffering in bearing with his backslidings and continued transgressions. As concerns the Fall, we should remark, that, like to sundry other allegorizers who have followed in the wake of Philo, Clement also interprets it allegorically, “ saying, that by the serpent is meant pleasure.” This, however, and other occasional *follies* of the Fathers, if so they must be called, in no wise militate against their orthodoxy on the great articles of our Belief ; and Clement, as we shall have occasion to observe hereafter, is amongst the most orthodox of those to whose learning and piety we have so much reason to stand obliged. In page 31, Bishop Kaye has given the well-known passage of thanksgiving for the light which has come into the world ; but to this we must refer our readers, as we have no room for the extract. After having contrasted the truths of the Bible with the abominations of the heathen, he says

* The following beautiful sentence occurs in p. 75 of the Greek :—*Καλὸς ὁ κινδῦνος αὐτομολῆν πρὸς Θεόν !*

† Original Greek, vol. i. p. 76.

to them, "It remains to pronounce the pious Christian alone rich,* and wise, and noble; and in this respect to call and believe him the image and likeness of God; because he has been made holy and wise by Jesus Christ, and so far even like to God;" and then concludes with the following words, "I have placed before you Judgment and Grace: doubt not which is the better, for life must not be compared with destruction."

Of course, if the contents of the "Hortatory Address to the Greeks," or "Gentiles," were to be judged of by the meagre account we have been enabled to give here, for the most part abbreviated from the work before us, after a careful comparison of it throughout with the original Greek, (a thankless, but as we had occasion to show with reference to Mr. Boyd's extracts from the Greek Fathers,† a most necessary office on the part of a critic,) it would be little that our readers would have to thank Clement for. But our limits only allow us to direct their attention, and we certainly cannot do better than send them to these volumes of the great master of the Catechetical School at Alexandria. The Christian will there find the doctrines and the words of his Bible appealed to as incontrovertible verities, as *pure* and *whole every whit*; and the scholar will have his classical recollections refreshed, if not by the purest of styles, yet by one of the most lively and agreeable that the lower ages ever produced. We cannot do better than give the following long extract from the bishop's excellent work in conclusion. Our own remarks would have been shorter, but probably not so clear.

"The professed aim of Gentile philosophy was to accomplish the amelioration of human nature; to render man superior both to external circumstances, and to his own appetites and passions, by placing before him a model of perfect virtue, of which he was never to lose sight, and to which he was to conform his whole life and conversation. The philosopher failed to effect his object, because he was alike ignorant of the true source of moral obligation, and of the true standard of moral excellence; and because he could supply no adequate sanctions to ensure obedience to his injunctions. The main design of the Hortatory Address is to show that the Gospel possessed the requisites in which philosophy was deficient. It proceeded from the one true God, to whose superintending providence alone its rapid progress could be ascribed. The bearer of the revelation was the Son of God—'the Word, who is the sun

* This probably may be said with some reference to the dicta of the Stoics. See their philosophy laughed at by Horace, Sat. lib. i. sat. iii. 124.

————— "Si dives, qui sapiens est,
Et sutor bonus, et solus formosus, et est rex;
Cur optas, quod habes?"

† See No. XXXII. for October, 1834, p. 443, &c. Mr. Boyd, no doubt thinking the exercise would do us good, sent us dancing through some twenty pages of Basil to connect two of his sentences together!

*of the soul, by whom alone, rising in the inmost recesses of the understanding, the eye of the understanding is enlightened. From this divine fountain of light some rays had flowed even to the Greeks, who had thereby been enabled to discover faint traces of the truth. But the Word himself has now appeared in the form of man, to be our teacher; and the sanctions by which he confirms his precepts are the most powerful which can be proposed to a rational being—an eternity of happiness to the obedient, of misery to the disobedient.**

“Man, according to Clement, was created in the image of God, and was designed to enjoy the divine intercourse; but, seduced into disobedience, he forfeited these high privileges. The Word descended upon earth to replace him in the situation from which he had fallen; to enable him to fulfil the purposes of his being, by exercising himself in the contemplation, and aspiring to the knowledge of God. He, then, who lends a willing ear to the message of the Word, reconciled to God by the mediation of Christ, and transformed by the Holy Spirit of God, continually advances in righteousness, wherein his resemblance to God consists; so that he becomes the friend of God, and like unto God; nay, he is as it were made God, for piety,† according to Clement, raises the human nature to divine.

“The purifying and sanctifying influence of the Gospel is the theme to which Clement continually recurs. In enlarging upon it he expresses himself with an energy and fervour, which, in the opinion of the pious Christian, will compensate many offences against good taste, and many defects in reasoning. The character under which he delights to contemplate Christ is that of the restorer of man to original purity, of the Creator of man anew in righteousness and holiness. If he touches upon the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, it is chiefly to point out the motives which they supply to increased exertions in well doing. If his subject leads him to mention the miraculous acts by which Christ, during his residence on earth, gave proof of his divine mission, Clement instantly reverts to the spiritual miracles which were to be accomplished by the preaching of the Word, in removing the film from the mental eye,—in opening the ear of the understanding to the reception of Divine truth,—in raising the morally lame and impotent from the ground, and enabling them so to run that they may obtain the prize of salvation. This may be said to be neither a systematic nor a complete, but it cannot justly be called a low or unworthy view of the Gospel dispensation. It gives birth to lofty and exalted notions of the purposes of our being: it is, indeed, an expansion of our blessed Lord's injunction, *Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.*”—p. 38—41.

We proceed now to the next Treatise—the Παιδαγωγός, or Pædagogogue—which is comprised in three books. “Every page of this treatise,” as Burton remarks in his *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ*, “shows that Clement

* We give the italics as they are in the Bishop's work. The two passages here combined will be found in pages 59, 64, of the original Greek, ed. Potter.

† See the references at the bottom of the page.

ntended Jesus Christ by the *Pædagogus*, or Instructor; and yet it is equally certain that he attributes to this Instructor many sayings and actions, which in the Old Testament are ascribed to God."* But on this point the orthodoxy of Clement has been questioned but by few, and we shall hereafter refer to Bishop Bull's *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ* with relation to it. As to the identity of the *Pædagogus* with Jesus Christ, the following words from the seventh chapter of the first book are sufficient as a proof at starting:† 'Ο δὲ ἡμέτερος παιδαγωγὸς ἅγιος Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ πάσης τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καθηγέμων λόγος· αὐτὸς ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ἐστὶ παιδαγωγός.

As the subject of the Hortatory Address was to convert the heathens to Christianity, so the *Pædagogue* was to instruct the new convert how to regulate his conduct according to the truth as it is in Jesus—the true and real *Pædagogue* of the soul, and without whom “nothing is good, nothing is holy.” This, in a few words, may be said to be the sum and substance of the three books of the *Pædagogue*, which were also to prepare the convert for the *Στρωματεῖς*,‡ to be examined in their order. Clement commences his *Παιδαγωγὸς* by stating that in man three things are to be considered,—moral principles, actions, and passions, (ἡθῶν, πράξεων, παθῶν.) Of moral principles he had treated in the Hortatory Address; in the present treatise his discourse is to be of a preceptive character, inasmuch as that is what regulates actions; whilst that which regulates the passions, or affections, being of a suasive character, is reserved for the *Στρωματεῖς*.

“Yet it is the same Word, who now by exhortation, now by precept, now by persuasion, rescues man from the dominion of worldly habit, and leads him to salvation, which is of faith in God. When the heavenly guide, the Word, calls men to salvation, the name of Hortatory then peculiarly belongs to him. But when, proceeding onward, he assumes at once the healing and preceptive character, we then give him the appropriate name of *Pædagogue*; his object being practical, not methodical or doctrinal—to ameliorate, not to instruct the soul—to point the way to soberness of living, not to knowledge. The same Word is doubtless occasionally a teacher, but not in the present instance; for when he is a teacher he is employed in the explication of doctrines; but the *Pædagogue*, being practical, having first directed us to the formation of moral principles, then exhorts us to the performance of what is right, delivering pure precepts, and holding up the images of former errors to those who come after. Both modes are most useful, the preceptive to produce obedience, while that which places images before us operates in a twofold manner; it induces us to imitate the good and to avoid the evil. The cure of the passions is effected by the persuasive power of these images, the *Pædagogue* strengthening the soul, and preparing the sick

* See p. 151.

† See the original passage in Potter, p. 131.

‡ See what Cave says on this point in his *Life of Clemens Alexandrinus*, p. 198, and compare it with the Bishop of Lincoln's note, p. 44.

by benevolent precepts, as it were by gentle medicines, for the perfect knowledge of the truth. Health comes through the application of remedies; knowledge through instruction. Man must be restored to perfect health before he can enter upon the course of doctrinal instruction. The diseased soul first needs the Pædagogus to heal its passions; then the teacher, to pacify and render it meet for knowledge. Such is the economy of the benevolent Word; he is first hortatory; then acts the part of the Pædagogus; lastly, of a teacher."—pp. 45, 46.

There is a good deal of what one might call *Patristic idiom* in all this; but it was necessary to be set down in order to show the way in which Clement, who best knew the needs of his own times, thought it right to conduct his hearers to the truth. There is, however, somewhat of irregularity in the way in which he has wrought out the principles with which he has started. For example, Clement knew that the Gospel,

"assuming the existence of the relations in which we stand to God, makes them the principle of moral obligation, and thus enforces the necessity of active virtue, by teaching us to refer our whole behaviour to the will of God."

Clement knew that the Gospel

"contented itself with pointing out generally the frame and temper of mind which the Christian ought to acquire,—that it does not descend into particulars,—that it does not teach morality systematically. From this he derived an argument in proof of the superiority of Christianity to Gentile philosophy: the latter, he said, dealt in particular precepts; the former regulated the springs of action, the thoughts and affections of the heart. Yet in this same treatise, the Pædagogus, written in order to fill up as it were the outline of the Christian character in the Gospel, he has himself descended into the minutest details of human conduct, and given rules for the direction of the convert in the common transactions of daily life."—pp. 43, 44.

Having noticed this inconsistency, we may now proceed briefly to point out some of the contents of the Pædagogus. The first book, then, points out who is the Pædagogus, whom he instructs, and what is the manner of his instruction. And whom does he speak of as the Pædagogus? Even the eternal Word, whose everlasting attributes, whose "glory equal, and majesty co-eternal" with the Father, are described in such a manner as to show to the veriest sceptic that the doctrines of Socinus and the "*Fratres Poloni*" would have been denounced by Clement as the height of heretical depravity. Of them, doubtless, though he would have prayed for their conversion, he would have said, as St. Paul said of the unbelievers, "*What have I to do with them that are without?*"* God was manifest in the flesh, not only to save mankind,

* See Jeremy Taylor's Preface to the Psalter of David, with Titles and Collects, &c. *Works*, vol. xv. p. cvii.

but, also, in taking upon him the office of Pædagogus, to lead men unto all truth, and to make them zealous of good works. *If ye love me, keep my commandments.* He is the Wisdom, the Word of the Father, the all-sufficient sacrifice for sin, the Saviour; the great Physician both of body and soul. It is He alone that can say effectually, "*Thy sins be forgiven thee.*" After having shown who the Pædagogus is, and having stated that his instructions are alike applicable to men and women,—a remark which must be explained by looking back to the state of female society among the Gentiles, or even yet to the debasement of the female character amongst the nations of the East,—he proceeds to point out who are the Παῖδες, or Children: that is, that they are Christians in general, and not, as the Gnostics would have it, mere babes in knowledge, as contradistinguished from themselves, who were perfect. But we cannot give a regular analysis even of the Bishop of Lincoln's extracts, much less of the work itself; we must therefore conclude with saying, that the latter part of this book is taken up with showing how Christ is the Pædagogus to each one severally, how that the Law and the Gospel are parts of one great whole; and that

"the Word had acted the part of the Pædagogus through Moses and the Prophets, so that it was evident that Jesus, the one true, good, just Son, *in the image and after the likeness of the Father*, the Word of God, had been uniformly the instructor of mankind."

The second book descends to particulars, and, as we had occasion to observe just above, is somewhat inconsistent with the plan which we would have expected to have been pursued. We have no room for particulars; but every thing which relates to eating, drinking, sleeping, shows, amusements, &c., is brought under review, and examined with a degree of minuteness which is surprising; and, perhaps, more surprising than edifying. What the Bishop says of Clement's references to St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, may be considered applicable to the whole minutiae of description which the book contains.

"We have only to compare Clement with St. Paul, in order to be convinced of the superiority of that mode of moral instruction, which lays down general principles, and leaves them to be applied by the discretion and conscience of each individual, according to his particular circumstances, to that which professes to regulate every single action, and by its minuteness becomes at once burdensome and ridiculous." *

In saying this, however, we by no means wish to detract from the value of Clement's remarks *as a whole*; it is only the *excess* which we point out as useless. The book itself, indeed, is full of most

* See p. 71.

valuable stores of, not antiquity only, but Christian ethics also ; and, if we are speaking to a scholar, and one fond of gathering garlands collected from classic ground, we can assure him, that not only this book, but the whole of the writings of Clement, will amply repay him for reading them. Indeed, we fancy that, from his notes to his several scattered productions, we can discover that colossus of a scholar, Porson, to have been one who set much store by Clement of Alexandria.

The third book, like the second, goes on to give particulars, and is equally minute ; we therefore refer our readers to the analysis in Bishop Kaye's work, or to the original itself, and conclude with two passages ; the one, the discourse which Clement supposes the Pædagogus to address to the child (Παῖς, as before explained) ; the other, the Prayer to the Word. The first is as follows :—

“ Hear, O child, the sum of salvation ; for I will unfold to thee my morality, and suggest to thee those fair precepts, through which thou shalt reach salvation ; for I conduct thee in the way of salvation. Follow the good road by which I shall lead thee, lending to me ready ears ; and I will give thee treasures, hidden, secret, unseen by the Gentiles, seen by us. The treasures of wisdom are inexhaustible, in admiration of which the apostle says, *O the depth of the riches and wisdom*. These various treasures are supplied by one God ; some through the law ; some through the prophets ; some by the Divine mouth ; some in unison with the sevenfold Spirit ; but the Lord, who is one, is one Pædagogus through all. There is one summary practical precept, which comprehends all ; *As you wish that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them*. All the commandments may be comprised in two :—*Thou shalt love thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself*. The Pædagogus, for our easier instruction, has expanded these precepts in the Decalogue.”—pp. 105, 106.

“ Be propitious, O Pædagogus, to thy children ; O Father,* charioteer of Israel, Son and Father, both One, O Lord, grant that we, who follow thy injunctions, may perfect the likeness of the image, and may, as far as is in our power, recognize at once a good God and a mild Judge. Grant that we all, living in thy peace, translated into thy city, safely sailing through the waves of sin, may be tranquilly borne along together with the Holy Spirit, the ineffable Wisdom ; and day and night, until the perfect day, may praise with thanksgiving, and give thanks with praise, to the only Father and Son, Son and Father, the Son, the Pædagogus and Teacher, together with the Holy Spirit, all things in one ; in whom are all things ; through whom all things are one ; through whom is eternity ; whose members we all are ; whose is the glory, the ages (αἰῶνες). To the all-good, all-fair, all-wise, all-just, be glory now and for ever. Amen.”

* The reference seems to be to 2 Kings, ii. 12.

What has been here said will give some faint idea of the Pædagogus, and in the above prayer there is reason enough to say with that bright ornament of our Church, Bishop Bull: "In meridianâ luce cæcutit, qui non clarè videt, in hâc δοξολογίᾳ, plenam et perfectam consubstantialis Trinitatis, hoc est, unius Dei in tribus personis, Patre nempe, Filio et Spiritu S. subsistentis, confessionem contineri."* As for what may be said for or against the Pædagogus as a treatise, it does not fall within the scope of this review to dwell upon that. What we would refer to it for is to show that Clement held firm and steadfast those doctrines of our faith which are the glory of the Catholic Church, and the comfort of all believers, even if some do err from the truth, and depart from the right way. For the church that holds to the *faith once delivered to the saints* is blessed amid *the strife of tongues* and amid the noise and blasphemy of a forgetful age. "The Church," to use the pure and orthodox language of Mr. Newman, in his valuable Sermons, "The Church considered as one army militant, proceeding forward from the house of bondage to Canaan, gains the victory, and accomplishes what is predicted of her, though many soldiers fall in the battle."† It is God's merciful purpose that it should be so. *Whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate; whom he did predestinate, them he also called; whom he called, them he also justified; whom he justified, them he also glorified.* (Rom. viii. 28, 30); for, in the words of Clement, τὸ μέλλον τοῦ χρόνου τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θελήματος προσλαμβάνεται.‡ We must not omit to add, that the remarks, perhaps the misunderstanding, of Mr. Barbeyac, are replied to by Bishop Kaye, in the concluding paragraph on the Pædagogus. §

We have arrived now at what may be called Clement's great work,—the Στρωματεῖς,—now, as Mr. Greswell has observed, incorrectly called the Stromata. In this work it is the object of Clement to describe the Gnostic, or perfect Christian, and if it should be said that it contains much trifling, and, to us, irrelevant matter, we are quite ready to admit it. But, at the same time, we caution the theological student from being deterred from examining its contents by any vague and indeterminate assertions. However much its author may have followed in the wake of those who were any thing rather than pure expositors of Holy Writ, however

* Defensio Fidei Nicænæ, ii. 6. 4. Works, vol. v. p. 246. Part i.

† See the Sermon on the Epiphany, vol. ii. p. 100. A volume of sermons fit to be set by the side of John Miller's; as, indeed, is the first volume also. They abound with the learning, and the judgment, and the Christian simplicity of a Hooker!

‡ See Pædag. lib. i. c. 6. Ed. Potter, vol. i. p. 113. Bishop Kaye refers to the passage, p. 53, and it would appear that Mr. Newman must have had it, or a like one, in view, in the sermon above quoted. It is quoted by the Bishop with reference to regeneration in baptism.

§ See p. 109—111.

much he may have fallen into the system of allegorizing, and have been led astray by *vain philosophy*, whilst he endeavoured to combat it; still, for all this, his writings are by no means so full of such deviations from the right way as those who speak against *them* (as they do against *other* of the memorable works which the Fathers have left behind them) would have the unwary to suppose. The truth is, that the writings of Clement, one and all, stand up for the great and palmary doctrines of the Christian's faith, and therefore are to be accounted a possession most valuable; and we would apply to them, *mutatis mutandis*, the beautiful words of Horace, in his *Epistola ad Pisones*.

"Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci,
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo.
 Hic meret æra liber Sosiis; hic et mare transit,
 Et longum noto scriptori prorogat ævum.
Sunt delicta tamen, quibus ignovisse velimus;
 Nam neque chorda sonum reddit, quem vult manus et mens,
 Poscentique gravem persæpe remittit acutum;
 Nec semper feriet, quodcunque minabitur, arcus.
 Verùm ubi *plura nitent* in carmine, non ego *paucis*
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
 Aut humana parum cavit natura."—v. 343—353.

We said above, that it was the intent of Clement, in this work, to describe the Gnostic, or perfect Christian. It must be confessed that to this end much is wanting, and the treatise, in our eyes, is evidently left incomplete. So that, when at the end of the sixth book of the *Stromata* he speaks of himself as having made a statue of the Gnostic, we may fairly say with the Bishop of Lincoln, "So far from having made a statue, he has not even completed a single part or member; the most that can be said is, that in his work may be found the materials out of which a statue may be made."* What, then, it may be asked, is the Gnostic of Clement? Our answer is, that the Gnostic is every thing which the heretics of the day were not; and this, added to other reasons, was the occasion of Clement's writing the *Stromata*, that "he might guard his readers against the erroneous representations put forth by the Valentinians and other heretics." But to describe the Gnostic would lead us too far for the limits of this review; for Clement's account of him, therefore, we must refer our readers to the ably condensed summary in the fifth chapter of the work before us, and to the sixth chapter for an account of those heretics,† whose opinions it was the object of Clement to

* Bishop of Lincoln's work, p. 259.

† We need hardly refer any readers of this article to the Bampton Lectures of Professor Burton on the Heresies of the Apostolic Age. They will be found to fill up all that is wanting in the sixth chapter alluded to in the context.

combat. One thing, however, we must remark by the way, which is this, that no one "can read the works of Clement of Alexandria without perceiving that the very term *Gnostic* was applied by the Christians to themselves, who contrasted their own true and heavenly knowledge with that which was professed by the Gnostics *falsely so called*."* These remarks being premised, we shall now give the drift of the *Stromata*, in the language of Mr. Newman, and then advert, in as few words as we may, to the contents of each book.

"The work of St. Clement of Alexandria," says Mr. Newman, "called *Stromata*, or Tapestry-Work, from the variety of its contents, well illustrates the primitive Church's method of instruction, as well as regards the educated portion of the community. It had the distinct object of interesting and conciliating the learned heathen who perused it; but it also exemplifies the peculiar caution then adopted by Christians, in teaching the truth; their desire to rouse the moral powers to internal voluntary action, and their dread of loading or formalizing the mind. In the opening of his work, Clement speaks of his miscellaneous discussions as mingling truth with philosophy; 'or rather,' he continues, 'involving and concealing it, as the shell hides the real fruit of the nut, (*καθάπερ τῷ λεπύρῳ τὸ ἐδώδιμον τῷ καρύει*). In another place he compares them, not to a fancy garden, but to some thickly wooded mountain, where trees of every sort, growing promiscuously, conceal, by their very number, those that are fruitful from the plunderer, while the experienced labourer may select and make use of the latter. 'Do not therefore expect,' he warns his reader, 'method or precision in this work. My design being to hide my subject, none but the intelligent, and the sharp-sighted, and the sincere inquirer, will be able to enter into it. By this artifice also, I shall baffle the perverse, who think to overbear the truth by the very stoutness of their unbelief; answering fools according to their folly. And on the other hand, I shall stimulate the well instructed mind to search it out in that narrow way of care and pain, by which alone we are carried on to Christian knowledge and blessedness.'†

The above extract, in a few words, will open the design of the

* See Burton's Bampton Lectures, p. 219, and the Bishop of Lincoln's work, p. 238—241, for what Clement understands by the term *γνώσις*. It would not be amiss were all to act up to these sentences of the Father before us. *Πρόκειται δὲ τοῖς εἰς τελείωσιν σπεύδουσιν ἡ γνώσις ἢ λογική· ἥς θεμέλιος ἡ ἀγία τριάς, πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη· μείζων δὲ τούτων, ἡ ἀγάπη*. *Strom. lib. iv. 7. p. 588.* 'Ὁ βίος γὰρ οἶμαι τοῦ γνωστικοῦ, (οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ἔργα καὶ λόγοι τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόλοιθοι παραδόνται. *Ibid. lib. vii. 16. 896* ; and above, p. 882. vii. 13. *ἔπεται γὰρ τὰ ἔργα τῇ γνώσει, ὡς τῷ σώματι ἡ σκία*.

† See History of the Arians of the Fourth Century, c. i. s. iii. p. 53. We give the original of the passage from the end of the fifth book, as a fair specimen of Clement's style. 'Εοίκασι δέ πως οἱ *Στρωματεῖς* ἐκ παραδείσους ἐξησκημένοις, ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἐν στοιχείῳ, (*forsân, στοιχῶ,*) καταπεφυτευμένοις εἰς ἡδονὴν ὄψεως· ὅρει δὲ μάλλον συσκήῳ τινὶ καὶ δάσει, κυπαρίσσοις καὶ πλατάνοις, δάφνη τε καὶ κισσῷ, μηλίσαις τε ὁμῶς καὶ ἐλαίαις, καὶ σύκαις καταπεφυτευμένῳ, ἐξεπίτηδες ἀναμειγμένης τῆς φυτείας καρποφόρον τε ὁμῶς καὶ ἀκάρπων δένδρον, διὰ τοὺς ὑφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ κλέπτειν τολμῶντας τὰ ὄρια, ἐθελούσης λανθάνειν τῆς γραφῆς· ἐξ ὧν δὴ μεταμοσχεύσας καὶ μεταφυτεύσας ὁ γεωργὸς, ὡραῖον κατακοσμήσει παράδεισον, καὶ ἄλσος ἐπιτερπείας. *Potter, vol. ii. p. 901, 902, and Kaye, p. 115, note.*

Stromata; further particulars will be found detailed in the fourth chapter of the work before us, and that which relates to Clement's own search after truth cannot fail to interest every one, particularly the paragraph in which he is supposed to refer to Pautænus. Σικελικὴ τῶ ὄντι ἡ μέλιττα· προφητικῆ τε καὶ Ἀποστολικῆ λειμῶνος τὰ ἄνθη δρεπόμενος, ἀκήρατόν τι γνώσεως χρῆμα ταῖς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἐνεγέννησε ψυχαῖς.*

As to the contents of the First Book we shall not be far wrong in saying that they may be summed up in this,—the advantages of Gentile learning and philosophy when made, as they ought to be always, handmaids to Divinity. The particulars, as we said, we must pass by, but there is one point on which a few words may be necessary, and that is, the manner in which Clement speaks of philosophy being the justifier of the Greeks. Ἦν μὲν ἔν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου παρυσίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην Ἑλλησιν ἀναγκαία φιλοσοφία. The whole of this may be simply explained, by saying that it will be required of each one according to the talents committed to his trust. If, *professing themselves to be wise they become fools*, if the Greeks would not receive that manifestation of God, mentioned by St. Paul in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, which *may* be known to all, inasmuch as *the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead*,—in that case they were without excuse,—they were not, so to say, justified by the knowledge which they had.

“Before the coming of the Lord,” are Clement's words, “philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for justification; now it is useful to piety, being a kind of preliminary exercise to those who obtain faith through demonstration. We cannot err, if we refer what is good, whether it be Greek or Christian, to Providence. For God is the cause of all that is good, sometimes immediately or principally (κατὰ προηγούμενον), as of the old and new covenants; sometimes by consequence, as of philosophy. Perhaps it was given even immediately to the Greeks, before God called them; it was to them a schoolmaster, as the law to the Hebrews, to lead them to Christ. It is preparatory, opening the way to him who is afterwards perfected by Christ.”—pp. 116, 117.

But we must refer to the work itself, in which Clement dwells upon the theft, as he calls it, of the Greek Philosophy from the Hebrew, proving the high antiquity of the latter, and referring, in our judgment, most justly to it, as the source of all that scattered knowledge of heavenly things which is to be picked up amongst the sages of antiquity. That which is said from chapter xxi. to the end of the book, relative as well to the Greek Philosophy,

* Potter, vol. i. p. 322. Strom. lib. i. c. i.

as to the account of the Septuagint,* but particularly the former, is well worth the attention of the scholar, whether a Divine or not. What is said of Moses is chiefly taken from Philo.

The Second Book of the *Στρωματεῖς* contains a repetition of much which is said in the first, relative to the source from which the Greeks stole their philosophy. After this the gradual formation of the Gnostic character is developed, together with what is requisite to be τέλειος, or a perfect Gnostic, ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμῳασιν ὁ γνωστικός; for which character, see chap. xix. In this Book, Clement expressly says, that they only that are spiritually led, that is, by God's Holy Spirit, can attain to the understanding of Divine truth, through the medium of faith, which he defines to be,* a voluntary anticipation, the assent of piety, *the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen*; whereas the heretical notions of faith entertained by Basilides and the Valentinians led to the doctrine of an inevitable necessity, and subverted the distinctions between right and wrong. After having stated the opinions of Aristotle and Epicurus respecting faith, and having stated that all the ideal perfections of the Stoic were concentrated in Christ only, he reverts again to the subject of faith, and says, that

“It would be absurd in the admirers of Pythagoras, who deemed it sufficient to allege in confirmation of what they advanced, that he had said it; that it would be absurd in them to distrust the only teacher who was worthy of credit, God the only Saviour, and to require from him proofs of what he taught.”†

After this, he censures those heretics who disparaged the law, because it addressed itself to the fear of man. Would that many now, instead of indulging in an unbecoming and almost irreverent style of language, would learn to *rejoice before the Lord with trembling*, and to know that although *perfect love casteth out fear*, yet, nevertheless, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*. Clement's own description of the Christian's progress to knowledge is this.

“Faith becomes hope through repentance, as does fear through faith; perseverance and exercise in these, united with instruction, are perfected into charity; and charity is perfected into knowledge. Wisdom is the power of God which teaches the truth; and thence is derived the perfection of knowledge.”‡

* We should observe, by the way, that when Clement speaks of philosophy as justifying the Greeks, he excludes those who had the means of knowing the Scriptures, which were expressly translated into Greek that their excuse of ignorance might not stand. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ, ἐρμηνεύθησαν (l. ἡρ.) αἱ Γραφαί, ὥς μὴ πρόφασιν ἀγνοίας προβάλλεσθαι δυνηθῆναι ποτε αὐτοὺς, οἷος τε ὄντας ἐπακοῦσαι καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἣν μόνον ἐθελήσωσιν. Strom. lib. i. c. vii. p. 338. Kaye, p. 118.

† Bishop Kaye, p. 133.

‡ Bishop Kaye, p. 138.

Besides the connection of Christian virtues,—the opinions of divers philosophers concerning happiness,—and the repeated assertion that the Greeks derived all their notions of moral virtues from Moses, or the Hebrews, and the concluding remarks relative to marriage, which, however Clement in other places may seem to favour celibacy *in general*, savour not at all, but just the reverse, of the Roman Catholic *doctrine according to men* which forbids the clergy to marry,—besides all this, mixed up with astonishing stores of information, even if they do sometimes border upon the precincts of trifling, he has these remarkable words (with which we conclude the notice of the Second Book) relative to the dangerous condition of those who are continually repenting and relapsing into sin.

“ The Gentile who embraces the Gospel, once receives the remission of sins, but he who afterwards sins and then repents, even if he obtains pardon, ought to feel shame, because he is not again washed for the remission of sins. He who is regenerated in the Spirit ought to quit his former mode of life; that is, he ought not again to be involved in the same transgression, and again to repent. For repeatedly to ask forgiveness on account of repeated offences is not repentance, but a show of repentance.”*

The Third Book of the *Στρωματεῖς* is a very remarkable relic of antiquity, and relates almost entirely to the opinions of the Pseudo-gnostics relative to marriage. We have no room for extracts,—but we would remark that all which relates to this subject is most surprising; and it is all but incomprehensible how such distortions of Scripture ever could have entered into the heads, whether of a Basilides or a Valentinus, a Carpocrates, or a Marcion. The fact is indisputable that some, whilst they forbade marriage, gave way to the most unbridled licentiousness; whilst others, running into the contrary extreme, practised austerities, which, in all probability, but in too many instances turned what was, at first, the milk of the word, to vinegar. Clement's own words are; Ἡπερ τοι ἀδιαφόρως ζῆν διδάσκουσιν, ἢ τὸ ὑπέρτονον ἀσκήσαι, ἐγκράτειαν διὰ δυσσεβείας καὶ φιλαπεχθημοσύνης καταλέγῃσι. Nothing can more fully explain the words of St. Paul to Timothy than the contents of this Book; and, although oftentimes we think that Professor Burton, like the learned Hammond, finds allusions to Gnosticism, where no such allusion exists, yet here we perfectly coincide with his views on the subject, and gladly refer our readers to his fifth Bampton Lecture, in which, and in the very valuable notes, all that is requisite to elucidate the subject will be found fully detailed. The words of St. Paul to

* See Bishop Kaye, p. 140.

Timothy which we alluded to above are these, and without doubt they bear more upon the Gnostics than upon the Romish prohibition, which only relates to the clergy. *Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.**

Having shown that marriage was not incompatible with true Gnostic perfection, Clement, in the

“Fourth Book, begins with stating the subjects which he means to discuss, and the order in which he means to discuss them. He should speak of martyrdom first, and then describe the perfect Gnostic; then show that it was alike incumbent on freemen and slaves, on men and women,† to philosophize; then treat of faith and inquiry (*περὶ τῆς ζητεῖν*), and of the symbolic system; and having thus completed the subject of morals, point out summarily the assistance which the Greeks had derived from the barbarian philosophy. He would then briefly produce passages of Scripture in opposition to the Greeks and Jews; and afterwards discuss the opinions of the Greeks and barbarians concerning natural principles, (*τὰ περὶ ἀρχῶν φυσιολογηθέντα*). The next step would be to treat of the prophetic writings, and to show that the scriptures were sanctioned by the authority of the Almighty, and that one God and Almighty Lord was proclaimed by the law and the prophets, and by the gospel. All these discussions would be only preliminary to the consideration of the Gnostic physiology, which depends on the history of the creation of the universe (*κοσμογονία*). Thence he would ascend to the consideration of Divine things (*ἐπὶ τὸ θεολογικὸν εἶδος*).”

Accordingly he proceeds to the consideration of martyrdom, and then to the delineation of the perfect Gnostic. In the doing of this he has occasion to introduce continuous and varied learning, and to dwell upon the exercise of the Christian virtues, in a manner which, if it contains somewhat of trifling, contains never-

* 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. On the words *ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς*, see Professor Burton's note, 437. He brings all the several like expressions together, and he concludes (as we think rightly,) that “the *latter days* were at least beginning at the end of the first century.” In p. 437 he quotes the following very remarkable passage from Epiphanius relative to this text of St. Paul, “Most of these heretics forbid to marry, and order men to abstain from meats, not giving such precepts for the regulation of life, nor for the sake of superior virtue and its rewards and crowns, but because they think those things abominable which were instituted by the Lord.” Hær. XLVII¹, 8, p. 410.

† The ladies of the *Blue* will certainly be much rejoiced to find Clement a party to their learned discussions! Honest old Fuller, speaking of witches as being commonly of the female sex, has occasion to remark out of Fulgentius, “*Nescio quid habet muliebre nomen semper cum sacris*: if they light well, they are inferior to few men in piety; if ill, superior to all in superstition.”

theless much that must be instructive to the reader, both in head and heart.

In the Fifth Book Clement goes on to build up the true Gnostic, and, according to his purpose, begins by treating of faith, which, he says, "Some referred exclusively to [the Son, while they referred knowledge to the Spirit; but that faith and knowledge cannot be separated." He then proceeds to refute the heretical opinions of Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion, respecting faith. After this he points out the resemblance between faith and hope, and then touches upon a subject which has at all times more or less been one which has drawn the attention of mankind, the practice of concealing truths under mysteries, and especially the truths of religion,* to the knowledge of which none but the initiated were admitted." For his remarks on this point we must refer to the original, from chapter iv. to x., and to the Bishop of Lincoln's work, for his very able exposition of the passage relative to the Egyptian hieroglyphics. At the end of the book Clement refers again to that subject, which of all others seems most to have taken his attention,—the thefts of the Greek Philosophers. His conclusion upon this point is, that "the Greek literature is to be studied; but in order to be studied profitably, it must be considered in connexion with the Hebrew Scriptures, the source from which it flowed." We should remark in conclusion, that there is not a single word in this book to confirm any vain notions relative to unauthoritative tradition.†

Clement begins the Sixth Book with stating that in that and in the seventh, having described the life and conversation of the Gnostic, he should show that far from deserving the imputation of impiety, the real Gnostic, as opposed to the Pseudo-Gnostic, was the only true and pious worshipper. Before entering, however, upon the subject, he says that "having shown in the preceding book that the symbolical mode of instruction was used by the Greeks as well as by the Hebrew prophets, he shall proceed to show that the Greeks, not content with stealing from the Hebrew Scriptures, stole from each other;" and to this remarkable list of plagiarisms we would beg to refer both scholar and divine, as does the learned prelate whose work heads our article. Amongst other subjects of remark in this book, Clement observes that

"The law and the prophets were given to the Jews, and philo-

* See Bishop Kaye, p. 178.

† For the proper use to be made of "Unauthoritative Tradition," see the valuable treatise of Dr. Hawkins.

sophy to the Greeks, to prepare them for the preaching of the Gospel. To those that were just according to the law, faith was wanting; to those who were just according to philosophy, not only faith, but also the renunciation of idolatry. Christ, therefore, descended into Hades to preach to those who, whether Jews or Gentiles, had lived, not indeed perfectly, but agreeably to the rule of life proposed to them, to bring them to salvation.*

He afterwards observes that St. Paul does not condemn philosophy in general, but only vain philosophy,—words which may recal to the recollection of some of our readers the words of South.—“When philosophy seems to contradict a divine truth, then it is to be reputed vain, and we are to fetch the decision of the case from faith.”† After this he proceeds to describe more fully what tends to the perfection of the Gnostic, a consideration of which we may perhaps say, as of the last chapter in *Rasselas*, that after all it is a “conclusion, in which nothing is concluded.” We must remark by the way, that in the specimen which Clement gives of the knowledge of the Gnostic in the mystical interpretation of the Decalogue, he but interprets eight out of the Ten Commandments. The book concludes with a passage we have before alluded to, and which we now subjoin in the original.—
Καθάπερ οὖν ἀνδριάντα ἀποπλασάμενοι τοῦ γνωστικοῦ ἤδη μὲν ἐπιδείξαμεν ὅς ἐστι, μέγεθός τε καὶ κάλλος ἡθους αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐν ὑπογραφῇ δηλώσαντες· ὑπόϊος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς, μεταταῦτα δηλωθῆσεται, ἐπὶ περὶ γενέσεως κόσμου διαλαμβάνειν ἀρξώμεθα.

In the Seventh Book Clement goes on to show that the Gnostic is anything but an Atheist, which the Greeks falsely called him. And here, from what Clement says, we should be induced to conclude that the same, or like accusations, were brought against the Gnostic, which we read of in Minucius Felix. Proceeding with his character of the Gnostic, Clement has these remarks,—

“The Gnostic honours God with prayer, considering it, when united with righteousness, the best and holiest sacrifice. The altar of Christians here on earth is the congregation of believers intent on prayer, having one voice and one mind. The sacrifice of the Church is prayer breathed forth from holy souls, the sacrifice and the whole soul being simultaneously laid open to God. The really holy altar is the righteous soul. As the Gnostic always imitates God, he endeavours to reduce his wants within the narrowest possible limits; he cannot live without food, but he takes the simplest and abstains from flesh.”

* See what Mr. Newman (ut *suprà*) says upon what may be called the *Dispensation of Paganism*, Clement's words on this subject are,—Τὴν φιλοσοφίαν Ἑλλήσιν οἷα διαθήκην οἰκίαν δεδόσθαι, ὑποβάθραν οὔσαν τῆς κατὰ Χριστοῦ φιλοσοφίας. See Strom. lib. vi. c. viii. Potter, vol. ii. p. 773.

† South's Sermons, vol. vii. p. 183.—Origen's words will be in the minds of all. Γυμνάσιον μὲν φάμεν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν, τέλος δὲ τὴν θείαν.—*Contra Cel.* vi. 13.

From these and similar passages we are justified in looking to Clement for some of the earliest vestiges, of what, in these latter days, has obtained the name of Mysticism and Quietism. This is a subject, however, which we have not space to dilate upon, and we therefore conclude with the eulogy of Alexander Knox—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—and the opinion of the Bishop of Lincoln. The former says, that

“ Clement’s portraiture of the perfect Christian is one of the noblest things of the kind that the world ever saw ; yet the assertions cannot always be defended.”

The latter concludes by saying—

“ I have stated my own opinion to be, that Clement’s description is not so much a portraiture of the perfect Christian, as a representation of different portions of the Gnostic character, thrown upon the canvass without order or connexion. I do not think that Clement had formed to himself a well defined notion of the character which he meant to draw. His anxiety to place Christianity in such a light as might conciliate the favour of the learned heathen, caused him to assimilate the model of Christian, as much as possible to that of philosophical perfection ; and, as his view was continually passing from one to the other, it necessarily became indistinct. To the same anxiety I trace his frequent use of the terms employed in the Greek philosophy.”—pp. 260, 261.*

With regard to the Eighth and last Book of the Stromata, much difference of opinion exists, and its genuineness is disputed. As to the realities of the case it is not easy to determine ; we shall content ourselves therefore with extracting what relates to it from the pages of the work before us. What the Bishop of Lincoln says, is this—

“ Photius remarked that the eighth book of the Stromata neither agreed in title nor in subject with the other seven. In some manuscripts he found the place of the eighth book that which is now extant under the title, *τις ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος* ; in other manuscripts he found a book, commencing as that now extant commences, with the words *ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων*. He remarked also that the Stromata contained some unsound positions. Heinsius, understanding this remark, not of the Stromata in general, but of the eighth book, and finding no vestige of such opinions in that which we now have, concluded that the original book was lost, and that the present book formed part of the Hypotyposes. It is in fact a treatise on logic ; but

* After having carefully read what Clement has brought forward relative to the Gnostic, who was *γνωστικός* indeed,—and with due thanks for his stores of erudition, we are nevertheless glad to turn to the simple words of Pascal,—“ Nul n’est heureux comme un vrai Chrétien, ni raisonnable, ni vertueux, ni aimable. Avec combien peu d’orgueil un Chrétien se croit il uni à Dieu ! Avec combien peu d’abjection s’égalait-il aux vers de la terre ? ”—§ *Veritable Religion prouvée*, &c.

as the Gnostic was required to search, not merely the Scriptures, but also the common notions (τὰς ἐννοίας τὰς κοινὰς), in order that he might attain to the knowledge which was his ultimate object, and as the gift of knowledge was promised to him from God, in case he conducted the search rightly and in a proper spirit, a treatise on logic appears to be no unsuitable part of a work designed for his instruction." p. 221.

The last, supposed or real, work of Clement's which we have any regular remarks to make upon, is the treatise entitled, *Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*. It has been much questioned whether it be really Clement's or not, but as it is attributed to him by Eusebius, it has antiquity in favour of its authenticity. It may be called a Homily on the use, or perhaps the danger of riches, and the occasion of it was probably to set before the Greeks, and the unconverted Gentile, an explanation of those words of our Redeemer, at which even the converted might sometimes stumble. *It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God.* Of the treatise itself, we do not scruple to say that it has * much to instruct, and the latter part of it contains the beautiful story of St. John and a young man of Ephesus, illustrating the efficacy of repentance, which we heartily wish we had room to present to our readers. Some of them may probably turn to it when we assure them, that it is beautiful as that of Abraham and the idolatrous traveller, with which Jeremy Taylor concludes his *Liberty of Prophecy*.† We cannot end without calling the attention of the thoughtful to the excellent sermon of Mr. Newman, for the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, on "The danger of riches."‡

After the Treatise *Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*, follow the two following fragments, which are certainly not Clement's. First, the *Excerpta ex Scriptis Theodoti, et Doctrina quæ Orientalis vocatur, ad Valentini tempora spectantia, Epitomæ*; and then, *Ex Scripturis Prophetarum Eclogæ*. Of both of these the Bishop of Lincoln has made their appropriate use.

And thus we have presented to our readers a very old-fashioned review of the Bishop of Lincoln's work on the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria,—or rather, from it, as the occasion presented itself, we have shown what is to be found in the several treatises of that Father. Indeed, with the latter chap-

* We would refer by the way to a striking passage relative to charitable donations in c. xxxiii. p. 954, of which this is a part. Ἀμεινον καὶ τοὺς ἀναξίους εἶναι ποιεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἀξιούς, ἢ φυλασσομένους τοῦς ἡσσαν ἀγαθούς, μηδὲ τοῖς σπουδαίοις περιπιεῖν.

† See Works, vol. viii. p. 232, and the remarks of the lamented Heber in vol. i. pp. ccix. ccx. with note (xx.) pp. ccclxv—ccclxviii. The story in the text is contained in the xlii. c. See Potter, vol. ii. pp. 958—961. Eusebius also has copied it into his Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. xxiii. See c. xx. in Meredith Hanmer's English Version, p. 46.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 378, &c.

ters of the learned prelate's work, these pages have little concern, except as concerns the remarks about presently to be brought forward, and which will refer to them in a body. We have only to repeat with reference to it, that we have regularly compared it with Clement's own words, and have found it in every single instance to be relied on. And as to Clement himself—without speaking theologically—what the bishop says is most essentially true.

“ Among the early Fathers, there is none whose writings will more amply repay the labour bestowed upon them by the classical student, on account of the numerous quotations from the Greek poets and philosophers, and the numerous allusions to the customs of heathen antiquity, which they contain.”

Sed nunc non erat his locus, and we proceed to our concluding remarks, which will show why (as before hinted) we consider Clement of Alexandria's writings to be so very valuable, and for what reason the divine should most highly appreciate them.

Let a man, then, take up Clement of Alexandria, and, devoid of all party purposes, let him read him for the truth's sake, and compare, *not the trifling details* into which the writers of the early centuries after Christ fell, but the *great and leading points* upon which he writes, with the Scriptures of the Bible. Let a man do this faithfully, and most assuredly he will be convinced of the purity and orthodoxy of that Apostolical branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church to which we belong, but against which now, as in Clement's time, all manner of strange doctrine lifts up its head. For assuredly, if *we* have not the οἱ περὶ Valentinus, Marcion, Basilides, Carpocrates, and the *hoc genus omne* of earlier heretics, we have not the less wicked crew of modern Arianizers, Neologists and Sabellians,—we have those who almost make a mock at the ministry, though ministers themselves,*—we have those who hold of no account *the faith once delivered to the saints*, and are almost ready to admit of incense being offered systematically from unsacramental, and unhallowed, and unconsecrated censers. But

* We are painfully reminded of the μῦθος τῶν Λιβυστικῶν λόγος, which tells us—

πληγέντ' ἀτράκτω τοξικῷ τὸν αἰτὸν
εἰπεῖν, ἰδόντα μηχανὴν πτερώματος,
τάδ' οὐχ' ὑπ' ἄλλον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτέρσις
ἀλίσκόμεσθα.

If Jackson, foreseeing the troubles about to come, could thus speak of the *laity*, what must we say of those who, though they *went out from us, were not of us*. “ Questionless this open, malapert, scoffing disobedience to all ecclesiastical power, now openly professed by the meanest, and countenanced by many great ones of the laity, is the sin which, to all that know God's judgments, or have been observant to look into the days of our visitation, cries loudest in the Almighty's ears (more loud by much than friars, monks and jesuits' prayers do) for God's vengeance upon this land.”—vol. i. p. 218, folio.

against all such, the writings of Clement, and of others of the Fathers, lift up a standard, on which is written *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. Wherefore let the Christian soldiery be on their watch; let them not be ready to swallow down spurious liberality of opinion, which would make no distinction between those who serve God rightly and those who serve him not; in a word, let them *hear the Church*, and let them consider the present uneasy state of things,

————— “ *Ceu flamina prima
Cum deprensa fremunt silvis, et cæca volutant
Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.*” *

But for the testimonies of Clement to the great and palmary doctrines of our Church, we shall scarcely do better than refer to those passages which Professor Burton has brought forward in his *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ, the Doctrine of the Trinity, and the Divinity of the Holy Ghost*. We must, however, give also the sentiments of Bull, from his immortal work, the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*. He there, in his testimonies from Clemens Alexandrinus, after having commented on the defenceless censure of Petavius and Huetius, goes on to observe—

“ De Clemente, Origenis Præceptore nunc quæstio est. Certe Clementis Alexandrini scripta genuina, quæcunque hodie extant, omnia non indiligenter evolvi, idque eo imprimis consilio, ut ejus de hoc articulo sententiam exquirerem. Post hoc examen ita mecum statuo, neminem catholicorum doctorum, qui concilium Nicænum antecesserunt, ad eoque nec quenquam eorum, qui ipsum subsecuti sunt, Filii veram divinitatem clarius, disertius, significantius docuisse, quàm Clemens ille noster docuit. Sane dogma illud utramque illi Scriptori paginam facit. Unde Ruffinus de Adulteratione lib. Origenis hæc de Clemente scripsit: Clemens Alexandrinus, presbyter et magister illius ecclesiæ, in omnibus pæne libris suis, Trinitatis gloriam atque æternitatem unam eandemque designat.” †

For Clement's view of the Scheme of Redemption, what he says of Faith, Justification, Free-Will and Predestination, together with his view of the Sacraments of Baptism ‡ and the Lord's Supper, &c., we must refer our readers to the latter chapters in the Bishop of Lincoln's work, where, from the scattered notices of these subjects, a general idea may be formed relative to his

* Virg. *Æn.* x. v. 97.

† See II. 6, 1. Vol. v. part i. p. 241, ed. Burton.

‡ We should have remarked that Clement ever connects Regeneration with Baptism. On this point, see especially c. xi. p. 437. The following (often quoted) occurs in the first book of the *Pædagogus*:—*βαπτίζόμενοι, φωτιζόμεθα· φωτιζόμενοι, υιοποιούμεθα· υιοποιούμενοι, τελειούμεθα· τελειούμενοι, ἀπαθανατιζόμεθα.*—c. vi. p. 113. But on these words see the Bishop of Lincoln's remarks, p. 52.

opinions. These, for the most part, will be found to concur with the Articles of our Church.

As to his interpretation of Scripture we say nothing, for doubtless *in that* the spirit of the age in which he lived was fast verging upon Allegory, and his own writings afford sufficiently numerous instances of it. On this point, as well as to the consideration of the Eclectic Philosophy, our readers will find much interesting matter in Mr. Newman's *Arians of the Fourth Century*. With respect to the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, at least in their aggravated forms, we may say that they are in nowise to be bolstered up from Clement.* He had held converse with those who preserved pure and entire the doctrines which Peter, and James, and John, and Paul delighted in. He rejoiced in the Apostolic seed (unmixed with the tares of later times) which they delivered down, that the harvest might abound to righteousness and holiness of life; and, therefore, it was not likely that he should foster opinions which in the end must bring blackness and thick darkness upon a people. God grant that we may yet be preserved from the *now* increasing plague! And never let any man neglect to examine the relics of antiquity, and the opinions of the Fathers, when the Romanist says that they spoke his language and held his faith. They did, for the most part, neither one nor the other; and as long as Jewel's *Defence of the Apologie for the Church of England* can be referred to, even by the unlearned, he will be enabled to contradict the gainsayer to his face. And thus, God being our helper, may we each, in our several vocations, (being at the same time *pure and orthodox in our lives*, else it is but vain to be making a boast of a *pure and orthodox Church*,) "be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God's word."† This if we do—even unto us, "*Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.*"‡

Wishing that all who take up the Works of Clement may reap as much information from them as we hope we have—and heartily thanking the Bishop of Lincoln for his very valuable volume—

* On the subject of Purgatory, some possibly might doubt respecting the opinions of Clement. The Bishop of Lincoln says nothing. We would refer the reader, for his own satisfaction, to Strom. lib. v. c. i. vi. c. xiv. ; Potter, vol. ii. pp. 649, 794, where the notes should be consulted. Certainly, however, Purgatory was not known in the Church, as it is now known in the Church of Rome, for 600 years after Christ. See Burnet on Art. xxii. p. 300; and Jewel's *Defence of the Apologie of the Church of England*, p. 285, &c., ed. folio.

† See The Ordering of Priests.

‡ Jer. vi. 16.

we shall conclude with the words of Waterland, in his vindication of Clement.

“ He must be a very orthodox writer, indeed, when in so large a volume, and wrote before the Arian controversy was started, he appears to have been so well guarded as to have room only for very frivolous exceptions, such, perhaps, as might most of them be found even in many of the Post-Nicene writers, or even in Athanasius himself.” *

ART. VI.—1. *An Account of New Zealand ; and of the Formation and Progress of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in the Northern Island.* By the Rev. William Yate, Missionary of the Church Missionary Society. Seeley and Burnside, London. 1835.

2. *Journal of a Residence in China and the Neighbouring Countries from 1830 to 1833.* By David Abeel, Minister of the Dutch Church in North America, and Missionary of the American Board of Missions to South-Eastern Asia. Nisbet and Co., London. 1835.

3. *Journal of a 'Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia, in furtherance of the Objects of the Church Missionary Society.* By the Rev. Samuel Gobat, one of the Society's Missionaries. Hatchard, &c., London. 1834.

WE have here before us the accounts of missionary exertions in various parts of the world ; but, although the scene was different, several of the attendant circumstances present a very close similarity. The labourers, too, themselves appear to have possessed many points in common. Zeal and sincerity are conspicuous in them all, together with obvious indications of that sanguine and enthusiastic temperament, which is an element, perhaps, actually indispensable to the missionary character. We miss, however, that judgment, that discrimination, that profound and comprehensive insight into the nature and history and multifarious relations of mankind, which might induce us to place implicit reliance upon their statements. Their candour and integrity it were iniquitous to question ; but we may yet receive their conclusions with certain grains of distrust ; because it seems to us, that in some cases they may have been misled by the intensity of their own wishes, and in others they may not have allowed themselves time to obtain sufficient information, or taken care to winnow the wheat of it from the chaff with the requisite precision.

* A Second Defence of some Queries, Qu. ii. Works, vol. iii. p. 93.

The narrative of Mr. Yate appears to be put forth in a kind of official form by the Church Missionary Society. We are told in a Preface, dated "Church Missionary House, August 10th, 1835,"

"the information furnished in this volume is the result of personal observations by the Rev. W. Yate, during his residence of seven years in that part of the world. His materials, collected during that period, and carefully from time to time committed to writing, were collected together by him while he was on his passage, a space of five months, from New Zealand, for a visit to this country; and being now given to the Public in a more systematic form, will be found, the Committee are persuaded, well calculated, both to convey much new information, and to fix in the mind of every Christian reader a deeper interest in the sacred cause of Missions."

Nevertheless, a large proportion of the volume has little or no reference to the spread of Christianity. It is an account of the region in which Mr. Yate was located, not so much religious, as political, statistical, botanical, ornithological, entomological, and conchological. The history, however, and the statistics, the trade and commerce, the botany, and zoology of New Zealand, we have no room to discuss. On the illustrations which embellish the book, such as the "*Standard of New Zealand, and Signal Flags*," or the "*Chief weeping over the preserved Head of a friend*," we cannot pause to make remarks. Suffice it to say, that the names, which the Missionary attaches to birds and beasts, to persons and things, sometimes exhibit about the strangest and most outlandish combination of letters, which has ever happened to fall beneath our notice. Yet we ought to add, that the details are frequently interesting, and very often at least curious. One specimen of Mr. Yate's manner, not absolutely the most favourable, we subjoin. It is his delineation of the

"*Kauaua*—A sparrow-hawk, nothing differing from the sparrow-hawks of England. It is exceedingly swift of wing; and but few birds that it pursues can escape its talons. It is very elegant in its form and plumage; and but for its tiger-like propensities would soon become a petted favourite."—p. 60.

The account, which has direct reference to the New Zealand Mission, begins at page 165 of the volume. We are told,

"the attention of the Church Missionary Society was first directed to New Zealand by the representations made to them, from time to time, by the Rev. Samuel Marsden, Senior Chaplain of the Colony of New South Wales. It was altogether owing to the unwearied exertions of this warm and disinterested friend of the New Zealanders, that a Mission was eventually established among them. As few men have met with greater hindrances, or have been more vehemently opposed; so no man was ever naturally better fitted to battle through difficulties, and to

livedown opposition, than Mr. Marsden. {His mind was bent upon effecting the welfare of this country; and neither cost nor labour was spared, till his purposes were fully accomplished. The visits of a few Chiefs at his parsonage, at Parramatta, had given him a high idea of the superior character and disposition and abilities of the New Zealanders. On his first visit here, he found them, as he had anticipated, bold, daring, adventurous, warlike, and in the possession of good natural sense; presenting a fine field for Christian labours, and for the hand of civilization.”—pp. 165, 166.

It was not without much difficulty that the preliminary obstacles were surmounted, and that the assent of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society was obtained for the formation of a Missionary Establishment. It appears, however, that in the latter end of the year 1814, “three individuals reached the scene of their future labours, and effected a landing in New Zealand.”

“Rangiboua, a native village on the north-west side of the Bay of Islands, under the chieftainship of Tuatara, was the place first selected, or rather first occupied; for there was then no choice of situations: and, notwithstanding powerful enemies from both within and without, the Gospel has never yet been driven away from that place. During the early years of the Mission, almost all that the members could do, was to keep their ground. The threats which were frequently held out to them by the natives would probably have sufficed to drive them away, had they at that time understood the language, of which, happily for them, they were ignorant. Privations of almost every nature—the want of shelter, of food, of raiment, of companions—might be borne with comparative ease; but the taunts, and revilings, and threats, of those whom you only desire to benefit, and for whose sake all earthly comfort is given up, are most difficult to endure with patience and firmness and faith.”—pp. 167, 168.

These circumstances, however, which afford so curious an illustration of the “bliss of ignorance,” were not all, against which the Missionaries had to contend.

“The enemies of this Mission most to be dreaded, were some of their own household. The number of labourers was increased; and some, influenced by the spirit of the wicked one, early crept in among the faithful few. So far, indeed, did some of them dishonour the self-denying doctrines of the Cross, which they had been sent here to teach, that no less painful a plan could be adopted, than an ignominious erasure of their names from the list of the Society’s Labourers. Meanwhile, the rest struggled on through various difficulties, of which it would be almost impossible to convey an adequate impression. Placed at such an immense distance from the source of their supplies; suffering through the lowness of the Society’s funds; little competent to learn, and grammatically to arrange, a barbarous language; embarrassed by the superstitions of the natives, many of which were not understood by the Missionaries, and consequently were frequently broken in upon

without the power of explaining that it was done unwittingly ; they seemed to be labouring almost in vain, and hoping against hope. When once, however, our early friends began to converse with the natives, and in some degree were able to make themselves intelligible, and to understand the meaning of those to whom they were sent, the clouds began to pass away, and light plainly dawned upon their future course."—pp. 168, 169.

The station was after removed to Tepuna, and another settlement was formed, " next in succession," at Kerikeri. Passing over the description of the Missionary House and grounds, we extract the circumstances which attended the establishment of schools, and the performance of public worship.

" The difficulty of forming a school here was, in the first instance, very great : a few boys were collected together ; but they were absent so frequently, from their thinking that they must all be rewarded for their attendance, that the school soon dwindled to nothing. Nor were the services on the Sabbath, for a long period, better attended : the natives living in the settlement, when the first sound of the Sabbath-bell caught their ears, would simultaneously run away, and employ themselves in fishing, or rowing their canoes, or in some other of their native sports. Sometimes they would come into the chapel, dressed in the most fantastic style ; and at others, in a state next to nudity. Not unfrequently, in the middle of the service, they would suddenly start up, with the cry of ' That's a lie ! that's a lie ! who will stay to hear what that man has to say ? Let us all, all go.'—But now, how changed the scene ! The greatest punishment we can inflict, now, is to prevent a native, who has been acting wrong, from attending school : the Sabbath is a delight : its approach is looked forward to with real pleasure by many, and by all with satisfaction. The walls of the House of Prayer are no more deserted ; but, at times, numbers press for entrance, who cannot find room. An attentive congregation, consisting of the settlement natives, is always ensured ; and when people passing through the settlement, from distant villages, stay here during the day of rest, they likewise attend the services of the day ; and invariably behave with that propriety which shows their sense of the sacredness of the service and the place. Kerikeri has now some bright ornaments of the Christian Religion amongst the domestic natives of the Station ; and some from amongst their number have entered into the joy of their Lord."—pp. 173, 174.

Similar accounts are given of other places, and more particularly of the important and central settlement at Waimate : and details are added, in many points of view most satisfactory and full of encouragement ; proving, as Mr. Yate observes, that " true godliness is profitable for all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come ;" and showing the effects consequent upon the introduction of the Gospel into New Zealand, as illustrated, among other particulars, by the establishment of the

observance of the Lord's Day, the erection of churches, the pacification of hostile tribes, the fixing of the language, the spreading of knowledge, the improvement of domestic character, the abolition of various inhuman practices, the substitution of industrious habits for wild and wandering modes of life.

In demonstration of these points, Mr. Yate adduces, in a translated form, some letters from the natives, which exhibit, he says, "their religious and intelligent feelings."—These letters, though many of them are evidently a mere echo of Mr. Yate's own instructions, rather than the actual and *bonâ fide* workings of a New Zealand heart and understanding, are to our mind, upon the whole, the most remarkable and interesting portions of the book. They are quite epistolary gems: but we are unable to say whether the original lustre was equally brilliant, or whether they have received their last polish from the hands of the translator himself.

The first nine are concerning baptism:—we subjoin the second and third as fair specimens.

"LETTER II.

"FROM PAHUIA, WIFE OF WAHANGA.

"Mr. Yate—It is true, it is very true, that it is good to tell to Jehovah all that is in our heart, whether it is good or whether it is evil. My desire is, that my soul may be saved in the Day of Judgment. It will not be long before Jesus Christ appears to judge mankind; and I also shall be judged. It is right that I should be judged, and that I should be condemned; for my heart is very wicked and will not do one good thing—not one, not one, not one, that Jesus Christ, and God, and the Holy Spirit say is good: if I am angered by them it will be just. But will not the Son of God save me? You say He will; and I believe it. You say that bad as it is He will wash my soul in His blood, and make it good and clean. That is what I want. I want to be admitted into His Church, and to be made His Child, and to be taught His lessons out of His Book; and to be taken care of by Him, and to be done what with, done what with, done what with—Thou, O Lord Jesus, say what!

"Mr. Yate, listen: this is all from me, from

PAHUIA."

"LETTER III.

"FROM UNAHANGA, A YOUNG MAN LIVING WITH ME.

"Sir, Mr. Yate—My heart is desirous of being permitted to enter the Church of Jesus Christ. I wish altogether to turn to our Father which is in heaven, and to cast away all the evil speaking of this world, and the evil acting. I am thinking inside me what can be the reason I have two hearts, which are always struggling one with the other. The one is a very good heart; the other altogether bad. I am wondering which will be thrown down, and put undermost at last—perhaps the good one; perhaps the bad one. Oh, how they fight! Will you baptize me, or

will you not? As I have two hearts, perhaps you will not, and perhaps you will.

“My writing to you this time is finished.

“From me, from your son,

UNAHANGA.”

The next which follow relate to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to other religious subjects. The fourteenth is a very natural instance of unrefined humanity peeping through the incipient sentiments of Christian kindness and holiness.

“LETTER XIV.

“FROM TEMORENGA, TO THE REV. W. YATE.

“From Temorenga is this writing to Mr. Yate. My two friends carry on their back, in two baskets, nine two's of fowls. They are a gift-for-nothing from me to you, for you to eat on board the man-of-war, when on the great sea. Be jealous and careful of the waves on the great sea. Oh, how great they were when I went up to Mr. Marsden's, at Port Jackson! Remember, that it was Temorenga, who sat in your verandah, at your house-door, and told you all about native men's ways. Do not forget who I am, and what I have said to you. Bring out one, two, three, perhaps more, Missionaries, to go to the Southern Tribes, that there may be no more fighting between us here and them there. Bring your sister in the ship with you; and do not forget what I, Temorenga, have said, that you shall have a house at the Manawenua, if the other natives should ever be turned against you, and they should not let the Missionaries live in the land. A native man's heart is very deceitful, and very joking. Let my men, who carry the fowls for you to eat on board the man-of-war, carry me back one fig of tobacco, as my pipe is empty. Go in peace, and see your friends in England. Go in peace, Mr. Yate; so says TEMORENGA, at Manawenua, his residence, where he sits.”

Even more interesting, perhaps, as elucidations of human character are the two epistles subjoined, which are upon subjects of a more general nature.

“LETTER XXIII.

“A NEW-ZEALAND CHIEF TO THE KING OF ENGLAND,

“King William—Here am I, the friend of Captain Sadler: the ship is full and is now about to sail. I have heard that you aforetime were the captain of a ship. Do you therefore examine the spars, whether they are good, or whether they are bad. Should you and the French quarrel, here are some trees for your battle-ships. I am now beginning to think about a ship for myself: a native canoe is my vessel, and I have nothing else. The native canoes upset, when they are filled with potatoes, and other matters for your people. I have put on board the Buffalo a mere ponamu and two garments; these are all the things which New Zealanders possess. If I had anything better, I would give it to Captain Sadler for you.

“This is all mine to you—mine,

TITORE, to WILLIAM, the King of England.”

“ LETTER XXIV.

“ FROM ATE, TO THE REV. W. YATE.

“ Mr. Yate—How do you do ? Sick is my heart for a blanket. Yes, forgotten have you the young pigs I gave you last summer. My pipe is gone out, and there is no tobacco with me to fill it : where should I have tobacco ? Remember the pigs which I gave you : you have not given me anything for them. Forgotten have you the ornaments that I took off my boy's neck, and threw at your feet ? Mr. Yate, I do not forget you : my pipe is empty, there is nothing in it : give some tobacco to me, and give me a blanket also. I am your friend, and you are my friend ; and I fed you with sucking-pigs ; therefore, I say, do not forget. Speak my name to King William ; and tell him I am sitting in peace, and listening to you. Go, go to England ; and speedily come back again to your house at the Waimate, that you may come on your horse Selim, and talk to us about the things of God. Here am I sitting in my house ; and Hongi is writing my letter to you, from me, from your friend, that permitted his daughter to be married to your boy Henare.

“ From ATE, at Mangakauakaua, to Mr. Yate, at the Waimate :—this is all.”

We regret much that we have no room for the letter which begins, “ Sir, Mr. Yate, how do you do, my friend ? This is my speech to you ; ” and concludes, “ This is all my saying to you.—How do you do, how do you do, and how do all your friends do ? From me is this, *from Henare Piripi Unahanga*, at the Waimate, to Mr. Yate ; ”—or, again, the epistle from *Ngapuhi*, or from *Henry George Watkins Warnu* ; or from *Cosmo Gordon Patau*, which commences with some *naïveté* : “ Mr. Yate, how do you do ? Sir, have you outlived the sailing across the sea to your residence ? *or are you dead ?* ; ” and which is really touching in the account of his sickness, although it begins in Mr. Yate's version, “ As I was carrying fire-wood, a pain struck in the long bone of my back ; ” or, yet again, the letter which is addressed to Mr. Yate, parson, at the Waimate ; ” or the one which commences, “ My altogether friend, Mr. Yate,—I do not know whether to say my heart is hot or cold : it is both : ”—or, the one which is written “ To our friend, our teacher, the person who comes on Selim, to talk to us.” Selim, it has been seen, is Mr. Yate's horse, an animal who appears to have been held in very considerable respect.

Enough, however, has been laid before our readers to enable them to judge for themselves, how far these epistles bear out the opinion expressed of them by Mr. Yate, that “ they are illustrative of the workings of natural feeling, and in no small degree, also, of the operations of Divine Grace.” It is, indeed, manifest, but what marvel is this ?—that in the case of some of his converts, the world had not quite been discarded from their thoughts, and

that the dominion of flesh and sense had not quite been overthrown.

Mr. Yate, however, seems to lay more stress upon the death-bed scenes and last moments of some among the New Zealanders. He, therefore, gives several *obituaries* presenting studied contrasts between the converted and unconverted natives; written, we conceive, in a very questionable taste; and with more, occasionally, of credulity than charity: and sometimes verging very closely upon the errors of anti-nomianism. The picture of the closing hours of the unconverted is made a picture dark, gloomy, and ferocious, almost like the sign painting of a Saracen's head; and yet Mr. Yate has no scruple in promising the fullest measure of eternal happiness, if the dying reprobate will only say that he is a believer in Christianity. For example—

“Paru, a chief of much influence and authority amongst the tribe Ngai-te-waki, was a man of a bold and daring spirit; savage in his disposition; and reckless of the consequences of any of his actions, either to himself or others. He always had the appearance of a man verging on consumption; and his tendency to this disorder was much increased by his having been exposed to severe cold and wet, in a predatory excursion to the southward. He placed his whole confidence for his recovery in the superstitious rites of the priests, whose tapues and other observances and requirements, in the end, greatly hastened his death. He had heard many times of the truths of our holy religion; and had been entreated again and again, while in comparative health, to lay hold of the hope of everlasting life set before him in the Gospel; but he rejected every overture of mercy.”—pp. 282, 283.

Mr. Yate visited him on the day of his death, and thus delineates the last agonies:—

“I then turned to the forlorn patient, and found him struggling hard for breath, whilst the sweat of death was upon him. He retained the full use of his senses to the last; but this was to him, emphatically, the valley of the shadow of death. I spoke to him of a Saviour able and willing to save him even then, if he would only call upon him for salvation; but he grew angry; the expression of his countenance was changed; and he told me, that “from his birth he had lived a native man, and a native man he would die.” He became more calm when I asked him where he expected his spirit would go, after death; and, whether he thought he should be happy or miserable, in the world which is to come. The doctrine of a future existence is one in which all the New Zealanders most firmly believe, but their ideas respecting it are most absurd. The answer which I received from Paru to this important question was rather a lengthy one: they were the last words he ever spoke—the last earthly sounds he ever uttered, except the long, deep, hollow groan of death.—‘I shall go to hell,’ said he, with terrible emphasis, ‘I shall go to hell. Wiro (the Evil-one) is there, and I shall be his companion for ever,—I have not killed men enough to have my eyes made stars, as Hongi’s are:

I am not an old man but a youth, I shall go to hell : where else—where else—where else should I go ?' He sank down exhausted ; and seemed to slumber for a short time.—I left him ; and before I had ridden half a mile from the place where he was lying, a long fire of musketry announced his departure to that place where his state is for ever fixed. Thus died Paru, a chief of great name and importance with the Ngai-te-waki. I dare not pronounce what his state now is : man is not the judge. He has passed the tribunal of the Judge of quick and dead, who must needs do right, and will render to every man according to his deeds. This only, so far as it appeared to us, we know—that poor Paru, to the very last, turned his back upon the only way of salvation."—pp. 284, 285.

It would be most painful to inquire, whether Mr. Yate was wise in his treatment of such a man as he describes Paru to have been : and whether a nominal assent by the New Zealand Chieftain, under such circumstances, to the truths of the Gospel, would not have been as mere a superstition as his attention to his native priests. But we will not dwell upon the religious peculiarities of Mr. Yate, who seems quite convinced, that no persons who are once converted can ever fall away, and relapse into sin : and who evidently narrates, with a peculiar delight, the death of a favourite female convert, Ann Waiapu.

"She began gradually to grow weaker. Her days were well nigh spent ; but she was becoming more meet to be translated to the immediate presence of her God and Saviour. The burden of her song, now, was praise—praise for the everlasting love wherewith Christ had loved her. 'Ah ! Mrs. Kemp,' said she, as that kind woman was smoothing her pillow, 'alas ! Mrs. Kemp, good bye. I am going to Jesus Christ, who loves me. I shall see him now. I have seen him with my heart ; and now I love him with my heart. It is not my lips only that believe, but belief is firmly fixed within me.'

"Never was the Gospel more triumphant, nor its power more manifest, than in the case of poor Ann. 'Jesus Christ is mine, Mr. Yate,' she said, 'and I am Jesus Christ's. I know him now ; I know him now : he is come here'—fixing her hand upon her heart—'and he will not go away again any more.' I asked her if she wished to return to the world, and be restored to health : 'What !' was her reply, 'and Jesus Christ sometimes with me, and sometimes not ; and I sometimes thinking evil, and sometimes thinking good ! No, no, no !'—pp. 299, 301, 302.

Mr. Yate and the New Zealanders have detained us so long, that we can only afford a few sentences to Mr. Gobat and Mr. Abeel.—But a detailed examination is the less necessary, as the volumes have been longer published and are better known.

We will first take the journal of the Rev. Samuel Gobat ; because he also, like Mr. Yate, was sent out under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. Prefixed to it, is a brief history

of the Church of Abyssinia, by Professor Lee, compiled with the knowledge and the ability which might have been expected from that eminent scholar: and containing an account of the earliest annals of the Abyssinian Church; of the missions of the Jesuits; of their various successes and failures, of the rise and decline of the Papal interest, and the state of Christianity in that remote region, as described by modern travellers, down to the time of Mr. Salt.

The Preface written, we suppose, by authority, informs us,—

“The attention of the Church Missionary Society has for many years been directed toward that interesting country, which forms the subject of the present volume. In the plans which were formed, now twenty years ago, for the Mediterranean Mission, it was considered that the evangelizing of the nations adjacent to that inland sea was a work intimately connected with the revival and reformation of the Oriental Churches; and amongst these, the Christian Church of Abyssinia presents a very conspicuous and essential object.”—p. vii.

In consequence,

“The Rev. Samuel Gobat and the Rev. Christian Kugler, who had received their Missionary education, first at Basle, and subsequently at the Society’s Institution, at Islington, were sent into Egypt in 1826, with the view of seeking the most convenient way of entering Abyssinia. As there did not appear to be immediate facilities for this, they employed some time in making themselves acquainted with Abyssinians, and with their language, so far as they were able to do so at Cairo: and for a similar purpose they visited Jerusalem, where it was known that a small company of Abyssinians were living in a monastery near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.”—p. viii.

The opinions entertained by the Church Missionary Society, of Mr. Gobat and his labours, will appear from the subjoined passage.

“Of the Journal of Mr. Gobat, it might seem almost superfluous to say anything, as it speaks with a genuine native simplicity for itself. It may however be important, considering this document as a guide and model for other Missionaries, to notice one uniform and undeviating practice adopted by the Missionary, in all his religious conversations, whether with Priests or Laymen, learned or unlearned, Chieftains or Peasants. The practice alluded to is his constant reference to Scripture. This was the strength of his Mission; as indeed, it must be of every similar Christian undertaking. The effect hereby produced upon the minds of the Natives was not unfrequently surprise; but, more generally, irresistible conviction. Here they behold a man coming in the midst of them, with no other object than their real welfare; and no other text than *THUS SAITH THE LORD*; and delighting in no conversation so much as that which leads them all together with himself, to see the depth of man’s spiritual sinfulness and misery, and the riches of grace abounding to us through Christ Jesus. He at the same time unavoidably listens to their

subtile, trifling, and dangerous disputes; he partakes in these as one not ignorant how far, and in what paths they have so long wandered from *the simplicity that is in Christ*. But he does not answer their sophistries with any refinements like their own; he simply refutes their errors, by letting in upon them the full blaze of Gospel Truth; so that they are often as much amazed at their own absurdities, as they are persuaded of the force of Scripture Truth. Thus wielding the sword of the Spirit, he shivers to pieces the weapons of carnal reason.”—p. xvii, xviii.

To our eyes, we must confess, “*the genuine native simplicity*” of Mr. Gobat is sometimes more conspicuous than his skill or his wisdom. Yet—to jump at once to the end—the concluding his remarks evince moderation and good sense, and that temperate estimate of good achieved or to be anticipated, which is in reality far more useful than extravagant and highly coloured delineations.

“It may now reasonably be asked, What has been done for the good of Abyssinia? and what is to be done in future? I will briefly reply—As to what has been done—The translation and partial printing of the Bible in the Amharic Language is of the highest importance. The Word of God, as contained in the Four Gospels and some copies of the Epistles, has been distributed in every quarter of the country. The religious conversations which I had at Gonder have been reported in every province. The most instructed persons have begun, in consequence of these means, at least to doubt the truth of some of those errors which they had always considered Truth itself; and some young people appear to feel the drawing of the Father, who will lead them to Jesus, that they may receive eternal life.

“As to what is to be done in future, it is difficult to decide beforehand: we shall necessarily be directed, in a great measure, by circumstances, under the influence of Divine Providence: for although those Abyssinians that have known me, have shown nothing but benevolence toward me, they have, nevertheless, prejudices enough to be suspicious of all that we might do with the appearance of publicity. The three means which appear to me the most easy, the most natural, and, perhaps, the most useful, are: First, to multiply copies of the Word of God: Secondly, to preach the Gospel, by way of conversation, under all possible circumstances: and, lastly, to instruct some young men, with a view to their becoming Schoolmasters. In addition to this, whether travelling or residing among the people, the wisdom of the Missionary must consist in his attachment to the Truth, manifested by a humble simplicity; having for his only object, the glory of God; and for his simple motive, love to his fellow-men.—pp. 370, 371.”

Nor ought we to be severe in our criticism upon one who has already suffered much in the cause of his Redeemer; and who has now returned, we believe, or is about to return, to the scene of his evangelical labours. Mr. Gobat and his companion formerly derived great advantage from the protection of Sebagadis; of whom the editor of the work informs us,

"Sebagadis was a Chief, to whom the late Mr. Salt, British Consul General in Egypt, had, when in Abyssinia more than twenty years ago, the opportunity of doing some important service. His gratitude was ever after evinced by his regard for the English nation."—Note to p. 51.

This chief, however, was unfortunately taken prisoner and beheaded, in a civil war which was raging at the close of the year 1831: and the dirge—sung over his remains "to an agreeable and pathetic air," which we subjoin in the "literal translation," may impart to our readers some notion of Abyssinian poetry.

"Alas! Sebagadis, the friend of all,
Has fallen at Daga Shaba, by the hand of Oubeshat!
Alas! Sebagadis, the pillar of the poor,
Has fallen at Daga Shaba, weltering in his blood!
The people of this country, will they find it a good thing
To eat ears of corn which have grown in the blood?
Who will remember [St.] Michael of November
[i. e. to give alms]?
Marian, with five thousand Gallas, has killed him
[him, i. e. who remembered to give alms]:
For the half of a loaf, for a cup of wine,
The friend of the Christians has fallen at Daga Shaba!"

Mr. Gobat, too, was so unhappy as to hear of the death of his sister, which occurred in Europe during his absence; and to lose his brother missionary, as well as his patron and protector. For, it appears, they were often compelled by hunger, or the prospect of hunger, to procure food by expedients, to which, under ordinary circumstances, missionaries would hardly have had recourse. At p. 288, we read the simple and unpretending statement.

"At sun-set, Walda Michael sent us some raisins, and a good piece of meat, *which we ate partly raw; it being two days since we had had any thing to eat.*"

It is, therefore, with less surprise that we peruse the account at page 226.

"*We have not yet suffered from hunger, neither myself nor my servants; but we have begun to live by the chase. Yesterday I went, with one of my servants, to seek for food on a mountain near Gondar; but we could get a shot at only two partridges. To-day my servants brought me a fine gazelle, which two men could hardly carry. I think it is better to seek a livelihood by hunting than to beg, especially at a season when the people of the country have hardly whereon to live.*"

It was in one of these hunting expeditions that Mr. Kugler met with an accident, which occasioned his death. Mr. Gobat had been attacked by ophthalmia; and, afterwards, by a complaint in the stomach.

"This, complaint," he says, "though not attended with much pain, yet brought with it much inconvenience; as I could not, at the most,

read more than one chapter in the Bible a day. Two lines of writing entirely turned my head. I took a daily ride on my mule, but that was not sufficient. As there is much game in the neighbourhood of Adowah, I went out to the chase two or three times every week, that, by having an object in view, I might forget the fatigue; and when exhausted with over-fatigue, I mount my mule, and return home. These exercises did me so much good, that one day I induced my brother Kugler, who felt himself indisposed, to come with me. He found so much benefit from it, that he resolved, two days after, again to take the same course, especially to go and hunt wild-boars, the fat of which he wanted to make ointments. On the 10th of December, as we were passing by the side of a river before sun-rise, we saw at a distance a great beast in the water, which we took for a crocodile. I said to Kugler, 'Which of us shall go and shoot this animal?' He replied immediately, with a tone of apprehension, 'I will go.' On approaching, he thought it was a hippopotamus, and fired upon it; but his gun burst, and made several wounds in his left arm, which are not yet cured: his recovery, however, goes on very fairly, so that we hope nothing will come of the accident. My chief care only is, to exhort him to remain quiet, and to be as tender of his arm as possible; a point which costs him much, because he thinks himself out of danger."—pp. 267, 268.

At first, indeed, appearances were favourable, but, after some days, the wound broke out afresh; the blood began to flow in large quantities; fever came on; and, after several vicissitudes, the termination was fatal: but the last moments of the missionary were full of Christian peace, and Christian hope.

" 'Be of good courage!' I said to him: 'the Lord will not forsake you, in life or in death. He never forsakes those who put their trust in Him.' 'I know it well!' he replied with a tone of confidence: 'He has never forsaken me.' Having said these words, he again cast a look all round him; and then fell asleep so gently, that for two hours none of the attendants could believe that he was really dead. It was about nine o'clock in the evening (Dec. 29) when he resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator and Saviour."—p. 274.

One thing only, in his last illness, caused to the mind of Mr. Kugler a not unnatural anxiety.

"While conversing together," writes Mr. Gobat, "he said to me: 'It is possible that I may die of this accident; and in this view I have one thing on my heart, which burdens me. After my death, it will devolve on you to make it known in Europe: but I know, that if you write, in general terms, that I was wounded in hunting, many persons would be offended at it. That would signify nothing, as to myself; for in this respect I have a pure conscience before God, who knows that it was not for pleasure I went hunting on that day, but simply to preserve my health, and for the benefit of the sick of this country: but if this accident were generally known, I fear that many Christians might be scan-

dalized at it ; and that the world might take occasion to speak ill of the work of Missions, as if the Missionaries passed their time uselessly in hunting. After all, however, I am persuaded that the two Committees, in London and Basle, know me well enough not to be mistaken about me. You can write the whole to them : they will at once know whether they ought to publish it or not.' I told him, in order to soothe his mind, that hunting and fishing are one and the same thing, as the same word expresses both in oriental languages ; and that no Christian ever blamed the Apostles, that at one time they were preaching the Gospel, and that then they went fishing. Both are evil, only as they are made so."— pp. 270, 271.

Here, again, we seem to recognize the "*genuine native simplicity*" of Mr. Gobat. Nor, perhaps, is it less conspicuous in some of the discussions with the Priests and Roman Catholic Christians of Abyssinia ; as, for instance, in a conversation with " a Monk, who came wrapt up in a sheep-skin, and proud of his self-righteousness : " and, likewise, in disquisitions with the natives upon such points as " the anointing, or *third birth* of Jesus Christ : " terms and topics which may create mistakes as strange as the one recorded by Mr. Gobat himself.

" Sept. 5 : Sunday—To-day a young man, not among the most ignorant, asked me if Sunday (*Sanbat*) was a great saint ; as his feast is celebrated every week, while those of other great saints, as St. Michael and St. George, are only celebrated once a month. All the beggars personify Sunday ; asking alms for love of Sunday, as for the love of a saint : and they add, ' May Sunday keep you ! May Sunday justify you ! ' "—pp. 251, 252.

The work of Mr. Abeel is called, " Journal of a Residence in China and the neighbouring countries, from 1830 to 1833." But the title, "*Residence*," is a misnomer. Mr. Abeel appears to have been almost the most locomotive of missionaries : and his volume might have been described with more propriety, "*Missionary Rambles beyond the Ganges*;" or, " A Coasting Voyage to China, Japan, Siam, the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and all the Ultra-Gangetic Nations, with incidental notices of the passages from New York and to Europe." How any man, in such a period of time, could have learnt the languages, acquainted himself with the habits, and influenced the minds of the various nations which he visited, so as to effect a salutary change in their religious opinions and practices, is to us a mighty puzzle, an insoluble enigma. But Mr. Abeel, we perceive, is "*Minister of the Dutch Church in North America, and Missionary of the American Board of Missions to South-Eastern Asia*." It may be, therefore, that he has derived from America and the Americans the proverbial rapidity of movement, and fondness for migration. One consequence, however, of this vast range is, that Mr. Abeel is

indebted for many of his pages to the journals or the conversation of persons, into whose society he was thrown in the course of his travels. He even says, in his preface,—

“As the object of this volume is to inform the Christian world of the state of these Heathen countries, the writer has extended his observations much beyond the limits of his travels, and has drawn from every open and uncorrupted source the information required for his purpose. What he has seen, and heard, and read, as far as the testimony appeared credible, has been freely appropriated. A considerable portion of what is stated has been derived from the experience and observation of his fellow-missionaries resident at the places which he visited.”—pp. xxix, xxx.

Again,

“An interruption of the narrative of events to insert what appeared worthy of remark, as well as an introduction of facts the knowledge of which was in a few instances gained after the date under which they are recorded, with other discrepancies of the same kind, would not deserve notice, were it not that they might be thought to derogate from the correctness of the observations. It is to be regretted, that many subjects of the greatest interest have been either omitted or passed over with a few unsatisfactory remarks, while others, of far less importance, have been inserted in their place. The omission was unavoidable, owing to a dearth of information on these points: the less important observations were substituted, in the hope that they may at least have the effect of drawing attention to these neglected regions, and thus lead to measures for their further investigation and spiritual benefit.”—pp. xxx, xxxi.

These elements must, of course, be taken into consideration, when we would compute the value and authority of the book. Yet the tone of Mr. Abeel's own statements is often candid and cautious, as well as earnest and devout. For example:—

“The most important inquiry remains to be answered—viz. What has been the result of these exertions and favourable appearances? how many ‘have turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God, and to wait for His Son from heaven?’ We answer: We know not that this has been the case with any—the time has been too short to form an opinion. A heathen's mind cannot be enlightened in a day, neither is it reasonable to suppose that his heart will be renovated until his judgment is informed. The means which ordinarily lead to this result have not been employed. We have done little more than scatter the good seed, and that upon ground loaded with noxious weeds, without having had time to witness its springing up, still less to cherish it into lively strength.

“And here it may not be out of place to caution the reader against those favourable, though false, conclusions, which are too frequently deduced from missionary journals. The difficulty of writing so as to inform the Christian world of actual occurrences, and yet not to sacrifice a faithful report to the dreaded evils of misinterpretation, must be felt by every missionary. The song of the ploughman and the sower, especially

when he expresses the joyous expectation of the harvest, is confounded with the shouts of the reaper; and then, when the mistake is discovered, the labourer, and not the listener, is blamed. We do not say that no misconceptions have been transferred from the mind of the sanguine reporter to his reader; but, in the great majority of cases where mistakes exist, we believe them to originate with the latter. For instance, when we speak of the avidity with which the heathen receive Christian books, the best motive is charitably assigned, when they may have been artfully concealing the very worst. When their conversation is detailed, they receive credit for a certain amount of knowledge, which among Christians is connected with the sentiments they express, but which their future lives prove that they do not possess. They are believed sincere, when they neither feel what they say, nor know that the truths they profess should influence the heart. Their own views and notions of every thing sacred are so opposite to ours, that, without much experience, and severe scrutiny, we cannot determine the standard by which to try them; and even with this intimate acquaintance with their modes of thought, there is constant danger of being deceived, through the hypocrisy of some, and the self-ignorance of others.

“ In our excursions abroad, and in their visits to us, we have met with numbers who evinced a superficial knowledge of the contents of the book we had distributed. A few seemed to manifest some impression of the truth upon their hearts. We have had pleasing evidence that the spirit of inquiry was abroad; but there were no grounds of certainty for concluding that any had been ‘renewed in the spirit of their minds.’ ”
—p. 233—235.

It is, indeed, impossible not to suspect,—not with misgiving and apprehension as to ultimate results, but with a prudent calculation of present prospects,—that the zeal of attention with which savages listen to Missionaries is too often but a *mirage* of piety; that the readiness which they evince to receive Bibles is but just the greediness with which they would snatch at any other European curiosity; or, at least, that motives of self-interest, of which it may be quite wise to take advantage, are mixed up with feelings of religion. Thus, Mr. Abeel writes,—

“ The most hopeful circumstance concerning the mission, is the number of attendants upon our Sabbath services. Between twelve and twenty Chinese have generally been present—few indeed, contrasted with the myriads who cling with madness to their idols, but encouraging when compared with the past. Our auditory has been gradually increased by a species of management, which, had I remained, would probably have swelled it to a large congregation. In conversing with the numerous applicants for medicine, I told such as I thought could well attend, of our Sabbath service, and appointed that day and hour for them to come for a fresh supply of medicine. Many who commenced their attendance through these means, became too much interested in their new pursuit to discontinue it.”—p. 264.

“ Medical knowledge is calculated to give influence to the missionary.

It attracts many, from different and distant parts, to whom we could otherwise have no possible access. It affords an opportunity for instructing those who come, and lays them under such obligations as can be made available in securing both their attention to the remarks made, and their attendance upon the established ordinances of religion.”—p. 266.

There is sense, too, in the account of his intercourse with Chow Fah.

“ In fact I am only withheld from the plainest, most pointed conversation, by the apprehension of defeating my own object ; and when there are sufficient grounds for dismissing this apprehension, the effort, in the Lord’s strength, shall be made. Still I very much fear that an imperfect knowledge of his language renders all my instructions comparatively unavailing.”—pp. 277, 278.

Nor does Mr. Abeel partake of Mr. Yate’s sentiments on the indefeasible grace and election of his converts. On the contrary, he relates :—

“ The most trying circumstance of the past week, and one which has called forth many a sigh, is the conduct of the boy who had been with me for nearly a year, and who I hoped had ‘ passed from death unto life.’ He had been addicted to intemperance before he entered our service, but for a long time had appeared to be perfectly reformed. While at Singapore with me, he had to associate, in the family in which I lived, with a profligate fellow-servant, whom I have heard him warn against the evil consequences of dissipation, but who seduced him into the very crimes he had himself so solemnly condemned. Before I suspected the least misdemeanour, his conduct had become so offensive to the public, that I was compelled to dismiss him immediately from my service. I know of nothing more painful to a missionary’s heart than an event of this kind. Those who have followed to the grave a cherished child—one who was their solace in loneliness, and their hope in coming years—may form some idea of this trial. But no ! what is a bodily pang, a temporary separation, to spiritual, eternal wretchedness ! To see the ‘ rulers of darkness ’ re-capture those who we hoped had been wrested from their dominion, and to find the gloom of the second death closing upon those who we fondly believed had emerged into light ; produce, for the moment, something of the agony belonging to the destiny of the lost.”—pp. 270, 271.

Yet with the candour and good sense of Mr. Abeel is occasionally blended a large infusion of credulity and weakness. Can the following account be literally correct ?

“ 13th.—To-day Mr. Hunter sent for us, to witness a sight which has attracted much attention in Siam, and would be considered equally strange in more enlightened countries. It was a young child sporting in the water as in its native element, with all the buoyancy and playfulness of a fish. Its evolutions are astonishing—sometimes rolling over, with a rapid motion, and apparently no exertion ; then turning round like a hoop, by bending its face under, as it lies on its back, and

throwing its feet over its head. It floats like a cork, with no apparent motion of any of the muscles ; occasionally allows itself to sink until only the half of its head is seen ; dives ; holds its face under water long enough to alarm those who are ignorant of its powers ; and yet appears to breathe as easily as though it had suffered no suspension of respiration. It is evidently delighted with the exercise ; evinces no fatigue, nor the least apprehension, and often cries when taken up. It is a singular object, both in the water and out of it. It is three years old, very small, can neither speak nor walk, is very defective in sight, will take no food but its earliest provision—in fact, appears quite idiotic—and has exhibited the same fondness for the water, and peculiar feats in it, the first time that it was tried, when only a year old.”—pp. 278, 279.

But what are we to think of the concluding sentence of the paragraph, where Mr. Abeel is describing the superstitious charms and customs of the priests, when they would frighten or keep away the “ evil spirits,” the “ *dreaded genii* ? ”

“ They often surround a place, from which they wish to debar their invisible enemies, with a thread, which their incantatory powers can, they imagine, render an impassable barrier. The whole walled city is thus guarded. Even human bodies are believed to be secured from demoniacal possession by the same means. Similar methods are employed by the priests in taking alligators, when they appear in the river ; and, according to the uniform testimony of the spectators, they generally prove successful. In statements of this kind, and many others equally incredible, I have been at a loss what to believe. If the priests are not assisted by the spirits whom they profess to controul, they must possess all their power, or they never could impose upon such a variety of witnesses.”—p. 274.

Nor can we but deplore the admission into the volume of some statements derived from Mr. King, one of Mr. Abeel’s informants ; or at least of the tone which is adopted.

“ That which, in the history of these islands, is most to be deplored, and which has been perhaps the principal cause of the ferocity and treachery which in the East characterize *Manilla men*,* is their religion. ‘ The Church of Rome has here proselyted to itself the entire population. The natives have become bigoted Papists. The services of the Church are administered by nearly one thousand frailes, curas, cleros, &c. ; the first offices being held by the Spanish clergy.’ At the head of this colonial establishment is an archbishop, who has three suffragans and two hundred and fifty Spanish clergy, besides about eight hundred natives. The influence of these priests is unbounded. They hold the minds of the miserable natives in complete subjection, while they themselves are the slaves as well as the patrons of iniquity. Their ministrations are confined to the altar and the confession-box. “ Common report attributes to the priests lives deformed with the grossest immoralities. In the obscurity of their

* Such is the revengeful and sanguinary character of these men, that it is said to affect the insurance of the ships in which they are employed. The massacre of 1820 illustrates the ferocity of their character.”

parishes much concealment of their licentious conduct is not attempted, nor have the majority of them refinement enough to think it becoming.'

"One source of vice and poverty among the natives, is the number of religious observances imposed upon them. 'The church has marked out, exclusive of Sundays, above forty days in the year, on which no labour must be performed throughout the island. Besides these, there are numerous local feasts, in honour of the patron saints of towns and churches. These feasts invariably end in gambling, drinking, and debauchery of every description.'—pp. 328, 329.

Mr. Abeel himself, towards the end of his book, insists very much upon the necessity of *unity* among *all* Christians in the promotion of Foreign Missions; but it is clear that the unity which he advocates is not meant to include the Roman Catholics.

"Yesterday the man whom Mr. Gutzlaff had baptized called for the first time. He had been absent to Cochin-China and China, and had discovered, from more than mere observation, that, notwithstanding the similarity of name, our doctrines and those of the Roman Catholics were very different. He said they would not acknowledge him in Amoy, although he confessed himself a disciple of Jesus, and showed his credentials. *That idol* which they adored, and the strange, unintelligible mode of their worship, were quite as offensive to him, as his knowledge of the Saviour, and ignorance of their *abominations*, were to them."—pp. 271, 272.

But we have no space for more citations. It would, however, be injustice not to add, that the work of Mr. Abeel is ushered in by an introduction from the pen of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, written with skill and perspicuity, in the most simple, practical, and unambitious style.

The very few pages which remain now at our disposal must be devoted to more general remarks on the subject of Missions and Missionaries. Yet we cannot pretend even to mention all or nearly all the topics which that subject embraces; or to deal with any of them as fully and elaborately as their importance deserves.

They who are interested in the progress of Christian Missions,—and really men cannot well be called Christians if they are not interested,—are aware, that there are still points connected with them, some incidental and subordinate, some which must even be considered essential and fundamental, on which opinions are divided. Of course it is on all hands agreed, that there are no limits to be set to the bounds of Missionary exertion, except the circumference of our globe; for "*the field is the world*:" and that it is the duty of every man, who has been born and lived amidst the blessings of the Gospel, to extend Christianity to heathen countries as well as to diffuse it at home. Neither can there be much difference of opinion as to the combination of moral and intellectual, and even

physical qualities, which is required in a Missionary; the zeal, and yet the prudence; the courage, and yet the calmness; the ardour, and yet the patience; the enthusiasm, and yet the tact; the intimate acquaintance, both metaphysical and historical, with the nature and constitution alike of *man* in the abstract, and of *men* as modified by circumstances; the authority and power by which religious truth must be enforced, with the secret spell of gentle and attractive persuasiveness; and then, too, the hardihood of constitution and strength of nerve, which can smile in the face of danger, which can endure thirst, and hunger, and fatigue; and not merely insufficiency of provisions, but a complete change of habits and diet, and constant exposure to inclemency of atmosphere, and variations of climate. Neither, therefore, again, can there be much dispute as to the obstacles which must impede the Missionary's career, and the allowances which ought to be made for his failures and mistakes.

Disagreements, however, exist,—not merely about the relative amount of Missionary effort which has been put forth by the Church and by Dissenters; or, within the Establishment itself, about the supineness of one party, or the injudiciousness of another,—points which we designedly waive, because we cannot now enter upon Missionary statistics, and comparisons which might be deemed invidious,—but about the proper management of Missions, the best way in which a Missionary can go to work, and even the quantity and quality of the Christian knowledge which he is likely to instil. We do sincerely trust, that in the slight and brief observations which we can offer, our meaning will not be misunderstood: we do sincerely trust, that we shall not be suspected of wishing to damp the fervour of devout and self-denying men, or to throw the shadow of a doubt upon the utility of their toils, more than upon the excellence of their intentions.

We may not, indeed, place implicit reliance in the soundness of the religion of some of the neophytes, more than in the disinterested probity of the gentleman who rejoiced in tobacco, and whose talk was of pigs: and yet, after all the drawbacks, and abatements, and deductions have been made, there remains a vast surplus of temporal and spiritual good; and a vast tribute of praise to be awarded to those heaven-devoted and self-banished exiles, who have sacrificed ease, and comfort, and even safety, to the instruction of the savage and the conversion of the idolater.

For, to say nothing of the toils, and perils, and privations which must be incurred, let us merely take the difficulties which are incident to the process of instruction. That process is no other than to convey the truths of the Gospel in a language which

has probably no analogous terms, and to minds which can yet form no adequate conceptions. The medium of communication is a tongue foreign to the teacher; and the recipient must present the most formidable obstacles, both from the want of some ideas, and the obstinate recurrence of others. The barriers of early association, and inveterate prejudices, and established habits of thought, must all be broken down, before the new tenets can find a proper access, or even discover a single avenue not blocked up against their entrance.

It is needless, therefore, to observe again how much of judgment, as well as energy, is demanded for the task. It used to be an old thesis at Oxford, "*an quicquid recipitur, ad modum recipientis, recipiatur?*" and experience, as well as theory, assures us, that, even where there is a parity of information and moral feeling, and much more where there is a great and multiform discrepancy between the two parties, the same notions may be imparted in one sense and received in another.

Hence the question as to the best mode of communicating the truths of Christianity to rude and ignorant heathens goes deep into the very heart of the philosophy of human nature. The matter has long been in dispute, whether it is more eligible to begin with the direct and immediate enforcement of the transcendental verities of revelation, or proceed by the more circuitous route of training the mind for their reception by degrees: whether it is more conducive to God's glory and man's welfare to commence with the mighty elements of Christian faith, or the simpler elements of Christian morality: or, again, in what *proportions* it is right to *mix* them at the commencement; or, how far the promulgator of the Gospel is to appear as the pioneer of civilization.

The problem, we think it evident, is not one which admits of any general solution applicable to all cases. Much must, of course, be left to the judgment of the missionary, formed upon the special exigencies which meet him on his path. He has to feel his way, and act according to the character and capacity of the individual with whom he deals. At any rate, we are too deeply impressed with the solemn importance and the delicate intricacies of the subject, to write upon it in a dictatorial tone. Even if time and ability were not wanting, we have hardly, as yet, sufficient data before us. Our wish, therefore, is, rather to see the subject taken up with a searching and comprehensive inquiry, by men whose powers and opportunities are superior to our own, than meddle with it ourselves in the spirit of precipitate and presumptuous dogmatism.

Here, as every where else, the mischief of the extremes is discernible at a glance. It is very possible to secularize Christianity

too much, and so place in the foreground its collateral and subordinate benefits, as almost to keep out of sight its distinctive and unspeakable excellencies. It is very possible to represent it as little more than a system of religious utilitarianism, or an ethical code of unrivalled beauty. On the other hand, it is possible to convert the most blissful tidings of the Gospel into sounds which have no meaning, by attempting to hurry their introduction, before there is either an intellectual or spiritual capability of comprehending them aright. It is possible, perhaps, so to exalt the privileges of the believer as to annul, for an untutored and barbarous understanding, the common rules of moral obligation. Let men, indeed, beware, lest truth itself should be embraced as an error and an empty fable: let them, indeed, beware, lest, in instilling the most mysterious doctrines of the Bible, quite independent of their proof, into minds utterly unable to grasp and appreciate them, the faith of Jesus Christ should be received as an idolatry, and the sublimest, the divinest articles of our creed should be transmuted into an awful superstition. Surely this is worse than to throw pearls before swine, or to plant the seed in a soil which is unprepared for it, and where it cannot grow. It is better to go *round* than to go *wrong*. It is better to move slowly, and step by step, than to think of leaping to the goal by a single bound; than to build upon wrong foundations, and have to undo all that has been done. It is better to regulate the method of teaching by the capacity of the learner, so that in the end he may be enabled to give a reason for the hope that is in him, and pray with the spirit and with the understanding also, than to fling even the nutriment of eternal life crudely into a mind, where it will soon be assimilated to its ordinary food, or become a mere mass of enthusiasm and confusion.

It is curious to remark—for the matter may be placed in another, yet not unconnected, point of view—who the persons are by whom this latter mistake is usually committed. They belong to the school of which one favourite doctrine is *the progressive exhibition and development of Christianity*. Basing their argument upon this principle—and into its correctness or incorrectness we shall not now inquire—they infer that the Epistles of St. Paul are a truer and fuller index of the evangelical scheme than the discourses of the Redeemer himself. And why? Because the profounder and more characteristic mysteries were only partially revealed until after the resurrection and ascension of our Lord. And why, then, were they kept back? Because the minds of men could “not bear them” at first; not being elevated enough, or expanded enough, and, therefore, being unprepared to receive them in the fulness of their majesty. And yet these same persons, with

that besetting sin of inconsistency which seems always and every where to haunt them, will insist, as an universal canon, from which it is an abandonment of genuine Christianity to depart, upon the immediate inculcation of these high and transcendental mysteries in the case of unenlightened and idolatrous pagans, when probably neither the ideas can be brought within the scope of their reason, nor the terms rendered within the compass of their idiom. We will not venture to speak, in connection with such disciples, of the subtleties of Predestination; or the nicer matters in which Calvinism delights: but we will take the cardinal point of Justification by Faith, if presented in its absolute and unqualified, naked and unconditional shape. And we would ask, whether the Popish doctrine of Absolution would be likely to open the door to a wilder licentiousness of thought, if not of conduct, than the tenet, wrought into an uncultivated mind, that the reception of certain doctrines, in which, too, by the way, there would be many grievous misapprehensions, could act instantaneously as a sponge for all his misdeeds; and that all his offences, at whatsoever period of life they might be committed, would thus be cancelled and blotted out from the register of heaven.

Yet it is futile, some men allege, to think of teaching Christian ethics, which can only come by the impregnation of the heart with Christian belief. It is idle to talk of training up the mind for the due reception of the sacred mysteries, since it is the province of the missionary not to trouble himself with the devices of man's wisdom, but to trust to the intrinsic efficacy of that doctrine, which is the power of God and the wisdom of God; inasmuch as the mighty work will be done, not by human skill, or by human eloquence, but by the energy and the spirit of the Lord of Hosts. The missionary is the ambassador of the King of Kings, and he is not to tamper with the message, but deliver it in all its fulness, according to his credentials. And, therefore, he is to bear aloft the torch of the glorious Gospel, and carry, at once and always, before him the living and burning light of evangelical truth; and enforce, at once and always, the prostrate vileness, and corruption, and impotence of human nature; the one only way of reconciliation and restoration to the favour of the Most High; the infinite merits of the Saviour; Justification, simply and solely, through Faith; the utter worthlessness of good works as the means or conditions of salvation; the immediate and felt influences of the Holy Ghost, and God's care for his elect people. Now, acknowledging the sincerity with which these views are urged, and in a certain way admitting their correctness, we yet doubt whether any missionary ever has acted, or ever could act, precisely upon the letter of such instructions. Divine Providence condescends to

work by human instrumentality, and the agency must be adjusted to the object—the means must be accommodated to the end; and we may remember, that to pour the strongest flood of radiance suddenly upon the eye, is to dazzle and blind, rather than to enlighten.

An appeal may perhaps be made to the criterion of success; yet we cannot allow that the number of apparent converts in the earlier stages of a mission is decisive of the point. (Both at home and abroad, we believe it to be a more important question, *what* religion is imbibed, than *how many* imbibe it.) We can well conceive, for instance, that in many cases the doctrine of the incarnation of the Divinity—of a God manifest in the flesh—would be embraced with readiness, and even with avidity, by an idolatrous tribe. But it might be so embraced, that the Deity would be altogether degraded and humanized,—that the creed of a triune Godhead would be merely engrafted upon the stock of Polytheism, and that the most glorious verity of the Christian faith would be incorporated with the body of ancestral and immemorial fictions. Just in the same way we can conceive that the Popish tenets, respecting the agency of the Virgin Mary, and the invocation of saints, would obtain an easier credence from the unenlightened mind than the more spiritualized forms of Protestant belief. We have even heard men argue, that the Jesuits were the most efficacious, and the most proper missionaries, on the ground that there must be some adulteration of the Gospel, before the Heathen can accept it, and some alloy in the gold before it can pass current.

Appeal may also be made to the most competent authorities. We have consulted them ourselves; and certainly meet with some, to whom attention ought to be paid, corroborating by many expressions the view, which may appear, at the first glance, most evangelical and most spiritual. In mentioning, for instance, the names of Buchanan, and Henry Martyn, and David Brainerd, we mentioned the names of men, who, if in some instances, and at some periods of their lives, they may be charged with enthusiasm and imprudence, are yet entitled to Christian gratitude and respect. Yet even *their* example will be found, and of necessity, at variance with their words. The examples, on the other hand, of Swartz, the model of Missionaries in India, of Oberlin, together with some others, who had to act the part of Missionaries in Europe, may demonstrate the use, and in many cases, the need, either of training up a people to religion through civilization, or at least of making civilization and religion walk side by side, and of rendering human and useful knowledge the ministering handmaid to divine.

So, too, in each of the works, which we have now reviewed, we find either distinct avowals, or incidental admissions, of the advantage of varied qualifications, and capabilities, and information, and even of occasional departures from a directly Missionary character. To raise the level of comfort in savage nations; to inoculate them with better habits; to refine and enlarge their conceptions by degrees; to teach the useful arts; to introduce the elements of a higher taste, and so lift them above the sphere of sordid and grovelling appetites; to afford nobler resources than the animal pleasures of flesh and sense—this has often been the Missionary's business, and the nearest path to the consummation of his desires. We are far from saying, that this is always the best method, or that these things may not very frequently "*be added*, by seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness." We only mean to infer, that it is injudicious to tie down the Missionary, *before hand and at a distance*, to any particular routine; and that it is oftentimes his province to vary the means, that he may secure the unity of the end; to watch his occasions; to insinuate what he cannot enforce; to think nothing incompatible with his object which can promote its success, nothing derogatory, nothing unbecoming, nothing desecrating, which can be made really available for his sacred purposes. We have seen how beneficial, how almost indispensable, is a knowledge of medicine; but if it be good that Missionaries should be dispensers of drugs, it must be also good that they should be stored with the higher *pharmacopœia* of philosophical and moral knowledge, which may act as a remedy for many diseases of the mind and heart. We know that it is good for them to be enabled to teach agriculture, and to possess an acquaintance, if it be possible, with several European trades and handicrafts, and processes of manufacture. And our argument is, that, if they must sometimes heal the body before they can become, under their divine Master, physicians to the soul; and if they must sometimes instruct in useful knowledge, before they can infix any religious admonitions; so, by parity of reasoning, the elementary truths of religion, which speak to the common nature and universal identities of man, may often be wisely inculcated before the transcendental mysteries. At least all these things may be carried forward *pari passu*; sometimes the one step being taken, and sometimes the other; but all leading to the same ultimate point of Christian conversion and Christian enlightenment.

But let us turn from these uninspired and fallible opinions to the oracles of omniscient and eternal wisdom. In all cases, the commissioned teachers and prophets were instructed to instil certain principles, "by manifestation of the truth, commending

themselves to *every man's conscience* in the sight of God." But the method was uniformly to speak, as the conscience could respond. We find nothing antedated, nothing precipitated; nothing done, or attempted, in violation of the order of nature. We find the Almighty accommodating his communications of divine things, and his revelations of himself, to the comparatively "*gross and feeble and puerile conceptions of the Jew.*" We find that the extirpation of idolatry and polytheism, the inculcation of the sublimest truths of natural religion, preceded the full disclosure of the Christian economy of redemption and grace. We find that John the Baptist, the precursor of our Lord, was raised up to preach repentance as preparatory to faith. Now, we would push our argument only to this extent, although, even here, Dr. Chalmers, among the rest, may be against us, that the mode adopted by the Deity in respect to the Jews, cannot be unjustifiable, cannot be impious,—if circumstances seem to exact it—as applied to the negro and the Hottentot, the Greenlander and the Esquimaux, the Otaheitan, or the North American Indian; and that, however men may disagree as to the immediate course, there may be as much true devotion and real evangelism on the one side as on the other.

Let us turn, moreover, to the example of that greatest and sublimest of all Missionaries, the apostle, Paul. We see incontestable evidence in the case of St. Paul, that he proceeded with a caution equal and parallel to his energy; we see an uncompromising boldness in preaching the great truths of the Gospel, and also an exquisite skill in adapting his discourses to the moral and intellectual state, the familiar notions, nay the very prepossessions and prejudices of his hearers. We may discern a marked difference, both in matter and style, as he addressed the Gentile or the Jew; the Corinthian or the Roman; the philosopher at Athens, or the convert from the mass of the Hebrew people: we discern that his uniform method was to advance in building up the superstructure, just in proportion as the foundation was already laid: and certainly we perceive no countenance given to the system, that the pupil, instead of beginning with the rudiments, is to be carried at once to the highest dogmas of the science; or that the novice is to be admitted into the arcana of the most abstruse mysteries, without any previous initiation in the simpler and more elementary departments. The Apostle, too, we must bear in mind, spoke to men, for the most part, much more prepared by preliminary thoughts and expectations, much more habituated to religious discussions, than the barbarians, whom the Missionary has to address. He was gifted, too, both by nature and by the Spirit, with endowments to which no present

Missionary can lay claim, and yet *he* did not strive to reverse the order which God has established, or to change the elements of human nature, the laws and the constitution of the human mind. He knew, that “strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those, who, by reason of use, have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.” He knew, that, in *many senses*, “that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural.” We know how St. Paul, “to the weak became as weak, that he might gain the weak; that he was made all things to all men, that by all means he might save some,” and that “this he did for the Gospel’s sake.” And, therefore, we cannot recognize, as essential or useful, any canon of rigorous exclusion; or perceive the spirituality, or the good, of confining all religious instruction to three or four propositions, which cannot be rightly understood by themselves, and must want their demonstration and their efficacy, if stripped of the kindred and supplemental truths, which should illustrate and support them.

The missionary, therefore, has at least a large scope in which his own judgment may be exercised. We at least see no absolute, because no Scriptural, necessity for the undeviating pursuit of one exclusive plan; a plan, too, which, we really think, may be neither recommended by reason, nor exemplified in the Bible, nor urged upon our imitation by men divinely inspired. The missionary, we should remember, is not as the settled pastor in a Christian country. He is sometimes quite the reverse. He stands among savages, almost as an European community in himself.

Hence it is, that some have proposed to send *Christian colonies* instead of single missionaries into remote spots still overshadowed by the darkness of Heathenism; that is, knots of Christian families, or small Christian Societies, numerous enough to be of mutual ease and assistance, both among themselves, and in the furtherance of their common purpose; yet not large enough to cause suspicion or to give umbrage. Such a plan might, perhaps, cut asunder some of the perplexities in which the matter is now involved. There is the old question, for instance, whether Christianization, or civilization, ought to have precedency in Missionary exertions; or, in other words, whether European and American Missionaries, in their intercourse with the Heathens, should first Christianize in order to civilize; or first civilize, in order to Christianize. The example of the Jesuits, and still more of the Moravians, has been adduced on both sides. Yet, if Christian colonies could be sent out, the question, which is of itself, perhaps, an idle one, would fall to the ground; because it would immediately be *seen* that the two processes ought to go on

together, and that they can be of reciprocal benefit at every stage. Nor, again, would it be worth while, in such a case, to raise the question, for instance, whether the Missionary ought to be married or unmarried; and, again, how far he ought to push forward beyond the last boundaries of Christian civilization. At present, impediments are raised, because it is imprudent to enter, or trace, a circle which cannot be filled up; or to send an insulated and solitary individual much beyond the outskirts, where the social and spiritual influences of the Gospel are felt; much beyond the sphere of concert and co-operation with his friends. For what can be more disadvantageous than such a position? He may succeed for a time, only to perish. And then his work may die with him. Or he may be unable to stem by himself the current of idolatry and vice. Or he may himself become changed and corrupted by the surrounding contagion. The supposition is not improbable; for, alas! the temptations are not slight. How well may we conceive the single Missionary on a strange and distant coast—harassed, disappointed, discouraged on all sides—sunk in despondency, because seeing nothing before him but penury and cheerless toil; growing, more and more, hopeless of success; secularized and almost barbarized by the necessity of manual labour; quite cut off from the society of his fellows; and with no human eye upon him, that would reprove his lapses into negligence or depravity; yet, on the other hand, perhaps, allured by many sensual enticements, beholding a prospect of importance and ease, if he abandons the pursuit of his sacred enterprise; and thus gradually sinking from his Christian exaltation, far below the ordinary level of European habits. Some persons, either discerning the fatal effects which may follow the demoralization of a single Missionary, or moved by other considerations, would almost dissuade the employment of missions; and rest contented with the probability that the religion of England will be introduced through the expansion of her political empire. But, surely, no real Christian will trust to casualty what, through the grace of God, he can reduce to certainty by religious and immediate efforts. The Missionary, however, must feel how greatly such efforts might be assisted by the general power, by the very aspect, of a society composed of European Christians. But, then, the misfortune is, that too often, in our colonies and settlements, the power of a society avowedly Christian has been rather a counteracting than a co-operating force: and the conduct of many, bearing the name and the profession of believers in the Gospel, instead of acting as any help to the Missionary, has been rather an antidote and countercharm to the magic of a holy example. Hence, therefore, has been advocated the experiment of *small Christian colonies*, composed of pious

men and pious women, who would use indirect means of conversion, and who would have their conversation honest among the Gentiles, and adorn the doctrine, which the ordained Missionary should be commissioned to preach. Mr. Abeel says

“The work of evangelizing the world demands more than the labours of the ordained missionary. There must be teachers, physicians, merchants, and in some places mechanics—Christian communities, who can employ all the various means by which the heathen may be influenced, and at the same time exhibit to them an example of the blessedness in which they labour to make them participate. The advantage of sending colonies, and not merely missionaries, is obvious to all who have been abroad. The work would advance in proportion to the variety of plans adopted, and the number of instruments employed. Commerce and medicine harmonize admirably with schools, the press, distribution, and preaching. And if native agency is to be efficiently engaged in the missionary work, it can never be prepared with the same facility and perfection as in colonies of this description. Besides, labour and expense would be greatly economized. Those numerous domestic duties, which consume so much of the time of single missionaries, or families, might be devolved upon a few; while the majority of both sexes would be at liberty to labour exclusively for the heathen.”—pp. 355.

“The co-operation and influence of ladies are also greatly needed in evangelizing the heathen. In many countries they alone have access to their own sex. The only Christian lady who ever resided at Siam was admitted within the palace walls, and among the numerous wives of the princes and chief men of the country. Infant schools and female schools are their department; and none can succeed as well as they in obtaining scholars, and instructing and advising mothers. Ladies ought to accompany every mission family.”—p. 358.

On all these points, however, conscientious doubts and disputations may exist. We have not yet fathomed the philosophy of Missions; nor are we even acquainted with any philosophical and comprehensive history of Missions and Missionaries; nor can we yet see how a perfect code of instructions could be furnished to the pious wayfarer, who bears over land and sea the message of God, and the glad tidings of Redemption. Yet is it most consolatory and most animating to reflect, that a new and unwonted impulse has been given to the cause; that England is arousing herself in her Christian might, and girding herself to the noble task of converting the world; and that her transatlantic daughter, worthy of the parent from whom she has sprung, is pressing onward, with a holy emulation, in the same course; as the labours of Smith and Dwight, and the volume of Mr. Abeel, with a large company of others, may abundantly testify. We understand, in fact, that the Episcopal Church in North America, is about to appoint a Bishop on the shores of China, in consequence of the representations of Mr. Gutzlaff.

While a strenuous energy is thus roused for the prosecution of the evangelical enterprize; while the work is ever advancing on a larger scale and in multiplied directions; the question respecting the choice of Missionaries and the best management of Missions of course becomes, day after day, of intenser moment. It is admitted by every person competent to form a judgment, that the Missionary ought not to stand alone and unsupported, but should have a connection with some society in a civilized and settled country, in order that his personal subsistence may be less precarious, that his safety and comfort may be in some measure insured, that some provision may remain for his family in case of death; and, again, that a sense of responsibility may at once stimulate and direct his efforts; and that his ministry may be rendered more judicious and more efficient from the benefit of a collective wisdom and an accumulated experience. How important, then, become the constitution and the principles of the Association on which the Missionary leans; how urgent, how imperative, upon every true and orthodox Churchman is the duty of assisting by his contributions—and we might well add, by his prayers—the admirable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

By this, therefore—for we hasten to conclude these remarks, so sadly incommensurate with the grandeur of the topics—by this, as by every other aspect of the religious world, we are brought round to our old point. When we look to the empire of Great Britain; to the amount of her resources, the compass of her dominion, the enterprize of her sons; when we look to the universality of her language, the influence of her literature, the diffusion of her intellectual sway; when we regard the various means, ordinary and extraordinary, secular and spiritual, which Providence has placed at her command for extending her religious faith; whether by peace or by war, by conquest or by commerce, by colonization, or by Missions; we are driven to the conclusion, that as the Christianity of England is, the Christianity of the civilized world will gradually become. What, then, can we do, but urge, again and again, the unspeakable necessity of watching with a jealous solicitude over the soundness and the reasonableness, as well as the vitality and spirituality, of our faith at home? of striving, since so many and so abundant streams of religious instruction flow from our shores, that the fountains should be kept pure? of clinging, here in our domestic establishment, to integrity of doctrine, regularity of discipline, prudent and temperate earnestness in modes of teaching, if we care for God or for man, for ourselves or for our fellow creatures?

ART. VII.—1. *History of Moral Science.* By Robert Blakey. 2 vols. Duncan, London. 1833.

2. *The Philosophy of Morals; an Investigation by a new and extended Analysis of the Faculties and the Standards employed in the Determination of Right and Wrong, illustrative of the Principles of Theology, Jurisprudence, and general Politics.* By Alexander Smith, M. A. 2 vols. Smith, Elder, and Co., London. 1835.

THE former of these works is useful as an outline of what, we believe, is now generally taught in the schools of Ethics in certain parts of the kingdom, and because it exhibits within a narrow compass the distinguishing opinions of the ablest writers on Moral Science, from Aristotle down to Dr. Brown. Those who are desirous to learn, at little expense of time or reflection, what was thought by Hobbes, Cudworth, Cumberland, Locke, Archbishop King, Wollaston, Samuel Clarke, Shaftesbury, Mandeville, Bolingbroke, Dr. Hutcheson, Bishop Butler, Ferguson, Price, Adam Smith, Dr. Paley, Dugald Stewart, Bentham, Godwin and Cogan, will have their curiosity gratified, and, at the same moment, find ample materials for deeper research. Perhaps in the eyes of some readers it may appear that the labours of the author have been almost entirely confined to the expansion of such notes as might be taken down while listening to the lectures of a Professor in some northern seminary. His book, however, is a convenient and valuable record of the disquisitions of very able men on some of the most important subjects that can employ the human intellect; and we may hereafter have occasion to refer to it for the confirmation of some opinions on moral and religious truth, which are too often passed over with indifference.

Mr. Smith aims at rather a higher object than his contemporary, Mr. Blakey. His disquisitions have more the air of originality, and he is, without doubt, a man quite capable of thinking for himself on the profoundest questions of metaphysics or of ethical investigation. In some places we regret, his style is not sufficiently simple. Labouring to give expression to minute and subordinate ideas, he sometimes renders his sentences complicated, and occasionally buries his principal thought under a load of words.

The main object of this treatise on the Philosophy of Morals is to determine, in the first place, the mental faculty which is employed in discriminating right from wrong; and secondly, the particular quality in an action, sentiment, or character which entitles it to be called morally good. The former of these enquiries leads into the old controversy about the Moral Sense,

a tenet first avowedly promulgated by Dr. Hutcheson; and the latter has respect to the point so long litigated by our older writers as well as by Hume and Reid, in more recent times, relative to the standard or criterion of virtue. In fact, we cannot advance a single step in this interesting field of research without having previously satisfied ourselves with regard to that principle of our mental constitution, by which we perceive a *moral* distinction in character and actions; approve of one act and disapprove of another; determine one to be good or right, and another to be bad or wrong. We must, therefore, be desirous to know whether it is a separate power or capacity, essentially distinct from every other with which mind is endowed, and adapted to a specific purpose: or whether, on the contrary, it be resolvable into any other power or faculty, which is to be viewed as in this respect, merely exercising itself after one specific mode or one particular class of objects.

It being a fact disputed by no class of theorists, that we have actually a perception of such distinctions, another question arises, namely, do the characters or actions which are thus distinguished as good or bad respectively, possess any assignable quality in common—any quality on account of which it is that they are so distinguished—and if so, what is that common quality? Wherein as regards the actions themselves, does a good action differ from a bad one? What is the object of approbation in the one, and of disapprobation in the other? For *what* is the one approved and the other disapproved?

On former occasions we have stated distinctly our own opinions on the two points just delineated—the mental power and the moral quality. In respect to the first we think Bishop Butler was in the right when he said that, in every decision as to virtue and vice, there is a “judgment of the understanding as well as a sentiment of the heart.” There is no moral sense properly so called, no more than there is an architectural sense, or a political sense. The understanding, taking the word in its largest meaning, is exercised in pronouncing upon the moral qualities of every action or feeling submitted to our consideration; and as we are necessarily interested in such enquiries, as affecting our own happiness or that of our fellow creatures, our judgments are always accompanied with an emotion. The intellect *perceives* the tendency of an action, sentiment, or maxim, and the heart *feels* it.

It is because the intellectual perception in the department of practical morals is attended with a movement of the affection that the term *sense* has been applied to it; and certainly there is so far a difference between the exercise of the understanding on matters

which affect human interests and on those which belong merely to the physical properties of body. The mathematician and the astronomer, it may be said, can employ their faculties in unfolding the relations of space, quantity, and motion, and even in applying their principles to the most stupendous phenomena ever displayed by the works of the Omnipotent, without experiencing any feeling similar to the love, respect, approbation, hatred, disgust, and blame which force themselves upon us when we contemplate human conduct, as falling under the heads of *good* or *bad*. But it is manifest, notwithstanding, that even such studies are not unattended with emotion, though the stirrings of sensibility in the latter case comprehend neither praise nor blame. Wonder, admiration, reverence, and awe are not less distinguishable as emotions than gratitude and esteem. The same remark, too, may be applied to matters of taste and even to works of art. Sublimity and beauty awaken powerful feelings in the cultivated mind; and hence the school of Hutcheson had *senses* provided for all the classes of internal sensation of which the human being is susceptible. But a finer analysis than that Professor employed has separated the respective elements of the beautiful and the sublime, and successfully illustrated their nature by tracing them to the power of intellect operating upon the sympathies of man's heart. So, in like manner, may all our moral emotions be explained. The sympathetic feeling which binds us to the whole human race, as sharing and representing our own hopes, wishes, and fears, makes us susceptible of the pleasure or pain which ever attends our moral judgments. If we had no interests at stake affecting ourselves or others, we should decide with as much coldness in the concerns of virtue and vice, as we do when examining the properties of a triangle or a square. Even when moved by the beauty and sublimity of the material world, our spirits acknowledge a feeling for the welfare of man; and, in the presence of so much fitted to delight him with prosperity or to crush him in the dust, hope and fear are associated with those manifestations of power which Nature in her grander scenes so strikingly exhibits.

As our judgments on moral subjects embrace both a decision of the intellect and a feeling of the heart, some writers, with the view of simplifying the inquiry, restrict the connexion between virtue and the approbation of it to the mere internal sentiment, while others confine it to the sole consideration of the effects of goodness as contemplated by the eye of reason. But it is not our intention to enter at present into that thorny path, finding it much more suitable to the object of our publication to follow the author through those parts of his work only which profess to elucidate

some of the grounds of theological doctrine. For this purpose we shall begin with his chapter on "Liberty and Necessity,"—a subject which has exercised the acutest minds in ancient as well as in modern times, and been also occasionally connected with such views of religion as threaten to defeat all the ends for which that blessing was given to mankind.

There is no book more wanted in that series of philosophical treatises which may be found on the shelves of most libraries, than one entitled *De Fato*; an account, namely, of all the speculations on fatality and the necessity of human action viewed with a reference to the determinations of a ruling power, which is supposed to have fixed in an unalterable line the whole course of events in this nether world. The notions of the Greek philosophers and their Roman pupils would of themselves prove interesting; but they would acquire a still greater value in our eyes when we should find them mixing with the reasoning of divines, and gradually obtaining a place in theological systems. The treatise by Paul Orosius *de Arbitrii Libertate* affords a passing insight into the arguments that were wont to be employed by the orthodox controversialists against those Pelagian heretics who maintained the freedom of the will as the basis of their peculiar tenets. Impelled by their fears that the licentious hypothesis of the British presbyter would gain ground in the church, thousands permitted themselves to embrace the more dangerous philosophy of Augustin, drawn from the fountains of oriental gnosticism. The current downwards to our own days might be traced with greater certainty and equal advantage, through the channel of Geneva into the schools and pulpits of certain of the reformed churches: in which retrospect we might see the unhallowed attempts made from time to time to engraft upon the simple and lucid doctrines of the Gospel, a set of philosophical opinions altogether unknown to the inspired writers, as well as to draw from the figurative style of one apostle, a confirmation of the most extravagant conclusions relative to the designs of Providence and the destiny of man.

The argument of the necessitarian proceeds as follows: Whenever a man chooses or determines in one way rather than in another, there must be a *cause* for this choice or determination. This cause, it is maintained, cannot be the will itself; for this would suppose a volition to be the cause of itself, which is absurd. It must, therefore, be something at once different from the will, and independent of it, and can be nothing else than what is called a motive; and as every act of the will must proceed from or be the effect of some motive, it must receive its whole energy and direction from the power and character of that motive. The will in every

case must follow the prevalent motive on the same principle as every other effect must follow its cause.

We are inclined to agree with the author in holding that a fallacy lurks in the confusion of the terms here employed, in which the word *effect* is applied to a state of mind which itself is really the *cause*. Volition, that energy which accompanies or produces every act, is rather to be held as an independent exercise of the will than an impulse conveyed by any thing external to the mind itself. The mind, no doubt, must be influenced by motives and determined by reasons; but the weight of the motive and the view of the reason depend so much upon the peculiar character of the individual to whom they are addressed, that no one, prior to experience, can predict their effects. In a word, the influence produced in the mind by any consideration depends more upon the state of the mind itself than upon the consideration viewed apart; and it will be found different in every two persons to whom it shall be applied. Hence it is obvious that the relation between cause and effect in intellectual philosophy is not the same as in physics: for while, in the latter, the effect produced may not only be measured, but even previously determined by a reference to the cause, in the former, the result depends chiefly on the varying qualities of the substance on which the cause operates. To make this statement intelligible, recourse may be had to the following example.

“ If you taste an infusion of coffee you have the sensation of bitterness. This sensation is an *effect*; and as an effect or change from a previous state, must have a *cause*. And what is the cause? Undoubtedly the tasting of the coffee. When this is done the sensation of bitterness is felt; when this is not done the sensation is not felt. So far well. But to ask what is the cause of the bitter sensation is only going half way into the matter. There still remains another inquiry, namely, why does the coffee *produce* this effect rather than *not* produce it? Or why does it produce this effect rather than a different one? Why does it produce a sensation of *bitterness* rather than of *sweetness*? Now this—not what is the cause of bitterness—is the question corresponding with that, why does the will determine in one way rather than another?—If the necessarians, then, are to argue that when the will chooses one course rather than another, there must be a cause for the preference external to the will itself, may we not as well argue that if coffee causes a bitter rather than a sweet sensation, there must be a cause for this? Shew us the one cause, and we shall shew the other; if you cannot, neither need we.

Mr. Smith means to shew that in tracing the succession of events, usually denominated cause and effects, we come at length to a cause which has not, so far as we can perceive, been produced by any other, and must therefore be held the first of the

series. Volition, he asserts, is a cause of this kind; it is the source of action in every living creature, in the snail and oyster as well as in the dog and the man. The Necessitarian says that volition is an effect produced in the mind by motives; whereas Mr. Smith maintains it is not philosophical to go any farther back than to volition itself, inasmuch as we cannot establish any certain connection between the will and any preceding state of the intellect or affections. The followers of Priestley assert that there is in motives a *necessary power*, which acts as regularly in all cases, where man is concerned, as the principle of attraction among the orbs of the solar system, or that of vegetation, wherever there are heat and moisture. But our author calls in question this necessary power as applicable to the preferences and determinations of the human mind; observing that the real point under discussion, is not whether every effect that is properly and truly an *effect* must have a cause; it is rather to find out how a *cause* that is not itself the effect of some other cause, comes to operate in one way rather than another, or any way at all. "Does your *necessity* or *power* explain it better than my *will* or *volition* does? Is the former more conceivable than the latter, or more easily shewn? Is it better; is it half so well understood?"

It is therefore maintained that whatever difficulty exists in shewing that an intelligent agent may *will* in one way rather than in another without a cause for so willing, exists alike in shewing how a cause can operate in one way rather than in another; that is, be the cause of one effect rather than of another effect. It follows, therefore, that the argument of the necessitarian is formed by the application of a philosophical axiom to a case which it does not comprehend; it speaks of that as an effect which is not an effect, but a cause: a volition is not an effect at all; to suppose it to be so is to beg the question. Since we must suppose a first cause operating in some specific mode rather than another, why may not volition be such? But apart from the general position that every effect must have a cause, the necessitarians further insist, in regard to the nature of the specific case, that there is an absurdity in supposing the will to act independently of motives. What can be more absurd, it is asked, than to suppose that a man who has a motive to act in one way will act in another way in which he has no motive to act!—Or to suppose that a man who has a strong motive to act in one way, a weak motive to act in another, will follow the weak instead of the strong motive! This, it is admitted, is a plausible mode of reasoning, and here lies the apparent strength of their argument. But the doctrine of free-agency does not require us to assert that the will in any case acts without motives; it proceeds no farther than to maintain that in follow-

ing one motive rather than another, the mind is not in every case impelled by a power in the motive, but that, by a power of its own, it chooses to act from one motive rather than from another; exerting its inherent power of selection independently of the strength of either motive. Besides, as the name of the strongest motive may be given to that, which the will, in *fact*, chooses to follow, it must always be true in one sense, even on the theory of free-agency, that the will follows the strongest motive; and to say the contrary must just be the same sort of absurdity, as to say that a triangle may have four sides. In combating, then, the absurdity imputed to their opponents, of supposing the will to act without motives, or to follow a weak rather than a strong motive, the necessitarians, as Mr. Smith observes, combat a phantom of their own raising; and a victory over this phantom they have shewn themselves apt to mistake for a victory over the real power with which they have to contend.—A man who chooses between duty and inclination, must act, even upon the theory of free-will, from a motive. If he prefers his duty to inclination, he acts from a motive; if he prefers his inclination to his duty, he acts from a motive; and still upon the supposition that his choice is not an effect, but the specific operation of a cause. Upon the same supposition, if he chooses to follow his duty—duty may be said to be the strongest motive with him; if he choose to follow his inclination—then inclination may be said to be the strongest motive with him.

In short, we come to an identical proposition; making the motive we follow, whatever it is, to be the strongest motive. But as the strength of any given motive is admitted not to be the same in any two individuals at one period of time, nor in the same individual at different periods, it follows that the efficacy of the motive depends altogether upon the tone of the mind to which it is addressed. Hence, in every particular case, the motive which prevails is the strongest, merely because the will consents to yield to it at that moment of time.

The necessitarians have maintained that this free-agency claimed for the human being is incompatible with the prescience of the Deity. To this observation Mr. Smith replies:

I. “That this incompatibility has never been proved: on the contrary, it has been argued that there is no objection against the prescience of future events which would not apply to the memory of past events. This argument has never been refuted; and this much at least is certain, that our recollection of past events is not effected by calculating backwards from effects to causes, in the way in which the prescience of the Deity is conceived to depend on a calculation forwards from causes to effects; and if his prescience is not founded on such a calculation, it may exist otherwise than on the supposition of the necessity of human actions.

II. "If these two things should be incompatible, we have as good proof of the freedom of the will as of the prescience of the Deity ; so that the argument is a recoiling one. People who wish well to religion will be cautious how they deduce from its doctrines things impossible to be believed. There is an action and reaction in logic as well as in physics.

III. "The degree in which the actions of men are allowed to be necessary, or dependent on motives, may account for the prescience of the Deity, so far as this prescience has ever been known as a fact. I allude to scriptural prophecies. And supposing we were to admit that the Deity in all those cases where we know that he has foreseen, or where he wished to regulate the actions of men, did irresistibly influence their will—is there no medium between supposing such a power as free-will to be occasionally overcome, and supposing it not to exist at all?"

But we would cut short the objection by remarking that, in applying the deductions of philosophy to the nature and condition of man, no reference ought to be made to the attributes of the great Creator. Of these, in their full extent and manner of exertion, we cannot know anything; and it is, therefore, altogether impious to pronounce concerning their limits, or to insinuate any incompatibility between the course of events on earth and the omniscience in which they are all comprehended. On this ground so irreverently occupied by human reason, rests the popular argument in favour of the Calvinistic notion of election—the choice of particular individuals to everlasting life. There could be no foreknowledge, say the disciples of Augustin, unless it were based on the certainty of a fixed decree ; and therefore, they conclude it must be granted that the number of mankind who shall be saved was determined before the world began. Unless God had resolved, he could not have foreseen !

We are pleased with the observations of Mr. Smith on the System of Necessity, as connected with the notions of mankind on merit and guilt, reward and punishment.

"I allow the doctrine of necessity to be consistent with the notion of moral virtue or depravity : I admit that occasion might subsist, even according to that system, for rewards and punishments, to counterbalance opposite motives, in the same way as we discipline animals: but I repeat all this leaves no room for the specific notions of merit and guilt. Mankind have notions of merit and guilt, of reward and punishment, of retributive justice in short, essentially distinct from the consideration of reward or punishment, in the way of encouragement, prevention, or example. It is very convenient for the Necessitarian to attach notions of his own to these terms, and then say his system explains them. It is very easy to say that guilt is a liability to be affected by bad motives, desert of punishment a capacity of having these bad motives balanced by punishment or the fear of punishment. This does not fulfil the ideas of guilt and punishment, as these ideas exist in the natural apprehensions and feelings of mankind: and the Necessitarian has no right to mould them to his system."

Perhaps the strongest argument for the freedom of choice in man between moral good and evil, might be derived from his own consciousness, and the reflexions he passes on his own conduct, when acting the part of judge on his past doings. No sane person ever seeks an apology for his crimes in the feeling that he was irresistibly impelled to their commission. On the contrary, the acutest pain attending this retrospect springs from the conviction that he might have done better, and that when he yielded to temptation, he at once violated his own principles, and followed a course which he could not hesitate to condemn. Regret and remorse almost necessarily imply the power of shunning the path which leads to them; the lashes of these furies never touch the heart which can acquit itself of voluntary transgression; and physical evil, however severe, is never accompanied with the torture which an angry conscience inflicts—a proof that man does not regard himself as a necessary agent.

By establishing the principle of free agency, a great stumbling-block is removed from the path of the simple Christian, who is unwilling to believe that man, as a mere piece of mechanism, is doomed to accomplish a certain number of movements in a given space, some beneficial and some pernicious, obeying throughout a mighty impulse which he can neither understand nor resist. The illiterate peasant as well as the profoundest scholar, whose opinions on human responsibility are founded on the Gospel, sees reason to confide in the assertion, that as he sows so shall he reap, both here and hereafter. In this field of inquiry, therefore, we approve the conclusions to which Mr. Smith conducts his readers; for though his arguments are not so skilfully arranged as to preclude all controversy on the question at issue, the spirit which he breathes into the discussion, and the objects to which he points it, are worthy of the highest commendation.

There are also many excellent observations in his concluding chapter “on the relation of Morality to Religion, natural and revealed.” The obligations, indeed, conveyed by these two great codes of law are inseparable; for religion, it is justly remarked, is nothing else but morality towards God, and towards ourselves and others considered as dependent upon him. To say that a person may be a good moral man and destitute of religion is as if we should say that he is a good moral man but has no affection towards his father, no gratitude towards his benefactor, no care about avoiding his own ruin or that of others.

With regard to the evidences of Christianity, we are reminded of this *primâ facie* argument in its favour, namely, that it has been believed by many able and enlightened men in all countries

and ages. If the Gospel is a cheat, it is one that has imposed upon some of the most enlarged and comprehensive intellects that ever existed; such as belonged to Bacon, Newton, and Butler; upon some of the most acute, subtle, and penetrating, such as were those of Samuel Clarke, Berkeley, and Locke; and, finally, upon numbers who possessed a clear practical judgment,—a sharp, shrewd, and cool-headed reflection—of whom may be instanced Bishop Watson and Archdeacon Paley.

“ But clergymen, it is said, have an interest in maintaining the truth of Christianity. Newton, Locke, and Bacon, were not clergymen. Clergymen have *no* interest in maintaining the truth of Christianity. Butler, Berkeley, and Watson, would have sat as secure in their bishoprics if they had never written a syllable in favour of Christianity. If Christianity had never been believed, they would never have enjoyed Church benefices; but Christianity was believed before they were born, and would have continued to be believed after their deaths without their assistance. They had no interest then in maintaining its truth in this sense—the only one to the present purpose—that they would have been the better for maintaining it, the worse for not maintaining it.”

It is asserted by unbelievers, that there is a great number of prejudices on the side of Christianity, which materially make up for any deficiency in its evidences. But it has not escaped the observation of the author, that there are also many prejudices against it. There is the dislike which most men have to every thing which imposes upon them a moral restraint; there is the dread of being thought superstitious or subject to fear with respect to the unseen world; and there is the aversion to be implicated in the absurdities and follies of which Christianity has sometimes been made the innocent occasion. We find here some remarks on the last of these points, which, though rather strongly expressed, will not be pronounced altogether unreasonable by those who have carefully marked the signs of the times.

“ If ever there was a time when a man might excusably feel shy of professing his serious regard to the Gospel, it is the present, when a great part of those who seek more exclusively to appropriate the title of “ Evangelical” Christians, seem absolutely engaged in a competition who shall run furthest in the race of absurdity—as if there were no way of honouring God but by depressing man below the level of a rational and moral being. When we find those who are perpetually declaiming against the pride of the human heart, coolly declaring their assurance of being specially distinguished from the mass of mankind as the objects of divine favour, privileged to determine between truth and falsehood, and to discriminate between the accepted and rejected. When we are alarmed by the harrowing representations of the future damnation that awaits us, only to be told in the next breath that we can do nothing to help ourselves—when we are assured that our faith

will necessarily produce good works, while we are yet required to make it the very first article of that faith, that good works can avail us nothing—when a belief in the doctrines of revelation is made to denote, not a conviction of the understanding upon reasonable evidence, but a *feeling* miraculously impressed on the mind—when the Scriptures are said to present to the eye of reason little more than a mere blank; their real and profitable meaning being altogether a hidden treasure, to which the privileged few alone possess the key—when the questions for ascertaining our progress in religion are not, what have you done? how have you thought, and spoken, and acted? but what has been done to you? how have you been acted upon? what has been impressed upon you? what have you experienced? When, in fine, Christianity, instead of being piety, purity, and love, is Bible societies, and tract societies, and missionary societies, and wandering deputations, and meetings, and speeches, and sermons—when the bonds of Christian charity are narrowed, the rules of Christian prudence disregarded, the restraint of Christian modesty overstepped—when those whose notions of Christianity are thus manifested assume to themselves exclusively the titles of saints, elect, people of God—is it to be made a taunt to the rest of mankind that they would be ashamed to wear those titles? Truly they have reason, if such are the absurdities with which the wearing of those titles would connect them.”

“It is by no means enough to tell us of *sincerity* and *zeal*. Sincerity and zeal have no more necessary alliance with truth and wisdom than with folly and falsehood. The people who, in former ages, thought to please God by spending their lives on the top of a pillar, by wearing a hair shirt, or an iron belt, by tearing their backs or starving their bellies, were, many of them, quite sincere and quite zealous; they gave as good proofs of their zeal and sincerity, and, I cannot help adding, of their good sense, too, as many modern professors who look back upon those harmless fooleries with the most profound contempt. That absurd tenets are professed by some of the most pious of men does not make those tenets a whit less absurd. Some people will be virtuous under any system of opinions; but doctrines which may fail of stifling dispositions naturally good, will yet be perverted to the most dangerous purposes by dispositions of an opposite kind. The effects of the tenets I am describing have not had full time to develope themselves. That they will soon produce a rich crop of hypocrisy and immorality on the one hand, of levity and infidelity on the other, I can scarcely entertain a doubt. If I mistake not, some shoots of these crops are already discoverable; and it almost seems as if society were to exhibit, ere long, the features of that most disgusting and unamiable period of British history—I mean the time of the Charleses—concerning which, it is hard to say whether the canting bigotry of the one side, or the daring profligacy of the other, was the more hateful; whether the spiritual pride of the one party were less intolerable than the worldly insolence of the other; or which of the two parties had the best reason to hate and despise the other. I know no duty at the present time of greater urgency and difficulty, than that which I conceive lies upon all

those who are religious upon *rational conviction*, to endeavour, on the one hand, to exhibit their serious regard for religion, and to maintain the strictness of its obligation, *without running into the absurdities of the day*; and to exert themselves, on the other, to stem the progress of those absurdities without doing injury to religion itself."

Mr. Smith makes some judicious observations on the characters of Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire, and on the effect of their writings, so far as these were inimical to Christianity. The speculations of the first of these authors were extremely loose, and scarcely laid hold of the understanding of his readers. He scattered firebrands and said, am I not in sport? When he took up the pen of the philosopher, his labours were all tentative; and the same man, who surpassed all others in historical sagacity, unfolding the motives and tracing the designs of monarchs and statesmen, legislators and divines, permitted himself to advance inferences in natural religion and morality of which even a child might detect the inconsistency. Admitting the principles of theism, he nevertheless maintained that no evidence whatever could, in the nature of things, render a miracle credible?

It is remarkable, that our Blessed Saviour himself assumed belief in the Creator as the basis of belief in himself as the Redeemer of the human race: "Ye believe in God, believe also in me." An Atheist, according to this view, is altogether unprepared for entering into an examination of the evidences for revealed religion, because he possesses not the previous conviction that there is an Omniscient Mind who could make known the principles of the moral government of the world, or foretell events which have not yet come to pass. To him who denies that the First Cause is intelligent, wise, and good, it must appear absurd to maintain that any interest is felt for the condition of man, or that any means would be used for his restoration to purity and happiness. Hume, though he was not an Atheist, sometimes indulged his imagination with an estimate of the several hypotheses entertained by the ancient philosophers as to the origin of our globe and the history of mankind; and hence his reasonings, without being intemperately pursued, were justly accused of leading to conclusions the most directly sceptical, and subversive of all faith in revelation. Philosophy, in truth, was his amusement, and he was wont to seek relief from the dry study of facts and real characters in the ingenuity of his own thoughts, the play of logic, and even in the utmost extravagances of metaphysical theory. Provoked, too, by the ignorant bigotry displayed by the clergymen of his country, he not unfrequently enjoyed a malicious satisfaction in their impotent rage; nor was it until he had drawn into the field some champion worthy of his

talents and of the cause whose interests were at stake, that he relinquished the attack,—abjured all intention of defence, and allowed the laurels to be gathered by his opponents. Hence, of the great variety of opinions hazarded by Hume, there were few on which he himself placed any value; and though most of them are still praised for their ingenuity, they no longer claim a station among the undisputed principles of metaphysical science.

With regard to Gibbon, again, it is remarked, that his argument against Christianity is much about such an argument as it would be against the skill of a physician to show that, in any particular case where a cure had been brought about under his management, the patient exhibited some symptoms that made his recovery possible even without medical assistance. Besides, the objections of the eloquent historian of the Roman Empire have nothing in them of a direct or positive nature; their object was merely to diminish in some degree the argument in favour of it; and how little their effect has been, even in this way, is known to all who have carefully examined them in connection with the replies which their publication called forth.

Perhaps our religion has suffered more, with respect to its evidence as a divine record, from its friends than its enemies. This remark applies more especially to the many injudicious attempts that have been made to expound the prophecies, and to draw from them an import which they were never intended to convey. By looking for predictions, it is said, where it is obvious none were intended to be made, and searching out events at all hazards to suit them, they induce the suspicion that, amid the multitude and variety of human events, the Prophets could not, so to speak, have been far out in the long run, whatever they might have predicted; and looking to the manner in which passages of Scripture have been converted into prophecies, and fulfilments found for them, it is not perhaps going too far to say, that every prophecy might find an event, any event a prophecy. But certainly it cannot be said of all the prophecies, either that they are vague in themselves, or such as events can be but loosely fitted to. Taking into view that a prophecy relating to human transactions cannot always be made perfectly minute and circumstantial without giving an opportunity to men of defeating and falsifying it, it must be owned that there are numerous prophecies both in the Old and the New Testament which distinctly—as distinctly as under the restriction just specified is possible—predict particular occurrences; and not only occurrences, but trains and combinations of occurrences, that have actually happened in such a manner as to answer the prediction, even in regard to circumstances of a very minute kind.

“ That a prediction was made of a distinguished person—distinguished in a peculiar and extraordinary sense—who was to arise among the Jews, is matter of history ; not of Christian but of Jewish history ; not only of Jewish but of heathen history. The mere prediction of an eminent person might have been safely hazarded ; but when we find a great number of the most minute incidents of his life and death either directly mentioned or obscurely typified ; above all, when we find one particular mentioned by one prophet, another particular by another prophet, a third particular by a third prophet, all living in different ages—can all this be chance ? Granting for a moment that it might—take Daniel’s prophecies of the various political revolutions that were to succeed his times ; Christ’s prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem ; the Apostles’ predictions about the corruptions of Popery ; the predictions in many parts of Scripture of the spread of the Gospel, and those regarding the dispersion and preservation of the Jews—granting, I repeat, that any one of these might be a lucky guess, or a posterior insertion, can we possibly apply one or other of such suppositions to the whole ? Granting that there may be a variety of Scriptural passages, which are generally reckoned as prophecies, of which, no one taken by itself, is a clear undoubted prediction of the event, or has received a clear undoubted fulfilment—is it likely that such a number of even doubtful predictions could have each received even a doubtful fulfilment ? Surely, there is a degree of evidence in these prophecies which, supposing it not conclusive of itself, is at all events sufficient to give much additional weight to other proofs.”

The object of the author in these theological reflections is to prove that the duty of examining into the evidence of revealed religion falls under the head of moral obligation. No man, he maintains, is entitled to disbelieve until he has carefully and conscientiously reviewed the grounds on which he is called to repose his faith. It is not enough to urge that great difficulties are to be found in Christianity ; for the same sort of difficulties exist in Deism, or Atheism, or even entire scepticism. A man who believes nothing at all, has difficulties even in his unbelief ; and the question with the student is not whether difficulties exist, but whether, when combined, they are sufficient to overbalance the whole weight of evidence on the other side.

We pass over some excellent observations on “ Human Depravity,” viewed in relation to the Theory of Morals and future accountability. His language in all cases, we must observe, is not that of the schools, and the author might therefore be accused of deviating from the standard of orthodoxy, merely because he declines the use of the terms which are commonly recognized in theological discussion. His remarks, nevertheless, as applicable to those who hold the extreme doctrines on this subject, are worthy of attention, because they expose an absurdity not less opposed to Scripture than to the common sense of mankind.

When the notion of corruption is carried so far as to be equivalent to the assertion, that the human being is incapable of every thing but evil, the present system of the divine government becomes absolutely unintelligible, while all the means and motives of the Gospel must seem offered in vain. The object, no doubt, is to accumulate honour on the Divine grace, when any individual is rescued from misery and despair; but it should never be forgotten that the Godhead comprehends more than one attribute, and that truth and faithfulness will not be found inconsistent with mercy. On this head we are presented with two suppositions, either of which, it is possible, may be true. A race of beings, such as mankind, may have been so created originally, or by some act of the common progenitor allowed to fall into such a state, that in their dispositions and conduct they may be entirely opposed to the influence of moral obligation; and such beings may be entirely unable to do any thing that is right, or to avoid what is wrong. The creator of such a race may, without any reason but his own will, select any number of those beings, and transform their nature from vice to virtue; and those beings, so transformed, may be capable of enjoying greater happiness and of being more exempt from misery than the remaining part of their species, and be made actually to enjoy a preferable condition. The second hypothesis is, that a race of beings, such as man, may exist, who, without being under an entire inability to perform duty or to avoid sin, may yet have many evil dispositions and propensities, and be liable to many temptations. Their moral principle at the same time may be too weak to counterbalance opposing motives; and thus, though capable of effectual exertion for the avoiding of transgression and the fulfilment of duty, they may yet in point of fact fail to use such exertion, and be constantly sinning.

We are reminded that we may adopt either the one or the other of these hypothesis, as expressing the condition of man; but, says Mr. Smith,

“ If you stand by the first supposition, you must entirely give up the notion of man being justly liable to punishment, consistently with any idea we can have of justice; or if you choose the second, you must, in like manner, give up the notion of his being under any necessity of sinning, or under any incapacity of doing what is right. According to both suppositions, the nature of man may be called sinful; but in the one case his actions are sinful, because his nature is so; in the other, his nature is sinful, because his actions are so. In the one case, his sinful nature is the cause, in the other, it is the effect of his sinful actions. In both cases, suffering or diminution of happiness may be connected with this sinful nature, but in different ways; in the one it must be merely a consequence; in the other, it may be a judicial inflic-

tion. In both cases, too, we may conceive of such beings as objects of dislike; but it is only in the second case that we can reckon them deserving of blame or punishment. In short, in the first case they may be *depraved*; in the second only can they be *guilty*."

There is a long dissertation on Utility, considered as the principle of moral obligation, or as constituting that quality in actions on account of which they are approved and recommended. The reasoning of the author, though generally just and conclusive, is yet overlaid with such a mass of words, that it is an extremely laborious task to follow him. The too eager desire to explain and define leads to the multiplication of parenthetical expressions, or rather sentences within sentences; and hence, in order to obtain a distinct view of the meaning, it becomes necessary to decompose whole paragraphs and arrange the materials in a new form. In short, as we have already remarked, the main thought is often sacrificed for the sake of the subsidiary and collateral ideas which start up during the process of composition. But we readily acknowledge that, even where the chaff most abounds, the wheat which it conceals is well worth the trouble of winnowing; among the sand and mud there are particles of pure gold; and we make these remarks with no other object than to stimulate the author, when the volumes again pass through his hands, to relieve his readers from the ungrateful toil to which we have now alluded.

Having, *with due modifications*, established the principle of Utility as the ground of moral obligation, Mr. Smith adverts to an objection which may be raised against his views (which are in substance those of Dr. Paley,) by writers who maintain the existence of a Moral Sense. Such authors, neglecting the distinction between the *faculty* which perceives the moral ingredient, so to call it, and that *ingredient* itself, insist that the latter has an independent existence without any reference to its tendency to promote the welfare of man. They speak, as if we did not perceive an action to be right, because of its possessing the quality of utility, but as if its being *right* was itself perceived to be an original quality not dependent on any other.

"An action, they might be understood to say, is no more perceived to be right on account of some other quality previously ascertained, than sugar is perceived to be sweet on account of some other quality previously ascertained. It is obvious that this view would altogether displace, not merely the theory of *utility*, but the possibility of, or occasion for, any theory at all upon this division of the subject. For though we might still suppose there was some common quality in actions felt to be *good*, in the same way as we may suppose that there is some common quality in substances felt to be *sweet*, it could not be said in the one case

more than in the other, that we determined actions to be good or substances sweet *on account* of their possessing such common quality. That this view; however, cannot be for a moment allowed, is evident from this, that, if it were just, there could be no more dispute whether an action was right or wrong, than whether any substance was sweet or bitter; nor could we any more convince a man that his judgment of the morality of an action was false, by showing him that its tendency was quite different from what he supposed, than we could convince him that a substance which he has tasted was bitter, and not sweet, by proving that it was a different substance from what he took it for."

It is obvious that the functions ascribed to the moral sense, coincide nearly with those which are attributed to Conscience by such writers as invest the latter susceptibility with the power of determining between right and wrong. The term conscience, in its ordinary acceptation, it is true, as our author remarks, is applied to the moral faculty, not conceived as determining between right and wrong in the abstract, or as pronouncing on the conduct and character of others, but as passing sentence upon a man's own actions. As the feeling of pleasure or pain, which attends good and bad respectively, whether in deed or intention, must be the most important sentiment which passes in the mind of the agent, this feeling, taking the name of conscience, is said to indicate the moral character of the thought or action. But it is unquestionably a mistake to suppose that the easy or uneasy state of conscience discriminates a right from a wrong action, irrespectively of the view taken by the agent of its nature and tendency. Conscience is not a blind instinct. A man does not discriminate a right from a wrong action, without consideration of its effects, in the same way that a butterfly discriminates the proper sort of leaf on which to deposit its eggs without knowing its fitness for the support of the young worm; or as the bee constructs her cells without a knowledge of the mathematical principles on which she proceeds. No butterfly mistakes the leaf on which to deposit its eggs, and no bee mistakes the true form of its cells; but many a man mistakes right for wrong. Now, a man's conscience, as denoting his *ease or pain of mind*, will as heartily applaud the most detestable wickedness as the most transcendant virtue. One man's conscience applauds what another's condemns; the same man's conscience applauds him to-day for what it will condemn him to-morrow. Surely there is such a thing as a man's mistaking right for wrong! But his conscience, in the sense given, always applauds him for doing what he *thinks* right at the moment of action, always condemns him for doing what he inwardly pronounces wrong.

The Roman catholic, who eats meat on a *maigre* day, feels a

certain displeasure with himself, which is attributed to the power of conscience, that internal judge and avenger; and he who murdered an influential heretic, the enemy of his faith, of old experienced a glow of delight as if he had done God a service. In both cases the erroneous sentiment can only be removed by the application of reason and the clearer lights of Scriptural morality. But, it is well observed, that to suppose the very possibility of directing the conscience by an intellectual process of reasoning would be absurd, did not the decisions of conscience rest upon some previous views which intellectual ingenuity may have perverted. Were it otherwise a man could no more check the operations of his conscience by reasoning, than he could by a process of ratiocination change the nature of his eye-sight.

“ In no case, then, does the *feeling* of conscience, properly so reckoned, *indicate* the moral character of an action, after the manner of an instinct. Before conscience can pronounce her sentence, the action must not only be conceived as an action, but as an action of a certain tendency or effect. If conscience approves of giving food and raiment to a destitute person, disapproves of cutting his flesh with a knife or putting out his eyes, it is not on the bare conception of these actions, as they are severally distinguished from one another, and from other actions, but on the conception of them as occasioning *pleasure* in the one case, and pain in the other; and whenever the action itself and its effects are closely allied in our conception, as most frequently happens, the sentence of conscience is instant; while, according as the action and its effects may be disjoined in our imagination, conscience may suspend or altogether withhold her sentence.”

We regret that we have no room to separate the true doctrines of Utility from the crotchets of some modern Utilitarians. Moreover, it was our intention to have returned to Mr. Blakey's volumes before concluding this article, with the view of fortifying, by his reasoning, the opinions already stated on some of those points where moral principles merge into theology. We allude especially to his remarks in the section devoted to Dr. Dewar's work, where he combats with much success the leading tenets of the Sceptical School, the principal of which, by a very singular distinction, are found connected with the essential dogmas of Calvinism. Our limits compel us to relinquish this part of our plan; but we should fail in justice to the author did we not say that, for young persons, and even those more advanced who may wish to obtain a manual in this interesting field of inquiry, we know not a more suitable book than the “History of Moral Science.”

ART. VIII.—*Sermons on various subjects, delivered in several Churches in the City of Dublin, and in other parts of the Diocese.* By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London: Fellowes. Milliken & Son, Dublin. 1835.

WHATEVER be the conclusion ultimately formed as to the merit of these sermons, they, at least, well deserve a serious and meditative perusal. Indeed, we need hardly bespeak for them what they will gain for themselves. They are as far removed from the ordinary and ever-thickening crowd of popular discourses, as the frigid zone is from the torrid. They are an immense and very grateful refreshment, after volumes, where the commonplaces of Divinity are attempted to be set off by the common embellishments and artifices of style. To our minds, therefore, wearied and jaded as we often are with the task of reading, as it were *ex officio*, a considerable quantity of florid trash, they come like a cooler and serener atmosphere, after the fiery and stormy elements with which the more impetuous oratory of the day surrounds us. We cannot pretend to subscribe to all the previously expressed opinions of Archbishop Whately. The present work, too, contains several positions with which we do not agree; but still it would be quite puerile to say, that these are not very able compositions, full of matter and full of *mind*; with much fewer of those eccentricities of doctrine which have rendered his Grace's name obnoxious to many excellent and sincere Christians.

Dr. Whately is distinguished among the contemporary theologians as being a *suggestive* writer; he has that great property of a thinker for himself, that he likewise causes others to think. Without being particularly eloquent, or particularly vigorous, he sets fire, perhaps, to more trains of reflection in the understanding, than many authors possessed of more eloquence or vigour. Dr. Whately is, besides, a *sincere* writer. He believes and feels, *bonâ fide*, and thoroughly from his heart, all that he utters; instead of repeating some prescribed tenets in some prescribed forms of language, by a mechanical act of the memory rather than the intellect. Whatever he pours forth, has been first carefully strained through the alembic of his own brain. It is not wonderful, therefore, that, with an idiosyncrasy such as this, there should be a transparent openness in his literary character, and that we should sometimes almost seem to see the process of his mental operations. Still less is it wonderful, that his faults should be intimately and inseparably connected with his merits; or that

both should be the manifest result of his native constitution of mind, together with his habits and training, and also the society, perhaps, in which, during the fresh spring of his manhood, he spent the hours of sacred study or conversational relaxation. From his early youth—yet we speak, be it remarked, merely from hearsay, or from the internal evidence of his own publications—his custom, as his inclination, has been to enter the field of religious inquiry boldly, and without prejudice. Yet, in striving to emancipate himself from the trammels, which, as Archbishop Whately may hold, all teachers would throw over their pupils, and all generations over those which succeed them, has he not, now and then, forgotten, that there is also such a prejudice as the pre-determination not to be hampered by the usual prepossessions; as a pre-disposition to take a peculiar view; as the bias not to think like the rest of the world? It has been his aim, we conceive, to advance with keen penetration as well as Christian courage;—yet has it not escaped him, that this vigilant and almost suspicious acuteness of investigation, this resolution not to be satisfied with the common authorized interpretation of texts, has induced him, on some occasions, to refine too much, and attach more subtle meanings to passages of Scripture, than would appear to be consistent or congenial with the general simplicity of the Evangelists and Apostles? The Archbishop's forte, if our estimate is right, consists in giving clear and dispassionate views of the subject which he treats; in disencumbering it of extraneous perplexities; and oftentimes in disentangling the right and the wrong notions, which had been entertained upon it together. On the other side, he prefers, we imagine, to handle points which are disputed and misunderstood, rather than to tread in the broad and trodden spaces of Christian divinity—a course which, however fit for a few eminent prelates or profound scholars, would become most pernicious, if imitated by the throng or commonalty of preachers and ministers:—he is almost like a man in quest of variety, or in search of mistakes, in chace after strange readings and original expositions; or a man, who would rather enjoy one single ray of light, which he had brought down himself from Heaven, than bask in the full beams of the meridian sunshine with his neighbours. He launches into the depths of a phrase, or a sentence, or a paragraph, as if he was bound upon a voyage of discovery.

Both good and evil, we have already hinted, are annexed to this kind of mental constitution. It is, we think, the provision of a kind Providence, both that it exists, and that it is not universal. If there was no infusion of such a disposition into the mass of society, truth would make no progress; men would ac-

quiesce in established fallacies from age to age; and error would enjoy an irrevocable charter of eternal sanctity. But, on the other hand, if all were steeped in it, there could be nothing stable, nothing permanent, in religion, or in morals, or in politics. With regard to the Archbishop of Dublin, we have now, in the natural sagacity, the learning, and the station of his Grace, a security against the abuse of such a temper. But if young men are imbued and saturated with it, as they sit down to the study of Divinity and even the perusal of the Scriptures, we should soon be involved, almost without hope of escape, in a tangled labyrinth of neologisms. As to ecclesiastical annals, we should have little more than "*historic doubts*;" as to expository or hortatory divinity, we should have little more than interminable polemics. Yet it is a potent temptation with youthful and ardent scholars of a certain intellectual character, to prefer novelty, as being novelty; and to confound this mere love of innovation with true power and originality of understanding. Need we, however, say, how often and how carefully men ought to examine their premises, and their steps, and their inferences, before they admit and fasten into their own minds, sentiments which are at variance with the conclusions of antiquity, and the general sense of mankind: and still more, how cautiously they ought to pause, before they promulge them to the world; inasmuch as the presumption is, that *they* have been mistaken, and that "old experience" is wiser than they?

To inculcate docility, and modesty, and wariness, is not to weigh down and crush mental elasticity, or to cramp and restrict intellectual freedom. Neither, with all deference to Dr. Arnold and Dr. Hampden, is it to cripple truth or to foster prejudice, if we remonstrate against the hasty publication of any questionable doctrines which, while being so questionable, we regard it as imprudence rather than candour to broach. Dr. Whately indeed says, in his last note, and with the spirit of his remarks we would express our most cordial concurrence,—

"It appears to me that *it is not given* to men even of the most acute intellect, to discover that honesty is the best policy, till they shall have adopted the honest course for its own sake, and not from motives of policy. But those who shall have disdained all politic disguise, suppression of truth, and connivance at error, as intrinsically evil, derogatory to the cause of our religion, and indicating a want of faith in God; will afterwards find by experience that the most frank, manly, and straightforward course is also the wisest; and will have averted many of the very evils into which a timorous and crooked policy,—adopted through apprehension of those evils,—would have led them."—pp. 422, 423.

Still we would venture to suggest, that to unsettle men's minds is an evil in itself; while to unsettle them on mere points of reli-

gious speculation, may be attended by the additional mischief, that without aiming at any vital good, it may unhinge them incidentally and indirectly upon points of faith and practice; and, again, that it may be right to speak, and yet also right to wait till we can speak with fulness and effect; instead of disturbing old ideas, when there is perhaps neither room nor opportunity to enforce the new. Many, in short, and obvious are the reasons, why to obtrude theological *novelties* upon the world is for the most part a hazardous experiment, which betrays a crude and unsound judgment, and why a wise man will pause, again and yet again, upon the threshold of such an enterprise; until he has altogether convinced himself, and strengthened and consecrated his convictions by an inspection of the subject in every point of view, by diligent scrutiny into all possible sources of knowledge, by consultation with competent judges, by close and frequent consideration, by humble and earnest prayer.

Yet, let us repeat, an unfettered activity in religious investigation, when it is prosecuted by devout men adequate to the task, can have no warmer admirers and advocates than ourselves. A great mind, taking its own course, and trusting to its own conclusions, is necessary to the accomplishment of great objects in theological as in all other science. An intellect of such a cast, disciplined by study and sobered by time, may do important service in the discovery of new truth, in the task of weeding away wrong opinions from the midst of right, and especially in the elucidation of scriptural verities. Dr. Whately is, in this sense, a philosophical divine; although he is certainly no friend, in the objectionable signification of the phrase, to philosophical or metaphysical divinity.

The Archbishop, in truth, although he may sometimes be deemed wanting in fervour, cannot, either charitably or equitably, be called deficient in spirituality. The eighth sermon, for instance, intitled "*God's abode with his People*," is written in a tone as spiritual as it is just. Dr. Whately disdains, however, to use the cabalistic shibboleth of a puritan school; and there are men, we doubt not, to whom the following note, which is subjoined to the fifth discourse, will be bitter as wormwood.

"The writings of John,—both his Epistles and his Gospel, seem to have been especially directed against those ancient corrupters of Christianity, the Gnostics; which name, comprising several sects, or subdivisions of a sect, was applied to them,—originally, it is probable, by themselves,—from their pretensions to superior *knowledge* (*γνῶσις*) above other Christians. Some of them appear to have both taught and practised the vilest Antinomian doctrines. This censure does not probably apply to all of them. But their spiritual pride and contempt of others;

and the self-sufficient arrogance with which they gave explanations of divine mysteries, and assumed that these, their explanations, contained the true *knowledge of the Gospel*,—this assumption, from which their name was derived, seems to have been common to them all.

“And may we not find traces of a similar character in the present day, among some who might not inaptly be styled “modern Gnostics,”—persons who use the phrases “*knowing Christ*”—“*knowing the Gospel*,”—in a peculiar technical sense of their own, denoting the adoption of their own peculiar views, and of the phraseology of their party? Any of their party, though he, perhaps, is unacquainted with the original language of the New Testament,—though he may not be more eminent than many others, in point of Christian morality,—and may be utterly wanting in the meekness, charity, and humility of the Christian character, is at once pronounced by his party to “*know the Gospel*,” in contradistinction to another, of perhaps greater knowledge of Scripture, and with far more of a Christian spirit as delineated in Scripture; but who is, perhaps, hardly allowed to be a Christian at all, by a party of uncharitable and arrogant pretenders.”—pp. 127, 128.

Neither, as far as the present volume is evidence, can Dr. Whately be styled *unevangelical*. Wherever he speaks of that which is “*evangelical*,” he shows that he fully and truly appreciates both the meaning of the word and the value of the quality. Let one example bear witness.

“There is no way in which a man can be so *extensively* useful, as by the diffusion of religious *knowledge*. Admit that Christian knowledge is but a part, and that the least part, of *evangelical* religion, still it is not only one essential part of it, but it is the one which we can the most extensively diffuse.”—p. 348.

Deep is our own regret, when we are compelled to employ the term “*evangelical*,” in another sense, or for another purpose. We feel the imprudence and the mischief of applying the word, *evangelical*, to men, who do not really deserve it, and who may insinuate that we apply it as a term of reproach. We want some designation which may be brief and pithy, which may be expressive and distinctive without being offensive; and that term we would apply not to such men as Dean Pearson, Dr. Dealtry, or Mr. Henry Blunt, or Mr. Robert Anderson,—men, whom, although we may differ from just two or three of their opinions, we are quite willing to acknowledge as *truly* *evangelical*;—but to the few “*ignorant pretenders*,” as of a verity they are, who disturb the Church with their perpetual clamours, and their impertinent abuse of the rest of the clergy. “*Modern Gnostic*,” we apprehend, would hardly suffice, and hardly get into circulation.

Neither, again, can we discern any traces of German Rationalism in these discourses of the Archbishop of Dublin. There are many things, we dare say, which will be too reasonable to

please the *Irrationalists*. Enthusiasts, too, there may be, who will attempt to stigmatize these sermons as "*mere head work*," "*cold ingenuities*," "*pulpit ethics*," "*religious essays*," "*dry bones of verbal criticism*," "*the casuistry of a professor, not the vitality of the Gospel*," with all the rest of that raw and nauseous stupidity. Yet no man, we think, can read them through in the proper spirit, without having his understanding informed and his piety invigorated.

There seems to us, in fact,—if we may skirt for a moment a part of our old ground,—to be this peculiarity in the Archbishop's style, that the general impression which he wishes to make is deeply and strongly made, and yet that there is no especial force in the particular sentences. Dr. Whately is not an author,—if we may illustrate our position by a very homely and familiar image,—who hits the nail one heavy blow and drives it home, or who produces an instantaneous effect by a few dashing strokes; but he gradually arrests and fixes the attention; he always renders himself understood and remembered at last; and goes surely, if he goes slowly, to his aim, with precision, if not with liveliness. His manner, therefore, is not to be called dull and prosy, although it is temperate and unruffled, and sometimes, perhaps, circumlocutory,—although it is logical rather than rhetorical, preserving an equable level of candour and good sense. Assuredly, if we mean by eloquence, the highly-coloured picture, the startling apostrophe, the vehement appeal, the address to the feelings, either pathetic or fierce, there is little or no eloquence in these pages. But, if we find nothing very vivid, or very graphic, or very emphatic, one main reason is simply that the Archbishop employs a studied moderation of tone, and takes as much pains to discard, or avoid, all passionate excitement, as other writers sometimes take to attain it.

Having dwelt so long upon the general characteristics of his matter and style, we have no room to undertake a regular and consecutive analysis of the sermons which Dr. Whately has now published. They will, however, we conceive, fully bear us out in our observations. The first sermon, having for its text, "*On earth, peace*," manifests Dr. Whately's ambition to go out of the ordinary routine; and strikes us as being, in some passages, rather far-fetched. The Archbishop's interpretation of the word "*peace*" seems to us quite right, as an *extension* of the meaning; but not necessary, or even correct, if it is to supersede the old and usual acceptance. Was not the hymn of the angels both a proclamation and a recommendation; and, moreover, at once a declaration of the peace that was immediate, and a prediction of the ultimate peace that is to come? Yet how much of ingenious

criticism, how much of frank and luminous simplicity, runs through this discourse. And so of the others. We trace everywhere, as we proceed, high talent, and bold reflection, and erudite research. We trace also the sturdy resolution of a man who strikes out his own opinions from his own mind, who delights in seeing things in a light which has struck no previous inquirer, and has no objection to quit the beaten track, and find a bye-road for himself. Of this disposition the commencement of the ninth sermon is a curious, yet not unfair specimen.

“ This, the first of all the miracles that our Lord wrought, is, on that account, and for other still more important reasons, *deserving of a fuller attention than is usually bestowed on it ; especially as its true character and design is, I think, in general, not rightly understood.*”

Yet in this discourse how admirable are the remarks upon the unfrequent mention of the Virgin Mary in the New Testament. How gladly, too, would we extract page after page from the sermons on “ *The Glory of the Lord,*”—on “ *A Christian Place of Worship*”—although, by the way, the remarks on the priesthood must be received with some caution,—on “ *Christ, the Bread from Heaven,*”—on “ *The Salt of the Earth,*”—and most of all, perhaps, from the fourteenth sermon, on “ *Christ's Example,*”—which is wrought up, in the peroration, to a more glowing earnestness than the rest of the discourses; and contains, besides an account of a most benevolent and useful institution, some most acute and judicious observations on the points where the Revelations of the Gospel touch upon the principles of political economy. Still, again, we should rejoice in being enabled to quote the strictures on “ *good works,*” in a note at page 401,—the remarks on the essential difference between *faith* and *blind credulity*; the warnings, on the other hand, against that intellectual presumption which is at the root of the want of faith; and the distinction which is drawn between *religious knowledge* and *theological philosophy*. If we had space, we should endeavour to show, by collating various parts of these discourses, that Dr. Whately has not very accurately drawn another distinction, between *speculative* and *systematic* divinity. A speculative divinity, which would weave out of the Scriptures a web of theoretical metaphysics, we quite give up to reprobation; but both the powers and the limits of man's capacity actually require a methodized theology and a systematic nomenclature. This tendency does not belong to Greek philosophy or to Roman; but is a necessary condition of human nature, and a result of its immutable laws. Men must generalize, and so have general laws: they must classify, and so have terms of classification. They must

assort and arrange the tenets comprehended in a volume, written at several times and by several persons; for all this is requisite to convenience of discussion, to the easier remembrance of a single mind, and the easier transmission from one mind to another. Do we not recognize in the Archbishop of Dublin's Sermons, although of later publication, the germ of Dr. Hampden's fantasies; although it is quite true that the Archbishop speaks like the founder of a sect, while Dr. Hampden, like the disciple, carries to an extravagant length the tenets of his master?

Some admonitions—and, for the most part, useful and salutary—may be found interspersed in other places, as well as from page 131 to 136. In the latter page the Archbishop says—

“We should rather point out to objectors that what is revealed is *practical*, and not speculative;—that what the Scriptures are concerned with is, not the philosophy of the human mind in itself, nor yet the philosophy of the Divine Nature in itself, but (that which is properly *Religion*) the *relation* and connexion of the two Beings;—what God is *to us*,—what He has done and will *do* for us,—and what *we* are to be and to do, in regard to Him.”

Now, although the spirit of these sentences is unexceptionable, may not mistakes arise, unless in the letter of them there is some qualification? Does not the consideration of “what God is to us—what he has done and will do for us”—of necessity involve the consideration of His character and attributes?—does not the consideration of “what we are to be and to do, in regard to Him”—of necessity involve the consideration of our constitution and capacities? In order to understand the *relation* between two beings, must we not understand their relative nature? and can we understand their relative nature without forming some conceptions of their absolute nature in themselves?

But we must not conclude with anything in the shape of cavil or objection; although we are tempted to suggest that there appear to us some fanciful notions with respect to the “*Marriage at Cana*,” and “*the Apostle Thomas*.” There seems, too, a kind but almost inordinate desire to bring “*Hind's History*” into notice; the work, however, being one which we are far from wishing to disparage. But we would rather dwell on the many accessions to our national stock of pure and spiritual divinity; and our sorrow that we are precluded from giving quotations is only diminished, because we wish and expect the volume to be generally read.

Let it be borne in mind that we are now looking at what is before us. As to past matters, our opinions are on record, and we do not retract them. Yet if one circumstance more than another could make us *desirous* to retract any harsh sentiments

which we may have ever expressed, it is the unwarrantable acrimony with which Archbishop Whately has been attacked by clergymen belonging to that very Church in which he is invested with the highest order of dignity. To approve all the doctrines and all the acts of Dr. Whately, is one thing; to discountenance the tone in which some Irish zealots have assailed them, is quite another. There may be conscientious disagreement; but we are not aware how his Grace has forfeited by his conduct the respect which his station demands. We do not see why, in the case of such a prelate, alliance, rather than estrangement, should not be our *object*. We do not even see why our object should not be a general union upon righteous terms among all reasonable churchmen; excluding only those who doom *themselves* to exclusion by their pertinacious intemperance.

But our limits are exhausted. We end, therefore, as we began. We are not always disposed to subscribe to the positions—*jurare in verba*—of the Archbishop of Dublin. But we admire his great ability, his careful investigation, and his dispassionate singleness of mind: and, without question, he has here presented us with a volume of Sermons, which every man, who takes an interest in religion, will do well to examine, and every man, who pretends to theological scholarship, will do well to have in his library.

ART. IX.—*The Corner Stone, or a Familiar Illustration of the Principles of Christian Truth.* By Jacob Abbott. *With a Preface* by Dr. J. Pye Smith.

The same, abridged, with Notes by the Rev. Henry Blunt.

It is a subject which might make Heraclitus smile through his tears, to see how much of what is called religious difference is the result of political antipathies, and might even lend some countenance to the opinion expressed by mere politicians, that the professions of sectaries are rather the marks and ensigns of their party, like the facings of a regiment, or a ribbon worn at elections, than the true causes of their disagreement. This is, however, too cynical a conclusion. "Man is by nature a political animal;"* and political prepossessions insensibly influence all that he acts or thinks; principles to which he is devoutly attached assume in his view something of a religious character; and, while he thinks he is contending for his faith, he is in fact only zealous for his faction. The prejudices and misconceptions of vulgar minds in this particular are the fruitful source of

* Aristotle.

embarrassment: but we cannot now stop to unravel the confusion; and, in a general view, perhaps, the evil is not without its counterpoise; for who has not felt the charm of conversing with those choice spirits whose piety and policy meet to enlighten and animate each other,—the deep religious loyalty of Clarendon, or that devotion to the afflicted cause of monarchy, which adds force to the reasonings of Sanderson and Barrow, and shines through the impassioned eloquence of Taylor? No doubt there was a time, before it became an axiom that Religion has nothing to do with Politics, and the name of Scripture, like the prophet at Bethel,* was banished from the audience of kings, when the union of the two principles was considered feasible, and, as disguise was not required, the provinces of each were less likely to be mistaken:

True Faith, true Policy united ran;
This was but Love to God, and that to Man.

We are now fallen on different times, and are proving some of the consequences. Our Religion partakes largely of the anti-social spirit of the age: every man is master of his own creed, chooses his own denomination, and best proves his title to a religious character by interfering as little as possible with those of his neighbour. It is a violation of the liberty of conscience to do otherwise; for why should any difference on these points prevent men from equally aiming at the good of the society in which they live, and uniting their efforts for it? Yet, in point of fact, difference in religious principles is as much as ever an index to political party; every shade and colour of the one is characteristic of the other; and the only consequence is, that, as Policy is forbidden to be religious, Religion becomes more and more political. Every sect has its journal or monthly miscellany; of which, in whatever different degrees the two are blended, in general it may safely be affirmed that they consist much more of politics than religion. Others there are, who, in the midst of this strife of tongues, endeavour to keep up a kind of *federal union*; and make a spiritual freemasonry among the different sects, a substitute for the peace of a Church at unity with itself.

It is certainly desirable in this state of non-intervention, that the means of access to different modes of opinion should be largely supplied through the press; and that the discussion which is excluded from the common forms of society, should meet with a free entertainment there. The necessity of the case has indeed called forth a new species of publications, a kind of light reading on religious subjects, unknown to former generations,

* Amos, vii. 13.

such books being then considered as better fitted to inculcate the minor morals, or correct more trivial errors of practice, but now including much deeper questions, and attended, we fear, with this inconvenience, that they seem to many to open a shorter track to that knowledge, which, to be effectual to any good purpose, must be the result of much laborious mental training, must be impressed on the renewed heart and conscience, and practised in obedient passions and a will resigned.

The general character of these publications is such as cannot be contemplated with much satisfaction. Poetic fictions or tales mixed with Scriptural truths in strange and ludicrous combination, coarse Antinomian expositions of doctrine, and a singular freedom with sacred names and persons, are marks distinctive of that class of religionists, who are "ever walking on the battlements of heaven, before they have found the true Jacob's ladder to ascend." Between this class and the republican school of politics, there has ever existed a wonderful sympathy; some of the first professors of this theology, well imbued with Ames and Perkins, were among the Pilgrim Fathers of New England; and their descendants to this day, where Socinianism has not supplanted the Assembly's Catechism, have maintained much of the same character. It does not, therefore, surprise us that many of the convenient manuals put forth by this class should be duodecimos imported from America.

Whether Jacob Abbott's little books are altogether to be ranked with the publications we are now describing, may admit of doubt. "The Young Christian" and the "Corner Stone" have many points of distinction from their ordinary companions on the tea-table or in the boudoir. There is a degree of freedom in some of his positions which would appear to set him clear from the worst trammels of a sect; and make it possible that, but for some bias of education, he would have acquired a more generous and well-constructed system than his own.

He who has found a way of interesting the mind of childhood in religious truth, has done much towards that great practical end,—the application of Christianity to the realities of life. This is a praise which can scarcely be refused to Jacob Abbott. His writings show him to be an active and intelligent teacher of children, who has not superficially studied the genius of infancy, and by presenting general principles as they are exemplified in minute practical details, often hits upon a happy mode of fixing attention on the truth which it is his object to inculcate. Perhaps there is too generally seen an effort to surprise; but no doubt such as this is the true course to be adopted in the early stages of the reasoning power; it is to meet the inquiring spirit of

childhood on its own ground, and to aid Nature in her progress of discovery.

Even among inquirers of a riper age, there are many to whom this familiar application has its use. The number of those who read, but have no capacity for abstract reasoning, was probably never greater than at present. Yet there are among this number very many who are well affected to divine truths, persons of a devotional cast of mind, and who will listen with interest to language calculated to arrest the attention and elevate the feelings. It is an object which may well engage minds of more mature powers, anxious for the extension of religious influence, to supply this class with matter which, while it entertains the imagination and satisfies the affections, may correct and enlarge the understanding. Errors may thus be corrected imperceptibly, if, on the principle here attempted, some confessed analogy or lively picture from actual life can be brought to elucidate some leading and heart-engaging truth.

Allowing Jacob Abbott this praise, we must still regret the indiscriminating use which seems to have been made of these manuals of religious instruction by our countrymen, and their republication under the sanctions they have received, without a more judicious expurgatory process. Seldom have we perused writings on sacred subjects, from which the reverential spirit is so entirely excluded. Perhaps, in a true republican, the organ of veneration can scarcely be developed, where a concession to the will of the majority is the only social duty taught, and allegiance is a word unknown. The very titles of the Most High, "King of kings, and Lord of lords," are omitted in the American Prayer-Book, as unfit for free and equal citizens to use, or unintelligible in the Western Hemisphere. What, then, can be expected of an indigenous New Englander, inheriting all the immunity from ceremonial worship, proud of all the superiority to ordinances, which his forefathers sought for in voluntary exile,—for which they contended with the waves and woods?

A true notion of the extent to which this independent principle was carried can only be derived from the singular records of Cotton Mather.* It is an instructive lesson which they give of the progress of division, where we see the war, begun upon rockets and lawn-sleeves, ending in a quarrel with the names of Church and Minister, and even the days and months of the calendar.† The grave debates of synods on such subjects as are there proposed, must have been among the most risible scenes

* Cotton Mather, *History of New England*, book v.

† Robt. Baillie's *Dissuasive from Error*.

in the fantastic varieties of life. Far from confining their attention to the worship of the sanctuary or the public solemnities of religion, they enacted laws for convivial meetings and the customs of private life: but such matters grew past a jest, when they were enforced, as they often were, under penalty of deportation, and executed with an inquisitional power, a little inconsistent with the liberty of conscience, which they are said to have "been the first to publish to the world."* As for instance—

"Whether the games of cards and dice be lawful to be used among the professors of Christian religion?" Determined in the negative.

"Whether to drink healths be a thing fit to be practised by the professors of Christian religion?" Also negatived. "It is a relique of Paganism." Alas! so are Christmas-boxes and minced pies. "Healths are the *devil's shoeing-horns to draw on drunkenness.*"

"Whether cousins-german may marry?" Also negatived. This extension of the canonical prohibition seems to have been held by the brotherhood of the separation in England; and adds some force to the satiric banter of Butler—

"For Grace and Virtue are within
Prohibited degrees of kin,
And therefore no true saint allows
They shall be suffered to espouse."

Another question is remarkable, as relating to scruples still entertained by rigid sectaries in this country; though we do not recollect elsewhere to have met with reasons for them;

"Whether instrumental music may lawfully be introduced into the worship of God in the Churches of the New Testament?" The reasons for the negative are, "Though used in the Temple, it was part of the ceremonial, not moral worship." These Independents, therefore, allowed no singing of Psalms, unless by a singing prophet extempore. Surely, whether an instrumental or vocal performer is under more temptation to perform his part to his own glory, and so offer a ceremonial worship, may admit of doubt. "If music is allowed, why not dancing?" A question, which may have occurred to one who has listened to an Italian choir—

"Con stile da sfarzi e da commedia,
E gighe e sarabande,"—

* Sir James Mackintosh. "By the Independent Divines, his tutors, Locke was taught those principles of Civil and Religious Liberty, which they were the first to publish to the world."

but could hardly have been provoked by any recollections of the Psalmody of an English Church. For the rest we may be grateful that the self-chosen exile of this body of fanatics may have delayed for a season the conflagration of York Minster, devoted for the abomination of its organ.

It is natural, then, in a descendant from such fathers to have a kind of instinctive repugnance to ceremonies and ordinances. The dignity of the Christian priesthood is a subject which never fell under his consideration; the graces conveyed in the Christian sacraments are not within the sphere of his comprehension. The very institutions of Christ himself are made of secondary importance compared with a supposed spiritual effect or moral impression on the individual. This secured, it matters not what outward form we follow; the wearing a sprig of oak on the 29th of May, or a leek on St. David's day, is just as good as any other.*

"Understanding, then, Christian," he says, "what is the true nature and design of a religious ceremony, *whether it was INSTITUTED BY CHRIST, or has gradually grown up as a religious custom in the denomination with which you are connected*,—consider well that its *whole value*, its whole power consists in its *spiritual effect* on the heart and conscience. See that you secure this, and never surrender your heart to the deadening influence of *scrupulous attachment to mere form*."—c. vii.

So subtle are the ways in which the pride of reason works, so inveterate is the original sin of rebelling against the commandment given, that no doubt the writer of this sentence imagined he was doing his Redeemer service by setting his servants free from a ceremony of his own ordaining. Excellent on this point are the remarks we find in a sermon of Mr. Newman's last volume.

"If the renewed state of heart is, as it is supposed, attained, what matter whether sacraments have or have not been administered? The notion of invisible grace and invisible privileges is, on this supposition, altogether superseded; that of communion with Christ limited to the mere exercise of the affections in prayer and meditation—to sensible effects;—and he who has, as he considers, already gained this one essential gift of grace, as he calls it, may plausibly enquire, after the fashion of the day, why he need wait upon ordinances which he has anticipated in his religious attainments,—means to an end, which he has not to seek, even if they be not outward forms altogether,—and whether Christ will not accept at the last day all who believe, without enquiry if they were members of the Church, or were confirmed, or were baptized, or received the blessing of mere men who are 'earthen vessels.'"

* "Had he been walking in a grove, instead of being seated at a table, he would perhaps, on the same principle, have broken off a *branch from a tree*, and distributed a portion to his friends; and then Christians would have commemorated his death by *wearing their monthly badge of evergreen*," &c.—Corner Stone, c. 7.

"He who has learned to give names to his thoughts and deeds, to appraise them as if for the market, to attach to each its due measure of commendation or usefulness, will soon involuntarily corrupt his motives by pride or selfishness. A sort of self-approbation will insinuate itself into his mind, so subtle as not at once to be recognized by himself,—an habitual quiet self-esteem, leading him to prefer his own views to those of others,—and a secret, if not avowed, persuasion, that he is in a different state from the generality of those around him. *They who make self instead of their Maker the great object of their contemplation, will naturally exalt themselves.*"—p. 189—191.

These sentences appear to us pregnant with deep truth. Meantime "The Corner Stone" seems to have been as well received on this side the Atlantic as the "Young Christian," its precursor; and the names which appear in the titles of the English editions, and the pains which English editors have bestowed upon it, are a proof that the esteem in which it is held is not confined to the undiscerning many, but is shared by divines of talent and reputation. Still we must repeat our regret that this Republican Christianity should, with the prevailing taste for exotics, be so indiscriminately re-issued from the English press. The many errors of the Transatlantic system are more likely to become naturalized, if it is seen that such respectable names are added to recommend them.*

The plan of the "Corner Stone" can scarcely be considered original. It is evident, though we have not seen it elsewhere remarked, that Jacob Abbott has had an eye to the Analogy of Bishop Butler, and has attempted to expand and familiarize the deep reasoning of that instructive and admirable writer. It is an attempt in which to have but partially succeeded would have merited praise; and he would have succeeded if the love of effect had not led him to go beyond his model, and equally beyond the bounds of truth and soberness. This is especially the case in his chapter on "Punishment, or the Consequences of Human Guilt;" of which we are bound to confess, that seldom have we seen a good argument more effectually destroyed, not so

* Dr. Pye Smith has prefixed to his edition a preface which contains some judicious remarks on the work, and points out a few objections, which might be carried further. Mr. Henry Blunt's abridgement might be more justly styled a selection, as the abridgement is made simply by an omission of sentences and paragraphs to the amount of about one-third of the whole. But in fact it has the advantage of neither: some injury is done to the author's statements by this mode of curtailing, while little is said to correct the impression of any erroneous views. And where an exception is taken, as happens in a few short notes appended here and there by the editor, we doubt whether Mr. Blunt has selected the most vulnerable points, or fairly interprets the author's meaning. He says indeed of the chapter on "The Last Snapper" that Jacob Abbott's views "do not *exactly* coincide with those of our own Church," and by the changes he has made in his text, he seems to consider the tone of some of his statements, as indeed it is, deficient in reverence: but the sentence we have just quoted, and many others to the same effect, have called forth no comment.

much, perhaps, by the common vices of imitation, carrying the parallel beyond the limits its first author intended, and pressing it in circumstances where it is inapplicable, as by a strange theory on the end of punishment, drawn from a view of civil judicature, which could only have grown up in realms far removed from "monarchy and mercy."

The introductory sentence of this chapter is a sufficiently strong indication of what is to be expected.

"There are perhaps one thousand millions of men upon the earth at this time; of which probably nine hundred and ninety-nine millions are living in total alienation from God. The question at once arises, What will God do with them?"

We do not give this as a peculiar view of Jacob Abbott. For nothing is more usual in the mouths of religious sciolists than such an estimate; the destination of nine hundred and ninety-nine in every thousand of our fellow creatures to eternal misery follows with as much complacency as Cotton Mather speaks of the pestilence which had destroyed his Indian neighbours. "They were carried off," he says, "not a tenth, but nine parts in ten; so that the woods were almost cleared of *these pernicious creatures*, to make room for a *better growth*."* On what grounds this truculent supposition is based, it is vain to inquire. Scripture is silent; or, if we would admit the natural inference from the mild teaching of our Lord, it would bring us to a very different conclusion. For example, the wise virgins are as many as the foolish: in the parable of the talents we find two faithful and only one unprofitable servant; in the marriage feast only one guest without a wedding garment. And throughout the writings of St. Paul, we see how, even when the misconduct of the churches has filled his heart with sorrow and indignation, there still breaks forth from him that fervent and unbounded charity, which "hopeth all things." Is it then a zeal for God's honour, or a desire to represent the world in its true colours, that leads men into a way of thinking and speaking almost the reverse of this? Strange language for those to hold whose duty is to deliver that message of the Gospel, which "calletli all men every where to repentance," not to lead them to self-abandonment and despair! No doubt with many, such as the poet Cowper, this is the result of morbid feelings, or religious melancholy; but we must not disguise our conviction that much self-ignorance and spiritual pride are concerned with it. It is but a disguised pride of pre-eminence, which makes men desire the favour shown them should

* New Engl. book i.

be special, or imparted but to few, and repine at the happiness of others as a diminution of their own; not that large Christian charity, which enjoins us to desire and procure to our utmost power the spiritual and eternal good of all.

Ma se l'amor della Spera Suprema
Torcesse 'n suso 'l desiderio vostro
Non vi sarebbe al petto quella tema :
Che, per quanto si dice più lì nostro,
Tanto possiede più di ben ciascuno,
E più di caritate arde.

Dante, *Purgatorio*, xv.

What Jacob Abbott calls "the *decision* of the Deity in the execution of law" is, he says, "a subject exceedingly unpopular among mankind." No doubt it is one of the most favourite marks of the infidel; and perhaps, after all that reason can do to lift the veil, there is much which we must be content to leave in trembling hope to a more perfect state of knowledge: "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Whether this is the wiser course, or to endeavour to clear up all the difficulties by a parallel drawn from human judicature, is a question which might have checked a more reverential inquirer.

But, if the parallel is in ordinary cases hazardous, what shall we say of the individual instance, which is here selected? The principal part of the chapter is a detailed examination of the case of the unfortunate Dr. Dodd, in whose fate the writer justly admires the inflexible firmness and decision of the English government; but it may well excite a little surprise that the English editors of the *Corner Stone* should have reprinted without note or comment, the analogy which is made between this extreme case of conventional law, and the anticipated sentence of the Almighty's tribunal. Jacob Abbott indeed finds no difficulties; the more extreme, the better for his purpose:—

1. "The time spent in committing the sin has nothing to do with the just duration of the punishment of it. It took Dr. Dodd fifteen seconds to write Lord Chesterfield's name: he suffered indescribable agony for many months, and was then blotted from existence for it. He would have lived, perhaps, forty years. So that here, for *a sin of fifteen seconds*, justice took forty years in penalty. She took more; for he would have been glad to have exchanged death for forty years of exile and suffering. In fact, he petitioned for such a commutation. Some one may say that I fix too small a time for the commission of the sin; that he spent many hours, and perhaps days, in devising his plans, and practising his counterfeit signature, and getting his bond drawn, and that his guilt was extended over all these. His *guilt* was, to be sure; but he was not punished for guilt: he was punished for crime.

2. "Desert of punishment does not depend upon intention to do

injury. The forger, in this case, had not the least intention of doing injury. He could not have had such an intention, for Lord Chesterfield could not have been called upon to pay the bond without causing instant detection. This fact, however, was no reason why he should go free. The question was not what injury he intended to commit, but what injury really would follow, if his crime should go unpunished.

3. "Desert of punishment does not depend upon the immediate consequences of the sin. The evil of sin consists not in the direct injury of the single transgression, but in the ruinous effects to the community, when it is allowed to go unpunished. The only direct injury which could have resulted from this crime was the loss of 4000*l.* by one individual. Fifty times that sum might probably have been raised to save his life, but it would have been unavailing. He was executed, not for putting to hazard the 4000*l.*, but for endangering the vital interests of an immense community. The case would have been the same, if it had been 40*l.* The sin was the *forgery*, not the endangering of 4000*l.*

4. "Desert of punishment does not depend on the degree of distinctness with which the consequences are foreseen. The criminal here had no idea that he was involving himself in such dreadful difficulty; but this inconsideration was no admissible plea."—CORNER STONE, c. v.

Now who does not see that all these four enumerated points, (or rather three, for the fourth is part of the second,) are so many particulars, in which we acknowledge and lament the imperfection of human laws; that it is not in the power of the most merciful executive always to adjust the proportion of punishment; that laws cannot reach to intentions, nor always take notice of consequences? Who but a denizen of a state, where the will of the majority is the standard of all rectitude, would have thought of thus illustrating "the *decision* of the Deity?"

The error indeed here lies deeper than the surface, and is difficult of correction with those who are taught to see nothing directing the arm of public justice but a sort of political expediency, without a thought of Divine sanction. *There are indeed countries, where the murderer lives to violate the express command of God*; and Jacob Abbott, by the satisfaction with which he recounts a conversation held with one such criminal, * a prisoner at large in a penitentiary, where he is described as living in a rapturous foretaste of heaven, seems to have felt no shock to his feelings of justice on that score, though he can acquiesce without hesitation in the sentence which demanded a life for a forgery committed "without the least intention of doing injury." Of course, therefore, his notion of the object of civil punishment is one not indeed peculiar to him, but conspicuous in Bentham, and common to all republicans, that it is merely "a moral impression on the community." And having never learned to view the power

* Young Christian : Second Convict's Story.

of the sword in any other light, or to measure justice by any higher standard, he speaks as if it would be the same, to use Baxter's phrase, in "the *commonwealth* of heaven."

To clear away this haze, we will borrow a few words from another very valuable Oxonian:

"The character of punishment," says Mr. Vaughan Thomas, "undergoes a change as often as a new end is assigned to it. Thus it wears a *penitential* character, when the main or sole end of punishment is said to be repentance or amendment of life; and so in like manner it may be made to bear an *exemplary*, a *remedial*, a *protective*, a *preventive* character, when viewed under its relations to different ends,—for instance to example, to the protection of society, or the prevention or cure of its evils. But when civil punishment is viewed under its relations to the natural and revealed will of God, and especially under its relation to the apostolic precepts of St. Paul and St. Peter, it bears the character of *retribution*. *"

There is, therefore, no identity between punishments considered as inflicted for the good of society, and the sentence which is executed against an evil doer, properly as such. In the one, the magistrate acts simply as the guardian of the public peace; in the other, he bears the sword of heaven, and has the direct authority of God. In the one, he may be called to do acts, which nothing but a regard to the public safety can justify, as in that extreme case supposed by Bishop Butler,† to order that an innocent person infected with the plague should be left to perish, lest the infection should spread; in the other he is the avenger of the violated decalogue, and gives sentence by that law. It is the want of this distinction, which Hooker long since charged upon the Puritans of his time, not seeing "that the law of men's actions is one, if they be respected only as men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a politic body." It is true that these respects are often mixed; for offences against the recorded will of God are seldom without disastrous influence on society; and hence their punishment is a protective process as well as commanded on higher authority. But nature itself appeals against its limitation to that lower sanction; for there is a just jealousy against multiplying positive enactments, and punishing acts which the law only has made offences. Not that such enactments can in any state of society be dispensed with; for this is a result which probably no political reformer has yet contemplated. But the relaxations which are from time to time made in these laws, and par-

* It is greatly to be desired that the Discourse from which this extract is made, on account of the prevalent sophistries at which it is aimed, were published in a more enlarged form.

† Dissertation II.—On the Nature of Virtue.

ticularly that which has been made in the law under which the unhappy Dr. Dodd suffered, should at least prevent any one from confounding them with the dictates of eternal justice.

It is plain, then, that a government acting for the protection of the community may afford some analogy for the over-ruling and preserving providence of God displayed in this world: but none at all for the sentence of that tribunal which will judge the intents and thoughts of man. And in the case of poor Dodd, though we are far from saying that his offence had no moral turpitude, yet as it is most certain that the sentence was executed exclusively with a view to the public security, "the inflexible firmness and decision of the English executive can be praised only so far as this end was steadily pursued."

In all this extraordinary statement of the question, Jacob Abbott seems to have had in view some passages of Bishop Butler's *Analogy*, ill understood and strangely over-stated. It is desirable that all imitators of Bishop Butler should remember the design with which he wrote:

"The design of this treatise is *not to vindicate the character of God*, but to show the obligations of men. These are two subjects which ought not to be confounded. . . . It is not necessary that we should justify the dispensations of Providence against objections, any farther than to show that the things objected against may, for aught we know, be consistent with justice and goodness. Suppose then, that there are things in the system of this world, and plan of Providence relating to it, which taken alone would be unjust; yet, if we could take in the reference which these things may have to other things, present, past, and to come; to the whole scheme, which the things objected to are parts of; these very things might, for aught we know, be found to be, not only consistent with justice, but instances of it. . . . Hence objections against the Divine justice and goodness are not endeavoured to be removed by showing the like objections lie against natural providence; but these objections being supposed and shown not to be conclusive, the things objected against, considered as matters of fact, are farther shown to be credible, from their conformity to the constitution of nature."—*Analogy*, part ii. ch. viii. p. 333.

Enough to show what is the proper use of the argument from analogy, delightful and satisfying as it is to minds well-settled in revealed truth. How far the author of the *Corner Stone* has thought proper to confine it to these limits, we have in part seen.

"The necessity of punishment," says Jacob Abbot, "is not diminished by the penitence of the sinner . . . he may have had no intention to invade the peace and happiness of God's great family; he may have been entirely unaware of the consequences; he may be overwhelmed with consternation and sorrow, when he finds what the bitter fruits must be;

he may offer reparation a hundred-fold, but in vain. Even repentance, sincere and humble repentance, will be insufficient to save him."

Admirable exposition of the doctrine of that Gospel, whose commission is to preach repentance and remission of sins. But observe how this is *traduced* from Bishop Butler :

"We do not know what the whole natural or appointed consequences of vice are ; nor in what way they would follow, if not prevented : and therefore can in no sort say, whether we could do anything, which would be sufficient to prevent them. Our ignorance being thus manifest, let us recollect the analogy of Nature and Providence. For though this may be but a slight ground to raise a positive opinion upon this matter ; yet it is sufficient to answer a mere arbitrary assertion, without any kind of evidence, urged by way of objection against a doctrine, the proof of which is not reason, but revelation. Consider then : people ruin their fortunes by extravagance ; they bring diseases upon themselves by excess ; *they incur the penalties of civil laws* : . . . will sorrow for these follies past, and behaving well for the future, alone and of itself, prevent the natural consequences of them ? Now, since this is our case, considering ourselves merely as inhabitants of this world, and as having a temporal interest here, under the natural government of God, which however has a great deal moral in it ; why is it not supposable that this may be our case also, in our more important capacity, as under his perfect moral government, and having a more general and future interest depending ? If we have misbehaved in this higher capacity, and rendered ourselves obnoxious to the future punishment, which God has annexed to vice : it is plainly credible, that behaving well for the time to come may be—not useless, God forbid !—but wholly insufficient, alone and of itself, to prevent that punishment ; or to put us in the condition, which we should have been in, had we preserved our innocence."—*Anal.* part ii. ch. v.

The false taste and hyperbole, with which the whole subject is wrought up, cannot be more fully exhibited than in the following passage :

"The sinner, *a child of ten years old*, who has lived a comparatively amiable and harmless life, wonders what there can be in his life and character deserving of the terrific retribution which God has denounced. I will tell you what it is, my child. It is not the length of the ten years during which you have been living in sin. That is nothing. It is not the inconvenience and suffering you have occasioned your parents. If you had been to them, during all this time, an unceasing source of pain and anxiety, it would be comparatively nothing. It is not the injury you have often done your playmates by your guilty passions : if that injury had been ten times as frequent and ten times as great as it has been, it would be comparatively nothing. It is not that you have directly opposed and hated God : I admit that you have had no distinctly malicious intention : and if you had, it would not have materially altered the case ! It is that there is a great controversy going on, whether God shall reign or not among the beings he has made, when nothing but his reign can

save them from universal disorder and misery and from becoming the victims of every kind of guilt. The progress of sin therefore must be stopped. At whatever expense of individual suffering and ruin, it must be stopped. It is a sad, a very sad thing for a child like you to linger for ever in guilt and misery, but it would be a far more melancholy thing for that rebellion against God, which has poisoned all the sources of happiness here, to spread throughout God's empire, withering and destroying wherever it comes. So that the charge against you is not based upon the injury your individual sins have produced, but upon this,—that by deliberately rejecting God, you take the side of sin and misery; you do all in your power to take off God's creatures from their allegiance; you place yourself exactly across the way over which the mighty wheels of Jehovah's government are coming, and the chariot cannot be turned aside to save you without destruction to the rest."

It might be amazing, did we not daily see the lengths to which attachment to a favourite doctrine will carry persons, that any student of the New Testament could think, he is thus setting forth the counsel of God. To represent the terrors of the Lord under an image borrowed from the car of Juggernaut, to speak of the first irregularities of childhood as under a like sentence with the deliberate choice of evil for good, may awe the soul of infancy with slavish superstition, but can never enlighten it with a love of God and heavenly things. Where in Scripture is even the name of a *sinner* applied to an age before the reason is matured? It is a thought for which Paley may be envied; "I seem to see the benevolence of the Deity more clearly in the happiness of young children, than in anything else in the world."* But it is perhaps still more striking in the words of the divine poet, whom Stillingfleet did not disdain to adduce on the side of truth:

"Esce di mano a Lui che la vagheggia
Prima che sia, a guisa di fanciulla
Che piangendo e ridendo pargoleggia,
L'anima semplicetta che sa nulla
Salvo che *mossa da lieto Fattore*
Volontier torna a ciò che la trastulla."—Dante, Purgat. xvi.

But the authority of philosophers or poets will deservedly go for little, without some better sanction. Was it, then, in terms like these that the Saviour of the world conversed with little children? There is a brief narrative on record, which should have some weight in determining the question:

"At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?"

"And Jesus called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them,

* Moral and Polit. Phil., book ii., ch. 5.

“And said, Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted and *become as little children*, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.”—Matt. xviii. 1, 2, 3.

We come, towards the close of this chapter on Punishment, to a question which might perhaps be expected in treating on such a subject; “whether the punishment of sin in another world will be suffering directly inflicted, or only the evils which naturally and inevitably flow from sin?” This question Jacob Abbott evidently inclines to answer in favour of the “direct employment of suffering,” and argues from the analogy of the human frame, which he calls “an apparatus of suffering ready to be employed at God’s bidding.” Mr. Blunt’s piety has here administered a corrective:

“It appears a far more philosophical, and indeed religious view of the susceptibility of pain, to consider it not as an apparatus of suffering, but as a most merciful and benevolent provision for the safety of the body. See this subject treated with great ingenuity and beauty in Sir Charles Bell’s *Bridgewater Treatise*, chap. 7.”

This, however, relates only to the analogy; the strongest objection lies against the position itself, which, in fact, furnishes the infidel with his main point of attack:

“Can sins of moments claim the rod
Of everlasting fires?”

How, with the gross conceptions prevalent on this subject, an answer can be supplied to such a question, we are at a loss to imagine. Such conceptions only foster the delusion that the guilty might be happy, but that an arbitrary decree has fixed it otherwise. They represent the Almighty as a “magistrate,” to use Mr. Abbott’s favourite phrase, armed with the apparatus of suffering just mentioned, rather than as a righteous Judge, whose throne is established in mercy and truth. But, if it is seen that this is the immutable nature of things,—that, as conscience and the word of truth alike convince us, “our destruction is from ourselves,” that “lust when it conceiveth bringeth forth sin, and sin when it is finished bringeth forth death,”—then we may acquiesce in the sounder conclusion, that “future misery is not a foreign imposition by power; but an acquired constitution of mind: it is guilt of conscience, and malignity of spirit.”*

Let us not be accused of marring the simplicity of Scripture with philosophy of another school. Nothing can speak more strongly to this point than the remarkable words of the martyr Bradford, more remarkable from the situation of the devout and resolute Christian from whose pen they flowed. He is a competent witness in this cause, who had, in prospect of that just judg-

* Whichcot. Aphor. § 809.

ment, put death beneath his feet, and now stood on the threshold of another world,

“ When Faith unveil'd to his fixt eye
A scene of deep eternity :”

“ I am assured,” he writes, that if the very devilles and reprobates did not repine, but were thankful that they might be ministers in any poynte to set forth God's glorie :—I am assured, I say, that they should finde no hell nor tormentes. *Their hell and tormentes cometh of the love they have to themselves, and of the malice, envie, and hatred they have agaynste God and hys glorye.*”—Martyr's Letters, fol. 399.

The most obvious objections to this statement are mildly repelled by Bishop Butler :—

“ Some good people may perhaps be offended with having it spoken of as a supposable thing, that the future punishments of wickedness may be in the way of natural consequence : as if this were taking the execution of justice out of the hand of God, and giving it to nature. But they should remember, that when things come to pass according to the course of nature, this does not hinder them from being his doing, who is the God of nature : and that the Scripture ascribes those punishments to divine justice, which are known to be natural ; and which must be called so when distinguished from such as are miraculous.... Since it must be admitted that the future punishment of wickedness is not a matter of arbitrary appointment, but of reason, equity, and justice ; it comes, for ought I see, to the same thing, whether it is supposed to be inflicted in a way analogous to those in which the temporal punishments of vice and folly are inflicted, or in any other way. It is plainly not an incredible supposition that future punishment may follow wickedness in the way of natural consequence, or according to some general laws of government already established in the universe.”—*Anal.* part ii. ch. v.

This is no theme for dogmatism, and in both cases room is left for judgment ; yet it is certainly somewhat refreshing to turn to the author of the *Analogy*, from the fantastic dogmatism which we have been exposing. It will be remembered that all this fantastic dogmatism occurs in the short compass of one chapter, from which some estimate may be formed of the rest. But we content ourselves with this specimen, as sufficient for the purpose ; heartily praying that our countrymen who are zealous for extending the reign of mercy and truth, and especially those who wish to furnish manuals of instruction to the young and ignorant, may speedily find some better means for it than by lending their names and authority to books which confound the eternal colours of good and evil, obscure the ways of God by incongruous parallels, and have overturned the faith and obedience of the Gospel, to substitute a harsh, irreverent, self-complacent system of Republican Christianity.

ART. X.—1. *Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy.* By the Rev. Joseph Blanco White. 8vo.

2. *Second Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a Religion, with Notes and Illustrations.* Not by the editor of Captain Rock's Memoirs. 2 vols.

OF the three small volumes which form the subject of this article, only one is acknowledged in the title-page as Mr. Blanco White's, but so little trouble is taken by the author to conceal the identity of the source from which they proceed, that there can be no discourtesy in treating them all as his, and using them to throw light (which they frequently do) on one another's meaning.

Their intention is to exhibit the process of thought by which Mr. Blanco White, after he had renounced the errors of the Roman Catholic religion, was prevented, in the first instance, from acquiescing implicitly in any of the established forms of orthodox Protestantism; and then gradually urged forward, without the power of discovering any other resting place, first, to a latitudinarian conviction that no single definite belief respecting the object of religious faith was better or more pleasing to God than any other; and, finally, to a full adoption, which, however, he still holds to be a matter of indifference, of the Socinian creed. And what makes them particularly interesting, is, on the one hand, the known ability and character of the writer; and on the other, the length and painful nature of the struggle, in which he endeavoured, however ineffectually, to hold fast, against what appeared to him the suggestions of reason, the faith which habit had taught him to revere.

Mr. Blanco White's present opinions have not been embraced by him hastily or carelessly. He has not arrived at them by the off-hand, heedless process which leads the modern indifferentist to disencumber himself of what he thinks superfluous articles of belief, or wilfully to take up such as are most congenial to his feelings. His latitudinarian views are the result, not, as is generally the case, of a haughty negligence, which will not stoop to examine the foundations of different creeds, but of a minute and painstaking inquiry into the foundation of each: and the particular notion of the Christian system which he has adopted for his own, far from having been taken up wilfully, or in compliance with the bent of his disposition, seems, on the contrary, to have been forced on him against his will, to the overthrow of early mental habits, and of strong devotional sentiments, by what appeared to him the overwhelming demands of reason. The following is his own brief account of his state of mind during the interval between his throwing off Roman Catholicism and finally adopting his present creed, from which it will be seen, that, fatal as is the error

into which he has fallen, he at least may be considered, so far as it is possible for us on such subjects to judge of one another, to have fallen into it sincerely.

“ My doubts of the truth of the Established views began with the systematic and devout study of the Scriptures, which I undertook in 1814, when, free from the engagements which in the service of England as well as of my native country had occupied me during the four preceding years, I removed to Oxford, for the exclusive purpose of devoting myself to theology.

“ In the year 1818 I arrived at the Unitarian view of Christianity. . . .

“ Having, till about 1824, continued in that state, a revival of my early mental habits, and of those devotional sentiments which are inseparably connected with the idea of intellectual surrender to some church, induced me again to *acquiesce* in the Established doctrines—not from conviction—not by the discovery of sounder proofs than those which I had found insufficient—but chiefly by the power of that sympathy which tends to assimilation with those we love and respect. . . .

“ But to proceed. Not long after my strong attachment to many orthodox and highly religious persons had given full sway to my deeply-seated habits of attachment to *a church*, (habits which, when it is remembered that from the age of fourteen I belonged to the most compact and best organized body of clergy which ever existed, must be found quite natural,) my reason resumed its operations against the system that I had thus wilfully re-embraced. . . . I had not yet at that time settled, to my entire satisfaction, the important point which forms the subject of the following letters. I had long been convinced that most of the questions which so hopelessly divide the Christian world, are not essential to Christianity. I knew that the distinction between *essential* and *non-essential* articles of faith must be arbitrary, since there is no certain rule to distinguish them. But I had not fully made my application of that fact—the absence of a rule not subject to rational doubt—nor found, as I did soon after, that the absence of every rule of dogmatic faith is in perfect conformity with the tenor and spirit of the New Testament. As I had not yet obtained this conviction, and was not indifferent about my duty to God, I could not but feel distressed, when, still under a remnant of those early impressions of the identity between *saving faith* and *right opinions*, I found my orthodoxy crumbling to dust, day by day. . . .

“ The last fact I shall state is, that in my anxiety to avoid a separation from the Church, by a deliberate surrender of my mind to my old Unitarian convictions, I took refuge in a modification of the Sabellian theory, and availed myself of the *moral* unity which I believe to subsist between God the Father and Christ, joined to the consideration that Christ is called in the New Testament the *image* of God, and addressed my prayers to God as appearing in that image. I left nothing untried to cultivate and encourage this feeling by devotional means; but such efforts of mere feeling were always vain and fruitless. . . . The devout contrivance would not bear examination. Sabellianism is only Unitarianism.

rianism disguised in words. In this state, however, I passed five or six years; but the return to clear and definite Unitarianism, in which I had formerly been, was as easy as it was natural."

Such is the melancholy history Mr. Blanco White has given us of the state of his mind "during the greatest part of more than twenty years," and he concludes it with the following reflection:

"I do not absolutely reproach myself for having so long indulged the sympathies which made me linger in connection with the Church, when my understanding had fully rejected her principal doctrines; at all events, I derive from that fact the satisfaction of being assured, that, far from having embraced Unitarianism in haste, the only fault of which I cannot clear myself is that of reluctance and dilatoriness to follow my convictions in its favour."

Now every one who reads this account, unless, indeed, he supposes Mr. Blanco White to have altogether deceived himself as to the state of his feelings and inclinations, will admit at once that his errors, great and perilous as they are, ought not to be confounded with common-place laxity of religious opinion. The train of thought which has operated so powerfully with a person of his intellectual acuteness, may be expected beforehand to be free from the vulgar fallacies which are the stumbling-blocks of inferior and less serious minds. Absolute novelty of course cannot be looked for on a subject which has for centuries engaged the speculations of first-rate intellects—of an Episcopius, a Hales, a Chillingworth, a Locke; but ancient and often-refuted arguments may be exhibited by an original thinker in guises so novel as apparently to elude the force of all that has been urged against them, and to require for all practical purposes a new refutation. And this is just what has been effected by Mr. Blanco White. Doubtless to persons of habitually settled views, the conclusions at which he arrives will appear so extravagantly rash as themselves to furnish a refutation of the steps which led to them. Such persons will, perhaps, feel impatient at seeing arguments, which to their own matured judgments are self-destructive, opposed on any ground except that of their terminating in absurdity; and certainly, if all persons were of mature judgment in religious matters, and of habitually settled views, a critical examination of Mr. Blanco White's reasonings might justly merit their impatience, being, as in that case it would be, a work of mere superfluous curiosity. But, unhappily, the number of persons so circumstanced is extremely limited; when compared with the countless multitudes whose circumstances are directly opposite, it is as nothing. Matured judgment and habitually settled views on the subject of religion are to be found but in rare instances, few and far between; while the generality, rash, ignorant, roaming negli-

gently from one opinion to another, are ready victims of the first sophist who comes in contact with them; and even among minds of a higher cast, really intent on discovering truth, we see boldness of inquiry carried to such excess as to make it evident that no conclusion, however contrary to received and established doctrine, would act as an antidote to arguments brought forward clearly in support of it. Certain it is, then, that such persons, unless supplied with some defence less fragile than what their own habits can furnish them with, must, on the perusal of books like Mr. Blanco White's, fall at once into the train of fallacies from which subtler minds have been unable to extricate themselves. It may be said, indeed, that their error will in that case be their own fault, for that they would have escaped but for the irreverent habits which they had indulged; yet this seems hardly a reason for refusing them our sympathy and assistance, even should it prove necessary in affording these occasionally to abandon, for argument's sake, the high ground on which established orthodoxy has entrenched itself, and to adopt methods of reasoning, as far as ourselves are concerned, simply hypothetical, and addressed to the mistaken hypothesis of those we would instruct.

To proceed, then, with Mr. Blanco White's argument. In the first place, it must be observed that this is not intended to be, any more than it is, a regular defence of Unitarianism. It is an exposition of the process of thought which eventually led the writer to become a Unitarian, and which probably, if adopted by any other equally clear and independent mind, would terminate in the same conclusion: but its bearings on the Unitarian question are only indirect; it is occupied entirely with preliminary discussions, directed against certain views and feelings, which tend (as we should say) happily, but, as Mr. Blanco White contends, most injuriously, to repress freedom of inquiry on religious subjects. His primary object is to advocate what he considers a just liberty of thought, and to encourage a spirit of investigation in the department of religious truth similar to that which has led to so many discoveries in physical science. In this point of view, creeds, articles, confessions of faith, occupy a prominent place in his disapprobation. These are, as it were, an advanced guard arrayed in opposition to his views, and accordingly he selects them for the first point of his attack. Romanist confessions, which claim to be based on infallible authority, he argues against in the common way, urging the disputes existing among the Romanists themselves as to the seat of infallibility, the contradictory decisions which must be ascribed to it wherever it is supposed to reside, and the total absence of any evidence for its existence anywhere. But that such formulæ should have been adopted by

Protestant communities, he seems to look on as an error of a far more aggravated character, and this for the following reasons.

In the first place he argues that a confession of faith drawn up on an authority short of infallible, and yet claiming to be obligatory on the consciences of those to whom it is offered, is a self-evident absurdity—an insult to common sense so gross, that in comparison with it even the Romish figment of infallibility seems tolerable. He insists largely on the contradiction involved in the assumption of a right to controul the judgments of other men on the part of persons who admit the fallibility of their own—the wild unreasonableness of undertaking on the one hand to silence doubt, while denying on the other the only rational and consistent ground for certainty; and then, as if not contented with this general ground of attack, he proceeds to charge the framers of the existing confessions with further inconsistency, in having, by the very act of drawing them up, asserted in their own persons a right which they were at the same time attempting to withhold from all the rest of mankind—the right of private judgment in opposition to received standards of belief. The following passage he quotes from M. Guizot, in the Appendix to the “Travels of an Irish Gentleman.”

“The Reformers, while employed in the abolition of an absolute power over things spiritual, were far from understanding the true principles of human liberty. They enfranchised the human mind, and yet wished to govern it by law: they were, in fact, establishing the supreme independence of private judgment, and believed all the while that they had succeeded in establishing a *legitimate* authority in matters of faith instead of an *illegitimate* one. The Reformers had neither risen to the first principles on this subject, nor did they follow their own work to its ultimate consequences. They either did not know or did not respect the rights of the human mind to their full extent. Claiming those rights for themselves, they violated them in others. . . . Hence the air of inconsistency, the narrow basis which give such undue advantages to the enemies of the Reformation.”

And again, in the “Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy,” he supposes a Roman Catholic to argue thus with a Protestant, respecting the authority of the Thirty-nine Articles.

“If a judge of controversies (competent to impose confessions of faith) is (after all) to be acknowledged, what prudent man will hesitate between one so distinguished and eminent as ours, and those which the Reformation set up? You blame us for grounding our Christian certainty on the *questionable* fact of the divine appointment of Rome, to be the head of the Christian world; but can this uncertainty be compared with that which lies at the very foundation of your Churches? A few divines meet and draw up a list of theological propositions; the secular power takes them under its protection, ejects the clergy who will not

submit to them; fences the Articles for a long period with penalties and civil disabilities, and makes them the rule of Christian faith *for ever*. This is what you call the judgment of the Church, which to oppose is heresy. It is heresy now to dissent from the Thirty-nine Articles; but there was, it seems, a happy moment, when the notions of a few individuals could be set up, without heresy, against the judgment of a well-defined and well-constituted Church, to which all Christians, except heretics, had for ages submitted their private views of Christianity."

Such are Mr. B. White's views as to the absurdity of Protestant confessions of faith generally, and in particular of the self-condemnation involved in the conduct of those who imposed ours:* but not, contented with this, he attempts further to exhibit their practical ill effects in the present, as he considers it, lamentable, condition to which the existing Church of England has been reduced by them. He speaks of them, as if they had arrested the growth and repressed the expanding energies of our system, at a time when, humanly speaking, it could not possibly have attained perfection, and when no one pretends that it had done so; as having precluded every subsequent generation of Churchmen from the exercise of rights, the necessity of which to the Church's welfare, nothing but the attainment of such perfection would have superseded; in short, as having acted the part of a petrifying stream, of having found us living and left us stone. The governors of our Church, he contends, have been in every age

* He has in fact taken it from the infidel Gibbon:—"The pious or personal animosity of Calvin, proscribed in Servetus the guilt of his own rebellion, and the flames of Smithfield, in which he was afterwards consumed, had been kindled for the Anabaptists by the zeal of Cranmer. The nature of the tiger was the same, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs. A spiritual and temporal kingdom was possessed by the Roman Pontiff: the Protestant doctors were subjects of a humble rank, without revenue or jurisdiction. His decrees were consecrated by the antiquity of the Catholic Church; *their* arguments and disputes were submitted to the people; and their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes by curiosity and enthusiasm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin, a secret reformation has been silently working in the bosom of the Reformed Churches: many weeds of prejudice were eradicated, and the disciples of Erasmus diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation. The liberty of conscience has been claimed as a common benefit and inalienable right; the free government of England and Holland introduced the practice of toleration, and the narrow allowance of the laws has been enlarged by the prudence and humanity of the times. In the exercise the mind has understood the limits of its powers, and the *words and shadows* which might amuse the child, can no longer satisfy his manly reason. The volumes of controversy are overspread with cobwebs; the doctrine of the Protestant Church is far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members; and the forms of orthodoxy are subscribed with a sigh or a smile by the modern clergy. Yet the friends of Christianity are alarmed at the boundless impulse of inquiry and scepticism; the predictions of the Catholics are accomplished; the web of mystery is unravelled by the Arminians, Arians, and Socinians, whose members must not be computed from their separate congregations; and the pillars of revelation are shaken by those men who preserve the name without the substance of religion, who indulge the licence without the temper of philosophy."—ch. 54. We shall see the fallacy of this reasoning in the sequel.

between this and the Reformation, just as competent, in point of authority, to decide the questions settled in the Articles, as their framers themselves were; and the intervening period has been just as likely to suggest matter for reconsideration and change, as that period was which suggested the necessity of any Articles at all. Yet things have been so arranged, that, arise what new matter there may for consideration, the only authority competent to consider it is disqualified for doing so: the Articles which our bishops have subscribed, are the condition of their remaining members of the Church, and should any thing come before any one of them to shake his belief in the accuracy of any one of these Articles, he has no alternative but to withdraw. Thus the body, who are to judge of the Articles, must remain for ever, one and all of them, firm believers in these Articles; for the act of disbelief cancels *ipso facto* the right of judgment, and all in consequence are excluded from the tribunal, except those who remain pledged to decide one way. The self-perpetuating system which results, gives occasion to the following remarks :

“ It is an abuse of terms to speak of the Church of England as a body capable of collective views and opinions, capable of improvement, and able to remove whatever defects either time or the weakness of men have brought upon her. ‘ The Church of England as by law established, consists in certain formularies—words—put together by four or five men, and acquiesced in by a large portion of the then existing clergy. . . . I do not reject those formularies ; but I object to their having supreme and irrevocable power over the living Church. In the present state of things, the formularies are above the Church. That they are so, is proved by the fact that the living congregation of Christians, who by law are called ‘ members of the Church established in these realms,’ are and must be perfectly passive. . . . The dimensions and shape of the mould into which the law has fixed them, must be the dimensions and shape of their minds. Although it is not pretended that the framers of the mould were infallible, the mould itself is by law supposed to be unalterable. Whoever attempts to touch it must go out of the Church. There may be something wrong, there may be something superfluous, there may be much that is ill adapted to our times. Nevertheless the Church—the *now-existing* Church—like a geological petrification, must remain what it is for ever. . . . That such men as conceive themselves endowed with infallibility, should provide for the perpetuity of their opinions, is natural. But that those who never pretended to it should contrive to make their views a law as immutable as those of the Medes and Persians, is a curious and melancholy instance of the force of theological prejudice.”

So far, Mr. B. White’s argument applies generally, without reference to subject-matter, to all Protestant confessions and subscriptions, as imposed by one generation of Churchmen, confessing themselves fallible, on successors who are not likely to be

one whit more so. There remain, however, according to his view, other and still greater objections to them, arising out of the subject-matter with which they are for the most part occupied, and which he considers to be such as in the nature of things to refuse human explanation. The subjects, he argues, which are brought before our contemplation in Scripture, if regarded in reference to our capacity for apprehending and explaining in our own language what is told us about them, are distinguishable into two very broad classes. One class relates to matters of which human experience takes cognizance—to historical facts—to the conduct and motives of men—to the passions which seduce and the principles which should be cultivated to guard them. All these and similar matters are such as to admit of being set before us in a very distinct and intelligible manner. The words and phrases in which Scripture speaks of them, are used in their ordinary and literal sense, standing for all they stand for in common language, and for nothing more; and hence the ideas they convey may be complete and accurate, just as much so as those conveyed in correct conversation or in well-written books, and will just as much admit of being re-stated in other language, without any risk of being, from this circumstance, mutilated or distorted. If the idea intended to be conveyed in Scripture is once distinctly apprehended, a strict adherence to Scripture language is not necessary in the expression of it; we may explain our meaning in whatever terms seem best calculated for the purpose, and exhibit it in as many points of view as we please; and, since in those parts of Scripture where the language is literal such distinctness is attainable, there is nothing irrational in a person, who thinks he has attained it, undertaking to paraphrase and interpret for the benefit of other people. So far, then, as this class of subjects is concerned, creeds and articles, regarded merely as paraphrases of Scripture, are perfectly unexceptionable, open as they may be to objection on other grounds.

But then the class of subjects to which such formulæ principally relate are very far from being of this character. Those subjects, which, from their falling under the cognisance of experience can be treated of in literal language, have attracted, comparatively speaking, but little notice from the framers of confessions, who, on the contrary, have been almost entirely taken up with things far removed from our senses and knowledge—with things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard—the mysterious essence of the invisible God and the interminable scheme of his providence. And with respect to these, it is obvious that the case is altogether different. On these subjects there are no literal words to stand for the ideas to be conveyed.

to us. Whatever language is employed for this purpose must be deflected very far from its original meaning. It must be used as Mr. Blanco White happily expresses it, hieroglyphically. Sensible objects must be made use of as emblems of objects beyond our senses; and this, through resemblances and analogies often exceedingly remote and indistinct; like that somewhere said to subsist, between scarlet and the sound of a trumpet, which, though sufficient, perhaps, to bring before a blind man an idea nearer the true one than any other he is capable of receiving, is nevertheless wholly inadequate for the conveyance of any real knowledge. Thus we have the undefinable relation subsisting between the Creator and his creatures imaged to us under the figure, or as Mr. Blanco White would call it, hieroglyphic of Father and children; that subsisting between Jesus Christ and his Church, under the figure of the vine and its branches, or again the head and the body, or the corner stone and the building held together by it; while the Third Person of the blessed Trinity (to denote his universal yet invisible influence—John, iii. 3) is represented to us by the same word, which in the original language of the New Testament signifies wind. So, too, in like manner, the elements in the Eucharist, admitting of description in no literal and definite expressions, were figured, when our Lord would explain their nature to His disciples, under such sensible images as would suggest the nearest approximation to the truth, being called with this intent His Body and Blood.

Now with respect to this class of subjects, since the language, in which alone they can be set before us, is necessarily so vague and imperfect, it is quite obvious that the best ideas which can be conveyed to us through it must be vague and imperfect likewise. Ideas expressed in literal words are, if expressed skilfully, much more full and complete than a first inspection of the words would indicate; they admit of minute examination, and may be looked at on a different side; but ideas which we arrive at only through the use of metaphor and analogy are necessarily one-sided;—examine them as we will, we can never get beyond the one simple impression that in some unknown respect or other a resemblance subsists between the sign and the thing signified. And hence, according to Mr. Blanco White, the folly as well as presumption of attempting to make such ideas clearer by any deviations from or additions to the strict Scripture expression of them. All we know of them, he argues, is that they are signified in Scripture under certain metaphors or hieroglyphics, and from this scanty knowledge to proceed to fill up the picture by the introduction of other hieroglyphics is at best but to incumber

the simplicity of the Divine word, and in all probability to distort and violate it. On these subjects, then, he sets his face, not merely against creeds and articles, which he thinks intolerable on any subject, but against all attempts at human interpretation whatever. "Metaphors explanatory of metaphors" he would altogether eschew; and "would leave the original, i. e. the Scriptural figure, to cast what shadow of itself it might, on each individual mind."

The argument which it has just been attempted to draw out will not be found in a continuous form in either of the volumes under our consideration, but has been brought together from scattered sources, and disengaged from much irrelevant matter, with which the author had mixed it up. The selection of one or two extracts however may in some degree enable the reader to judge whether it has been fairly stated.

"Words, when they express objects or actions with which we are experimentally acquainted, have their meaning proved by the objects expressed. If there is any doubt of the meaning, we point to the object, we describe the action, we refer to some feeling which we make definite by means of external marks. But when words attempt to express things with which no man is acquainted except in *his own mind*, there is no possibility of ascertaining the exact meaning in which any one individual uses them. You cannot be sure of the meaning of a word, unless you are experimentally acquainted with the thing the word stands for. If the word represent a conception of another man's mind, no other man can be sure that he knew the exact meaning, unless he could be experimentally acquainted with the conception itself."—*Second Travels of an Irish Gent.* vol. ii. p. 48.

"The sense of words expressing objects which are known by the senses, of actions which are known by experience, of feelings and affections of which we are conscious—all this may be made the subject of verbal communication with a great degree of certainty. Observe, I pray, that my enumeration embraces not only the objects of moral legislation, but also all internal desires and tendencies as well as principles and motives. All these subjects are indeed capable of being expressed in language conveying a degree of certainty adequate to every purpose connected with the regulation of the moral or accountable part of our being. But words which attempt to explain the meaning of other words without a final reference to some of these objects of experience reveal nothing."—*Irish Gent.* vol. ii. p. 63.

"Every metaphor is a material figure. Every metaphor is a hieroglyphic which might be painted to the eye. The Scriptures, as they employ human language, necessarily use these verbal hieroglyphics. . . . These material figures are addressed of course to the human mind. It is there that they must be spiritualized by an individual and incommunicable process of the mind itself. But what have Divines done? fearing that [the original material figure] would not con-

vey a proper similitude of things invisible, they have added several other material figures by way of spiritualization when out of these strange materials each individual has made up a picture such as he may be disposed to contrive, then and not before is the divine satisfied that he has conveyed to others the conception which his own mind had formed from the Scriptural metaphor."—*Irish Gent.* vol. ii. p. 51.

"The original, i. e. the Scriptural figure, should be left to produce whatever shadow of itself it might cast upon each individual mind. He who 'knew what was in man,' must have intended it so, else he would have provided means for a different state of things. Surely he cannot have designed that by using our own explanatory figures and casting their shadows upon the shadow produced by the original metaphor, we should attempt to throw light into our own, or into other men's minds."—*Irish Gent.* ii. 53.

With these extracts we conclude our review of Mr. Blanco White's preliminary argument respecting creeds and confessions, which, unless it can be made out that they rest on infallible authority, he conceives himself to have proved destitute in all cases of all obligation on the consciences of those to whom they are proposed, and in most cases, i. e. wherever a mystery is involved, to have a necessary tendency to mislead.

And now we come to his next point, viz. the consequent extreme difficulty, or, as he would say, practical impossibility of arriving at the true meaning of Scripture on any one of these mysterious subjects.

Human interpretations he has taught us altogether to discard as impediments to the truth. He has shown, as he thinks, that neither in point of duty nor even of prudence is there any reason for our submitting our private judgments to the judgment of the Church; nor, when we have no judgment of our own, but are absolutely in doubt, for applying to the Church for a solution of it. And now he proceeds to infer that Scripture, when we have disengaged ourselves from these false interpreters, and thrown ourselves on its own context as our sole guide to its meaning, is in many respects so obscure and ambiguous as to admit of almost any variety of meanings with equal probability. In this opinion, indeed, Mr. Blanco White is not singular, as doctors of our Church have recently expressed it in the same or similar language. The ears of some of our readers will be familiar with a phrase of modern introduction—"the facts of Scripture," which we find by certain writers distinguished from its "doctrines;" though, from the loose manner in which they have expressed themselves, it might seem as if they had only imperfectly comprehended the terms which they have used. The drift of the distinction, however, has been plain enough. The "doctrines" which have been thus distinguished from "the facts," are

next spoken of as "human theories" raised upon passages of Scripture, which might, with equal probability, have been made the bases of "numberless other theories," i. e. systems of doctrine. And thus the received doctrines of the Church are exhibited, by professing Churchmen, as one among an infinite variety of possible meanings of the texts from which they are supposed to be deduced. But, to proceed: Mr. Blanco White seems to be aware that this view of his, supported as it may be by some of the learned, will not meet with a ready reception among the people at large. Clothe it as he may in ingenious language, he is conscious that the common sense of mankind will find something revolting in it—that he shall be unable to convince persons who have studied the first verse of St. John, that what appeared to them its obvious and only meaning, was in reality only one among numberless others equally probable—and so on with other texts: so to remove this (as he considers it) foolish prejudice, he remarks as follows:—

"Language being a collection of arbitrary signs and words, having no meaning but that which is given them by the mental habits of those who use them, any word, and still more, any sentence, if habitually repeated in connection with certain notions, will appear to reject all other significations, as it were, by a *natural* power. The identical texts which opposite parties of Christians so decidedly assert to convey, *naturally* and *obviously*, notions which destroy each other, are striking instances of the power of association over language. The controversialists stare in unfeigned surprise at what each conceives to be the glaring absurdity and perverseness of his opponent. The ill-subdued flames of equally genuine zeal make the blood boil in their veins when they observe that *plain* words are not used in their *obvious* sense; forgetting that in arbitrary signs, especially when they may be used *figuratively*, that sense alone can be obvious which use has rendered familiar."—*Heterodoxy and Orthodoxy*, p. 47.

Thus he would persuade himself and the Protestant world in general, that the confidence felt in our leading doctrines is nothing better than the result of habit, which has taught us to associate this particular meaning with certain texts equally adapted to the conveyance of other and even opposite associations—that it is nothing but habit which makes us refuse to interpret the first verse of St. John as vaguely as we interpret Matt. xxvi. 26, concerning the Eucharist;—and that to proceed, as most Protestants do, to accuse of equal blasphemy those who interpret the latter text literally, or the former figuratively, is an exhibition of prejudice in its most recondite form. He seems to imagine that the system of Protestant interpretation, however we may persuade ourselves to the contrary, is in reality as little

dependent on private judgment as that of the Roman Catholics themselves; the only difference being that the Roman Catholics profess, as a principle, their obligation to submit to tradition, while we unconsciously follow in the wake of certain doctors, whose views we have imbibed with our mothers' milk; and afterwards, from having so long taken them for granted, suppose to be self-evident. If he could but open our eyes to this fact, if he could but convince us how little real independence of thought our rejection of Romish infallibility has procured for us, and throw us really, as we vainly believe we have thrown ourselves, on the resources of private judgment, his object, he seems to think, would have been effected; Scripture would appear to every one as obscure and impenetrable as it does to himself; we should have no more dogmatism, no more "obvious meanings" of passages relating to the mysteries of religion; the utmost we should expect would be to arrive at some "probable meaning;" and we should be content with seeing, "as through a glass darkly." For the farther illustration of his views on this subject, Mr. Blanco White has printed, in his appendix, an extract from some work of a Professor Norton, an American Unitarian, whose object, like his own, seems evidently to be the introduction of a general scepticism on the subject of Biblical interpretation. This person argues—

"That a very large portion of sentences, *considered in themselves*, that is, *if regard be had merely to the words of which they are composed*, are capable of expressing not one meaning only, but two or more different meanings; or (to state the fact in other terms) that in very many cases the same sentence, like the same single word, may be used to express various and often very different senses. Now, in a great part of what we find written concerning the interpretation of language, and in a large portion of the specimens of criticism which we meet with, especially upon the Scriptures, the fundamental truth, this fact which lies at the very bottom of the art of interpretation, has either been overlooked or not regarded in its relations or consequences. It may be illustrated by a single example. St. John thus addresses the Christians to whom he was writing, in his First Epist. ii. 20:—'*Ye have an anointing from the Holy One, and know all things.*' If we consider these words in themselves merely, we shall perceive how uncertain is their signification, and how many different meanings they may be used to express. The first clause, '*Ye have an anointing from the Holy One,*' may signify—

"1. *Through the favour of God ye have become Christians, or believers in Christ*; anointing being a ceremony of consecration, and Christians being considered as consecrated and set apart from the rest of mankind.

"2. Or it may mean, *Ye have been truly sanctified in heart and life*; a

figure borrowed from outward consecration being used to denote inward holiness.

"3. Or, *Ye have been endued with miraculous powers* : consecrated as prophets and teachers in the Christian community.

"4. Or, *Ye have been well instructed in the truths of Christianity.* (See Wetstein's notes on this passage, and 1 Tim. iv. 7.)

"I forbear to mention other meanings which the word *anointing* might be used to express. These are sufficient for our purpose.

"The term *Holy One*, in such a relation as it holds to the other words in the present sentence, may denote either God, or Christ, or some other being.

"*Ye know all things*, literally expresses the meaning, *ye have the attribute of omniscience*. Besides this meaning, it may signify, *ye are fully acquainted with all the objects of human knowledge*; or, *ye know every truth connected with Christianity*; or, *ye have all the knowledge necessary to form your faith, and direct your conduct*; or the proposition may require some other limitation: for *all things* is one of those terms the meaning of which is continually to be restrained and modified by a regard to the subject present to the mind of the writer.

"This statement may afford some imperfect notion of the various senses which the words before us may be used to express. It must be remembered, that this passage has been adduced merely by way of illustration; and that if it were necessary an indefinite number of similar examples might be quoted."

But it is not only in detached passages regarded by themselves that Mr. Blanco White would maintain the sense to be thus obscure. He would have it believed that in many cases no number of such passages brought ever so skilfully to bear on one another, can suffice to clear this obscurity up, or to bring out a precise and definite meaning. In the Letters on Heterodoxy and Orthodoxy he appeals thus to his imaginary correspondent:—

"You must frequently have observed the hopelessness of the attempts which are constantly made to establish various points of Christian doctrine by logical arguments, founded on detached texts of Scripture. You must have seen regular collections of passages, selected with the utmost patience, and arranged into classes with the greatest ingenuity. Most works on controversial divinity are attempts of this kind to draw some abstract proposition as the unquestionable result of the various expressions of Scripture upon the given subject. You cannot but have observed, moreover, how short all such attempts fall of the intended object; how very seldom any one is convinced by such works, unless, by a predisposition of the will, he reads them in order fully to become or to continue of the same opinion."

The foregoing analysis may afford some notion, though certainly an inadequate one, of the line of argument which has conducted Mr. Blanco White up to this point. We now are brought at once to his conclusion, viz. that since the sense of Scripture

respecting those points on which the Christian world is divided into orthodox and heterodox, must thus ever be obscure and ambiguous, the circumstance of our having arrived at one belief or at another respecting it cannot be of that paramount importance which is usually supposed; in other words, that the common opinion which identifies what are called orthodox opinions with the scriptural notion of saving Faith cannot be a correct one.

“ If saving Faith implies orthodoxy, *i. e.*, acquiescence in a certain collection of abstract deductions from the Scriptures, as logically true, or properly inferred from the language of Scripture, and no higher or more certain means to attain this object have been given to men by God than their individual logical powers: the discovery of saving Faith has an infinite number of chances against it in respect to each individual. Could this be the plan of the All-wise and All-good for the salvation of his creatures ?”

And again :—

“ I repeat it with the most heartfelt confidence : a just and merciful God when making the greatest display of his love to mankind.
 God the author and fountain of the blessings prepared for all mankind in the Gospel, must not be supposed to have made them dependent on doctrines so intricate, so incapable of being proposed in clear and uncontradictory language, so entirely unconnected with the sources of moral certainty ?”—*Let. on Orth.* p. 26.

In this summary manner does Mr. Blanco White dispose of that whole portion of divine revelation which relates to the mysteries of the world to come, and brings before us the invisible Object of our Faith. If considered by itself, he says, it is so ambiguous, that we can never ascertain which among its many possible meanings is the real one: and if to escape the doubts thus suggested, we seek certainty in the authorized interpretations, a short reflection must convince us, that unless these interpretations rest on infallible authority, all the certainty which they can ever afford us must be founded in self-delusion. Hence, that it is inconsistent with God's goodness to suppose that on these matters he should require of us any one belief in preference to any other; that all of us may abide fearlessly by the result of our separate judgments; and that the conclusion at which each arrives will be, as far as he is concerned, the true one.

Such is the conclusion which he deduces from what he considers the grand principle of Protestantism,—the recognition of the text of Scripture as the sole infallible guide in matters of religion. And from this conclusion he maintains that we have no possibility of escape, except by going all lengths with the advocates of the opposite system, and submitting implicitly to the Romanist figment of a standing infallible judge of religious controversies.

Between these two extreme opinions—absolute latitudinarianism on the one hand, and on the other unreserved submission to all the dogmata of Trent—Mr. Blanco White would persuade Protestants that no middle ground is open to them, that any middle position they may attempt to take up, must be altogether untenable and self-contradictory; and that no other account can be given of the fact, that so many able men have imagined such a position tenable, except the omnipotence of party prejudice. This dilemma will doubtless appear to many persons so excessively absurd, as to be altogether unworthy of serious notice. Mr. Blanco White himself, indeed, seems half conscious that such will be the case, and that on this question his speculations will be thought deserving of no other answer than a strong expression of disapprobation. “I know,” he says, painting to himself the indignation he shall excite, as if the fault were in those who felt it, and not in its object,—“I know that few will attempt the mental examination necessary for the acknowledgment of [what I have stated]. A storm of feeling will arise at the view of the preceding argument; and impassioned questions, whether Christianity is a dream,—whether Christ could leave us in such a state of uncertainty,—whether there is no difference between truth and error,—&c. &c., will bring the inquiry to an end.” Nor would there be need to bring it to any other end, were all the class of persons calling themselves Protestants so confirmed and settled in their views as, like those just spoken of, to perceive intuitively, and reject indignantly, the specious errors to which they are invited.

But as it is not the fortune of all persons bred up in our communion to have imbibed views of this settled and confirmed character, especially with regard to the authority of our national establishment, its articles and other formulæ; or to be practically influenced and satisfied by the considerations of expedience commonly urged in the argument, (such as, the evils of disturbing what has once been settled, or the inestimable blessing of peace which our articles secure among those who else would ever be wrangling, or the guide they afford to the young, and the discipline of intellectual submission, which they provide for all,) on all these accounts, for the sake of undecided persons, and especially such of them as are seriously engaged in the pursuit of truth, it may be useful to notice a flaw in Mr. Blanco White’s argument which, even admitting the incompetence of Protestant Churches to draw up Creeds, and admitting, too, the inherent ambiguity of Scripture, unless interpreted by such creeds, still will afford them a refuge from the entanglements of the proposed dilemma. For the sake of such persons, it may be useful to point out that even though they may feel disposed to go great

lengths with Mr. Blanco White in regard to his preliminary positions, and may fancy they see much force and truth, as well as ingenuity in the observations he brings to bear upon them, still that it is not necessary for them to go on with him to his conclusion; that still in spite of all he has contended for, there will remain a ground for them to take up, where, without making any concessions to the Romish claims of infallibility, they may protect themselves against the cheerless doctrines of measureless latitudinarianism.

In the suggestions, then, now about to be offered, it is not supposed that any satisfaction will be afforded to minds thoroughly made up on the authority of Protestant confessions, or on the obviousness of the meaning of those texts on which our mysterious doctrines are founded. Such persons find their satisfaction nearer to them, and on easier terms. Nor is it unlikely they may even be unwilling to hear a question on which they are thoroughly satisfied, argued on grounds different from those which have satisfied them. But this objection, naturally as it may arise on a first view, obviously is not sufficient to weigh in the scales of deliberate judgment. If there be men, as there are many, who either from ignorance or from the peculiar construction of their minds, are unable to understand the principles which the mere hereditary Protestant (as Mr. Blanco White would consider him) takes for granted, with such persons an argument would have no weight at all, which did not leave these principles entirely out of sight. Yet again, if among such there be men of sincere minds, earnestly bent on the pursuit of truth (and doubtless such there are even among the ranks of those who are on the high road to dangerous error), it ought hardly to be withheld, defective though it may be, if it tends to rescue them from a more perilous defection—say to Romanism itself.

With this apology, then, it is submitted in reply to arguments, such as those of Mr. Blanco White, that we may persist as steadfastly as ever in denying what the Papist contends for—viz. a standing infallible judge of controversy, and yet still may be able to maintain that at least some, and those not unimportant, portions of our formulæ *have* the sanction, which Mr. Blanco White demands, of an unerring authority, and may be applied, without contravening any one of his observations, to the interpretation of some of the most mysterious parts of Scripture. For it will hardly be contended that the non-existence of an infallible judge, in the present age of Christianity, is a proof that none such ever existed in any preceding age. Undoubtedly, in the first ages of all, when the Apostles yet lived, and governed the Churches and conversed familiarly with their disciples, it may be presumed

that their judgments, wherever the rise of controversy rendered it necessary to deliver them, were infallible, as well when delivered orally to those among whom they resided, as when sent in writing to their more distant converts. So far cannot be denied, and therefore so far every one, even Mr. Blanco White, must admit that there resided at one time with the Church on earth an infallible judge of controversies on all subjects whatsoever; and consequently that any judgments thus passed or interpretations thus sanctioned, even though it should not have happened that they were committed to writing, must still, as long as the memory of them was believed to be faithfully preserved, have been as binding on men's consciences as the written word itself, and that, if any portion of them has been preserved faithfully to the present day, it is still binding for the same reason and to the same extent. Now it will be found that such a portion of these doctrinal interpretations of Scripture was actually secured and recorded in primitive times, and has been transmitted to us by means of history, as is sufficient to answer the purpose of an unerring guide as far as the mysteries of religion are concerned; so that we have no need at all, as Mr. Blanco White would pretend, to rely upon the fallible judgment of expositors of modern times.

To illustrate the state of the case by an instance. It is well known that in the year 325 a general council of all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, was summoned by Constantine the Great to meet at Nicæa for the purpose of settling disputes which had been raised in the Eastern Church by Arius, and other upholders of his doctrine. At this council 318 bishops actually assembled from the most distant and disconnected parts of Christendom, and on a comparison of their opinions, it appeared that all of them, except thirteen, agreed in condemning Arius's doctrine, on the ground that it contradicted the interpretation which in their several Churches had always been put upon certain texts of Scripture. While the thirteen who ventured to uphold it, relied for the most part on an argument of a different kind, viz. that what appeared to them the true meaning of the texts in question, was in favour of Arius. So far, then, as the belief of the Nicene Bishops may be supposed to represent that of the Church at large from which they were indiscriminately called together, it attests to us the existence in the year 325 of a certain systematic interpretation of mysterious texts, received at that time by every Church in Christendom, on the belief that it had been traditional in each from the very first, and consequently derived ultimately from the Apostles. This is an admitted historical fact, and if carefully considered will be found to afford a proof little short of demonstration, that the system of interpretation in

question really was, what it was believed to be, Apostolic and authoritative. For, if we adopt any other supposition, the difficulty of accounting for the universal belief above stated, may without exaggeration be regarded as insurmountable. If we suppose the system not to have been handed down from the first, but to have been introduced afterwards, in the course of the years that intervened between St. John's death and the council of Nicæa, we shall then have to account, first of all for the universality of its reception in countries most remote from one another, and by Churches entirely independent; and secondly, for the obliteration of all traces of its first introduction into any single Church. We shall have to believe that the person or persons to whom the system owed its origin, on the one hand, were so successful in their schemes of proselytism, that through themselves or their successors, they contrived in the course of 220 years to revolutionize the belief of the whole Christian Church, and on the other, that the process by which they effected that revolution was so silent and imperceptible, as to have attracted no observation in any quarter, and to have left behind no traces of its operation. It is not merely the promulgation of the Trinitarian Creed throughout the Christian world, nor the rapidity with which this must be supposed to have been effected, nor yet the circumstance of its having met with no recorded opposition, marvellous as each of these things would be to all, to which we have in the present instance to reconcile our incredulity; we have likewise to persuade ourselves that, after having been so promulgated and received, all record, or even tradition of such promulgation, was in the course of a very few years entirely swept away in every Church; and that another belief respecting its origin came at the same time to be universally prevalent, viz. that it had been traditionary from the first.

To do justice to this argument would require more space than our limits allow. Enough, however, may perhaps have been said to suggest to persons disposed to follow the thought out for themselves, the moral certainty that the interpretations of Scripture witnessed to by the Nicene Fathers, have an origin altogether different from the speculations of mere human wisdom; and that they do not come within the range of the censures directed by Mr. Blanco White against confessions and articles resting on fallible authority, or human hieroglyphics distorting or encumbering divine ones. If the Nicene creed really does, as its framers believed, rest on a direct Apostolic tradition, its metaphors cannot be looked on as human and secondary any more than those which occur in St. Paul's epistles; nor can its authority be, in that case, consistently regarded as less than infallible. And thus in requir-

ing assent to the truth of this creed, Protestant churches, though admitting themselves fallible, will not be more justly chargeable with inconsistency than in requiring a similar assent to the truth of the Canonical Scriptures.

A parallel argument might if necessary be drawn out respecting the creed commonly called Athanasian.

Thus it appears, upon the whole, that even such persons as are disposed to go considerable lengths with Mr. Blanco White in many parts of his argument, may, nevertheless, without making one step towards the Popish doctrine of a standing infallible judge of controversies, place such reliance on the ancient Catholic formulæ, as to find in them a protection against the varied assaults of latitudinarianism. Whatever, then, becomes of his theory, the high theological tenets of the Gospel are beyond its reach, and can excite in us no anxiety for their safety. As to the modern formulæ, such as our Articles and the like, they certainly, as far as they contain additions to the Creeds, stand on distinct grounds, which, as being sufficiently understood, it was not our intention to have alluded to here. In order, however, to avoid any misconception of our meaning, it may be advisable briefly to observe that such confessions have never been considered by our divines to be of more than secondary authority, nor to be portions, as such, of necessary faith; and that, while they are venerable as being professed by an ever-increasing number of pious and learned men, they are justified on the ground of a strong and imperative expediency. But on this subject it will be best to convey our meaning in words which will come with more weight than any arguments we could urge in explanation of it, viz., those of Bishop Stillingfleet and the present Bishop of Peterborough. "I deny not," says the former of these learned champions of our Church against the Romanists, "but that, in cases of great divisions in the Christian world, and any national Church's reforming itself, that Church may declare its sense of those abuses in articles of Religion, and require of men a subscription to them; but then we are to consider, that there is a great deal of difference between the owning some propositions in order to peace, and the believing them as *necessary* articles of faith. And this is clearly the state of the difference between the Church of Rome and the Church of England. The Church of Rome imposeth new articles of faith to be believed as necessary to salvation, as appears by the formerly cited Bull of Pius IV. . . . But the Church of England makes no articles of faith, but such as have the testimony and approbation of the whole Christian world of all ages, and are acknowledged to be such by Rome itself; and in other things, she requires subscription to them, not as articles of faith, but as inferior truths, which she expects a submission to in order to her peace and tran-

quillity. So the late learned Lord Primate of Ireland, [Bramhall,] often expresseth the sense of the Church of England, as to her thirty-nine Articles. ‘Neither doth the Church of England,’ saith he, ‘define any of these questions as necessary to be believed, either *necessitate medii* or *necessitate præcepti*, which is much less; but only hindereth her sons, for peace sake, not to oppose them.’ And in another place more fully. ‘We do not suffer any man to reject the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England at his pleasure; yet, neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith, or legacies of Christ and His Apostles: but in a mean, as pious opinions fitted for the preservation of unity: neither do we oblige any man to receive them, but only not to contradict them!’—*Grounds of Protestant Religion*, part i., ch. 2. This doctrine, indeed, even goes further than we should be willing to admit, in making the articles *merely* articles of peace; but the main argument is clearly and convincingly put, and indisputably true.

The same general doctrine, on another side of it, with some inconsiderable difference of terms, is expressed in the following extracts from Bishop Marsh’s *Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome*, chapter viii. “How,” he asks, “is the Church of England to be vindicated, in the end, from the charge of acting like the Church of Rome in the exercise of its *authority*? How can it be rescued from the charge of trenching on the right of private judgement, which is the glory and pride of Protestants? Arduous as the task may seem, it is still a task to be performed. . . . The Church of England carries its authority no further than is absolutely necessary for its own preservation. When the 20th Article gives authority to the Church in controversies of faith, it gives no more authority, than such as is possessed by every *civil* society in controversies of *civil* import. . . . At the time of the Reformation, the sense of Scripture, in regard to various doctrines, was disputed. The Convocation, therefore, which is our highest judicial authority in spiritual concerns, as the Judges are the highest judicial authority in temporal concerns, assembled and determined, in the name of the Church which it represented, what the sense of Scripture, in regard to the disputed points, really was. . . . But is there no difference, it will be said, between the interpretation of a human law, and the interpretation of a divine law? . . . : Shall any man, therefore, be bound to accept an interpretation of Scripture, imposed on him by the will of another, if on mature deliberation he himself is convinced that such interpretation is false? Undoubtedly, he is not bound: nor does our Church impose the obligation. . . . If our conscience will not allow us to comply with those terms, which are offered by the established Church, we may withdraw from its communion. . . . But if men choose to continue members of the

Established Church, they must conform to its regulations, as they must also to the regulations of any other society for which they may think proper to exchange it. For no society whatever can long subsist, unless rules are prescribed for the conduct of its members, and an assent to those rules is made a condition of communion with that society, &c." It is not, of course, here intended to adopt every word of this extract any more than of that which precedes it; but both the one and the other present a general and intelligible view, that the articles of the Church are not of its essence; but an addition, of the nature of a preservation, necessary to its well-being and peace; but not to be put on a level with the ancient Creeds, as necessary to be believed in order to salvation: a characteristic which Mr. Blanco White denies at once to the Creeds and the Articles, but which belong to the one and not to the other.—We must now, however, leave our argument imperfect, hoping very shortly to recur to it.

ART. XI.—1. *Selection of Parochial Examinations relative to the Destitute Classes in Ireland, from the Evidence received by his Majesty's Commissioners for enquiring into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland.* By Authority. Dublin. Milliken and Son. London: Fellowes. 1835.

2. *An Inquiry into the Principal Points of Difference between the Two Churches, &c.* By the Rev. David O'Croly, Author of the Essay on Ecclesiastical Finance, &c. London: Fellowes. Dublin: Milliken. 1835.

3. *Authentic Reports of the Two Great Protestant Meetings held at Exeter Hall, London, on Saturday, June 20, and Saturday, July 11, 1835, to prove to Protestants of all Denominations, by Authentic Documents, the real Tenets of the Church of Rome, as now held by the Roman Catholic Priests and Bishops of Ireland.* London. 1835.

4. *The Free Course of the Word. A Sermon on 2 Thessalonians ii. 1. Preached at Windsor Castle before their most excellent Majesties, on Sunday, October 4, 1835.* By Charles Richard Sumner, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester. Hatchard, London.

5. *The Spread of the Gospel, the Safeguard of England! A Sermon, preached in St. Stephen's Church, Walbrook, on Sunday, October 4, 1835, being the Tercentenary of the Translation of the whole Bible into the English Language.* By the Rev. George Croly, LL.D., Rector of the United Parishes of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and St. Benets', London. Duncan, London. 1835.

6. *Truth the Palladium of the Church. A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday Morning, Sept. 27, 1835.* By the Rev. Isaac Saunders, M.A., Rector of the United Parishes of St. Andrew Wardrobe and St. Ann, Blackfriars. Hatchard and Son, London. 1835.
7. *The Case of the Irish Church, argued on Moral and Religious Grounds.* By the Rev. Peter Blackburn, M.A. Rivingtons.
8. *Three Letters, addressed to Lord Viscount Melbourne and Sir Robert Peel, on the present State of Parties: urging the Necessity of Union, &c.* By a Conservative Whig. London: Fellowes. Dublin: Milliken.

We have spoken so much at length, in a former article, upon the means to be employed for the preservation and well-being of the Established Church, that our present observations will be little more than corollaries from the general theorems which we there endeavoured to fix and enforce. May we venture to ask our readers to bear in mind, not *some*, but *all*, of the principles, which we have advocated *together*; and more especially the two-fold and self-evident axiom, that we ought, under our present circumstances, at once to exhibit the intrepid energy, which would confront our dangers, and to abjure the violence, boisterous and yet pusillanimous, loud-tongued and yet faint-hearted, which would dilate and exaggerate them?

Our object here, as before, must be to avoid that partiality and narrowness of view, which is the source of almost all error and almost all inconsistency; to comprehend the several maxims of which the action must modify each other, and to combine them in the fit proportions; to enlarge the base of our opinions, by taking at once the two sets of propositions, or the two sides of the picture, the neglect of either of which must be attended with great mischief;—and to sift the wheat from the bran, to disentangle the confused skein, where right sentiments are entwined with wrong, and the most excellent motives are intermingled with the most injudicious explosions. It is a penalty which we must be content to pay, that, in attempting to carve out for ourselves a middle path, we shall become liable to some suspicion; we shall be accused of a conceited affectation of singularity, or even of a desire to divide friends and create yet another form of disunion; that we shall be thought like men, rather aspiring than prudent, who strive to make their way between two lines of carriages in a close space; and have only, for their pains, to wait until both lines have gone by, with probably a jeer from every driver as he passes.

Nevertheless, as the imputations which may be cast upon us

will hardly break our hearts, and can be of no consequence to others, we shall point out, once more, while it is yet time, the peril and the ruin of excess, or of exclusiveness, for the terms are usually convertible, in considering,

1. The statements which are put forth respecting the *present state and progress* of Popery :

2. The statements which are put forth respecting the *present type and character* of Popery :

3. The nature of those efforts which have been recently made to arouse the Protestantism of the empire; and

4. The general methods by which Popery can be best encountered, and the cause of Protestantism most effectually served.

That, in every word which we utter, we shall speak as true Protestants—and that the salvation, the triumph of genuine Protestantism is our single aim,—these are declarations, which it is really irksome, although perhaps essential, to repeat at the outset.

1. First, then, we are to look at the *present state and progress* of Popery.

According to many accounts, the growth of Popery is vast—is portentous—is terrific. Popery is soon to become “*a deadly Upas-tree, which will cover the whole land.*” But this is a matter of facts, and figures, and numerical calculations; not of loose declamation and flaming rhetoric. We have as yet no statistics, which we can trust. That there are more Papists now in the three kingdoms than there were a hundred years ago is precisely as true as that there are more Protestants. The only question is as to the *ratio* of increase in the two cases :—and we cannot stop to reason with the fear-besotted dreamers, who lift up their voice in horror at the erection of one Popish chapel, without taking into account the multitude of Protestant churches, which have been built at the same time. Besides, we have expressed our conscientious conviction, that Popery has among us some very effective abettors in the enthusiasts who carry Protestantism too far. Without descanting upon the obvious principle,—reiterated, because its practical truth is for ever returning upon us—that extremes generate extremes; without adducing the instance, that in France infidelity at one stage of life leads to superstitious devotion at another; we would adhere to the simple position that the sure tendency of ultra-Protestantism is to assist the progress of Popery. It is the worst species of it, namely, Unitarianism, which has favoured the growth of Popery in the United States of America; because men, staggered at last by their own licentious

interpretations of Scripture, have been glad to take refuge in the arms of authority and tradition. It is another kind of it, namely, a wild and distempered rationalism, which has favoured the growth of Popery among the Germans; so that subtle and inquiring men, such men as Schlegel and Schelling, for example, fatigued, distracted, bewildered by the audacity of their speculations, have found in the Romish creed the only quiet haven, which was left open to them from the tossing billows of that sea, into which they had so boldly launched, but which they could neither cross nor fathom. It is still a third kind of ultra-Protestantism, which may be working the same result in Great Britain: for one sort of enthusiasm may lead to another sort of enthusiasm; one faith, not built upon reason, may lead to another faith not built upon reason; and they, who are sick of acquiescing in the fanaticism of a dogmatic minister, may deem it much safer to acquiesce in the decrees of an infallible Church. In all cases alike, the proper tone of the mind is destroyed; the proper resting-places of the mind are knocked away; and no guarantee remains for soundness, or consistency, or stability of opinion. Popery, therefore, may be raising her head by the support of ultra-Protestantism: and yet it is strange, that the men, who most insist upon this re-invigoration of the hydra, never seem to reflect how strong a tale they are telling against themselves.

But, even in spite of them, we must take their part. We do not think that they have driven so many into the embraces of Popery as they imagine. Dr. Croly indeed says,

“Are we to be blind to the fact, of the sudden rise, nay, flight, of popery, in our days, to power, and the very highest power; the breadth of wing, and sharpness of talon, with which that vulture has grasped the pinnacle of the state, and already counts her carcasses below?”—p. 35.

“Protestantism in Europe may, and probably will, be finally reduced to a remnant.”—p. 39.

“He is no friend to truth, who hides it. The preacher is bound to tell you, that a trial of fearful gloom is hastening over the whole Protestant world. It may be the Divine will to avert the hour yet; for what can stay His hand? But, to all human appearance, it is inevitable; and this no passing struggle, no casual dimness of the day; but the steady, sweeping, resistless, coming of night. We may feel it already in the chill which seems to have reached some hearts among the friends of our cause: we may hear it in the growing stir of those voices, which hail it as the coming of their hour, the spoiler’s hour; we may see it in the sport of those strange meteors, which, springing from the rankness and fog of the human morass, already gleam with such lurid rays. Well may we ask ourselves; if they can thus glare, creeping along the edge

of the horizon ; what will they be, when the ' hour and the power of darkness ' is all their own, when they shall shoot above our heads, and unfolding all their trains, lord it in fire through the storm."—pp. 37, 38.

Mr. Melvill indeed says,

" We believe that the Roman Catholic religion is rapidly gaining ground in our country. There must be great inattention to what is passing on all sides, if any of you be unaware that Popery is on the increase. It is easy to meet statements in regard to the growing number of Papal chapels and colleges by saying, that the growth is only in proportion to the growth of the population, and therefore does not indicate any influx of proselytes. Of course, a reply such as this is of no worth, except as it is borne out by facts ; and we thoroughly believe, the more carefully you examine, the more you will find there is a growth in Popery far greater than you have a right to expect from the growth in population ; so that when you have made all due allowance for the increased number in Roman Catholic families, there will be a large surplus which can only be referred to a successful system of proselytism. It should be enough to convince you of this, as you may easily observe, that Roman Catholic chapels are rising in neighbourhoods where there is no Roman Catholic population, and that in cases where chapels have been reared in hopes that congregations would be formed, those hopes have not been altogether falsified by the event. It must be admitted that this proves a wonderful, and not unsuccessful, activity on the part of Roman Catholic emissaries : an activity more than commensurate with the wants of the Roman Catholic population, which must be backed by assistance which it is hard to ascertain ; for there is manifestly no want of money, *but funds are so liberally supplied as to justify the belief that foreign societies are centering their energies in the great work of overthrowing Protestantism in England.* Not, however, that this immense growth of Popery is confined to our own country ; we rather believe it may be traced in most of the kingdoms which embraced the reformed religion. In Holland, for example, where Protestantism has long been thought most firmly seated, Popery is advancing with extraordinary speed. Only within the last year, the Roman Catholics, in one of the principal towns of that country, have erected a new and splendid church, adorning its summit with a massive crucifix, a distinguishing characteristic never before used in Holland, and thus proclaiming (as I have myself heard the Protestant inhabitants remark) that they are fully conscious of increased power, and multiplied importance.

" What are we to say to all this ? Men would persuade you that the enlarged intelligence of the times, the diffusion of knowledge, and the spread of liberality, are an ample security against the revival of a system so absurd as Popery. But it is no use opposing theory to fact ; Popery is on the increase."—*British Pulpit*, vol. iv. pp. 313, 314.

Many other preachers of far inferior talent, of course, echo the strain. But these are only vague assertions, or eloquent rhapsodies. We want accurate data. Mere hypotheses, or striking descriptions, got up for effect, are worth nothing. We still doubt

the *fact*, that Popery is on the increase beyond the rate of increase in the general population of the country. We doubt it as to Ireland: we more than doubt it as to England. We know many sensible and observing men, in Ireland, who utterly deny the *relative* augmentation—the *positive*, as we have said, it would be absurd to question—in the number of the Roman Catholics: we know many clergymen, in England, who, instead of being unable to walk about, without meeting a throng of Romanists to tread upon their toes, and push them off the pavement, can scarcely find more Papists in their parishes than they can find Mahometans.

Yet we venture no positive assertions; nor, again, do we wish any thing concealed. We agree with Dr. Croly, that “he is no friend to truth who hides it.” But neither is he a friend to truth who outruns it. Let us be assured, that to multiply the proselytes to their belief beyond the reality, is to play the game of the Papists, and to do them an infinite service. The injury, which may accrue to Protestantism from such exaggerations, who shall calculate? It throws still more serious difficulties in the way of legislative enactments, to urge that the members of the Established Church constitute not merely a minority, but a very small and still decreasing minority, in one part of the empire, and are fast losing the greatness of their majority in the other. Protestants will be either disheartened into inertness, or soured and fretted into intemperance. Some will begin to think, that there must be more in Popery than they had conceived, since it can make new converts every day. Others will rush to attack it with a blind and impatient fierceness, like men who have been startled by robbers out of their sleep. The Papists, on the contrary, will be encouraged to grasp at objects which had been given up as unattainable. They will be invested with all the strength which results from an opinion of their strength. On the one side, the “*possunt quia posse videntur*,” will be found lamentably true: on the other side, a *supposed inability* may at last engender a *real* inability of resistance to their encroachments.

2. We come, then, to the second count. We are to examine the statements as to the *present type and character* of Popery.

Now, we have never been among those who can look, or pretend to look, upon all forms of Christianity with an equal eye. Nor are we among those who are disposed to doubt, that there is still a vast deal of error, a vast deal of bigotry, a vast deal of superstition, a vast deal of intolerance, a vast deal of persecution, in the very essence of Popery. We firmly believe that its doctrines are incompatible with religious truth, and its discipline with civil, or, in the highest sense of the term, *individual* liberty. We do not suppose that, if it casts its skin, it can transform its nature.

There are radical and inherent vices, inseparable from its constitution. To us, moreover, it seems equally clear, that the Roman Catholics will consider themselves entitled, by the surest and most sacred right, to restore Popery, *if they can*, as the established religion of Ireland, and even of Great Britain. But, although the Papal creed is immutable in its theory, still, in its application to men, it must be modified by the great social changes which have passed over humanity. Although it may be but *partly* true, that the religious cruelties, which have crimsoned the annals of all Europe with blood, were the produce, not of the *faith*, but of the *age*, still the development of Popery must be affected by the progress of time, even in spite of its dogmas. Even where it holds unquestioned dominion, its spirit, though powerful, is not omnipotent. It is counteracted, and qualified, and softened, by a variety of political, and intellectual, and moral causes. It is at least a milder form of the old and inveterate distemper. For the actual picture, therefore, of Popery, without much regarding either the asseverations on the one side, or the abnegations on the other, we shall not dive into the Latinity of Dominus Dens. There is an appeal to common sense. There is a plain practical view, which it were folly to disregard. The living and breathing page of entire Europe lies before us. Popery, in one shape or another, is the prevalent and predominant religion in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, in France, in Belgium, in some cantons of Switzerland, and in a great part of Germany. The Protestant traveller, as he journeys from country to country, may, indeed, in the course of his peregrinations be stigmatized as a heretic; may have to smile or sigh, according to his temperament, at many ridiculous and many deplorable mistakes connected with his creed; may be subjected, here and there, perhaps, to some annoyance and some reproach: but neither life, nor limb, nor freedom is in danger. He may go from Brussels to Naples, and from Lisbon to Vienna, without having even before his eyes the dungeons of the Inquisition, or the flames of an *Auto-da-Fé*. Or, if he would indulge his migratory propensities still more, he may traverse the whole South American continent without any fear of being “drawn upon a hurdle, or wrapt in a fire-sheet,” or robbed of a particle of his substance, on account of his devotion to the reformed faith. Again, as to the Roman Catholic Priesthood, if there be found among them some hypocrites and some debauchees, are there not also many laborious and most estimable men,—men of high education and polished manners, true to their sacred calling, and most anxious to do good? *If*, therefore, there be danger, *in Ireland*, to the persons and property of Protestants; and *if* the Irish

Priests be indeed such as they have been described, there would be only an additional reason, why we should examine into the social and political position of the sister kingdom; why we should investigate, charitably and dispassionately, the causes which have produced these melancholy effects; so as to alter what is properly alterable, and remove what is properly removable; why we should inquire, how it happens that Irish Popery is a more frightful thing than the Popery of other lands, where it still maintains an established ascendancy.

Our argument, however, is, that there can be neither discretion nor kindness in representing things as worse than they are. The empire knows and feels that they are bad enough. There can be neither charity nor kindness in bringing back to present vision all the sanguinary gloom of the past, lightened only by the flames of martyrdom; or in giving as contemporary truths the blackest tragedies of former times. There can be neither discretion nor kindness in appealing to the senses, and exciting the imagination, and harrowing up the feelings, by appalling delineations, with which, God be thanked, the existing age has nothing to do. It may suit the hasty and *tranchant* style of journalists to pile up images of terror, and crowd their columns with criminative epithets: but it is not for Protestant clergymen to assist them in their task. Still less is it proper in the Rev. Edward Nangle, for instance, to embellish the Protestant Penny Magazine—we ask in the sacred name of Christianity, is the word to be, *embellish*?—with an engraving of a young female dragged before the inquisition, screaming at the looks of the inquisitors, and the apparatus of the rack. Neither can any service be done to the cause of Protestantism by the re-publication of such works as Fox's Book of Martyrs, made more saleable by the plates, descriptive of every species of torture, many of which were exaggerations at the first, and would be virtual falsehoods, if understood to be now applicable to existing circumstances. Truth, and charity, and conscious rectitude need not have recourse to such devices. It is no legitimate mode of warfare to visit upon the Papists of our days, who have indeed their own faults to answer for, the more savage barbarities of their forefathers; or to exhibit the revolting spectacles of which no man in his sound mind can anticipate the actual recurrence. To depict the darkest horrors of the sixteenth century can be of no assistance in adjusting political and religious questions of the gravest moment, which agitate the nineteenth. There may be, alas, outbreaks of popular rage,—there may be, as in the last Irish rebellion of 1798, the sudden cruelties of an infuriated multitude,—but there will scarcely be murders and burnings in

cold blood on account of religious opinions, or victims bound to the judicial stake, from the dreadful notion of doing God service.

This part of her polity, or of her creed, Popery, if from no other cause, yet from the necessity of things, and the progress of enlightenment, must abandon for ever. But the spiritual character of Popery remains. There remains that far graver and more awful charge, that the doctrines of Popery lead to the inevitable perdition of immortal souls. Would to heaven that the spiritual character of Popery were other than it is! But even here there is a medium; and, while we allow the validity of Papal ordination, while we have, in common with the Papists, our creeds, and much of our Liturgy, we may pause before we stigmatize Popery as actually a *soul-destroying*, although we may righteously wish it a *more soul-saving*, belief. This, however, is a solemn matter, which belongs to biblical and theological research. The spiritualities of the question should hardly be made to hang upon the political animosities of the moment; and religious errors, how vital soever they may be, ought hardly to be mixed up with the consequences attributable in the main to that unforeseen and unprecedented equipoise of parties, by which the thirty-five Roman Catholic members in the House of Commons are enabled to turn the scales—an equipoise, which accident has occasioned, and which the next general election may destroy.

They who wish to regard the religious features of the case as it now stands, may consult the Rev. David O'Croly's new production, intituled "An Inquiry into the Principal Points of Difference between the Two Churches." For ourselves, we shall take no further notice of his work. Mr. O'Croly seems as if offering his tribute to Protestantism; but he does not offer it with clean hands. We are unwilling to receive the testimony of a man, when we cannot understand his position; and the Rev. David O'Croly has been cutting at Popery, root and branch; while, at the same time, he has been evidently striving to retain his post among its clergy. He may at last fare like the bat in the fable, that wanted to be both bird and beast. *Dr. George Croly*—quite another man—insinuates, in a note appended to his Sermon, that Papal Rome is, "Sodom, Egypt, and apostate Jerusalem, combined in ONE:" Mr. Melvill informs us, that in Popery, "there is the variable appearance of the chameleon, and the invariable venom of the serpent;" and the Rev. Isaac Saunders, in a Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, delivers his charitable oracles in the following strain:—

"When Christ's kingdom, being set up, shed the light of truth around, so that the errors of the false prophet, and the degrading rites of

Paganism, could not hope to prevail in Christ's inheritance,—the wily tempter, instead of setting up a new unheard-of system of his own, went about to pervert *that* of the Son of God. Affecting to admire the simple scheme of pure Christianity, and to accept the truth now promulgated by 'the ministry of the Word,' he gradually decked her with meretricious ornaments, and introduced her as, The Church of Rome—his very master-piece—exhibiting her as another great Diana, whom the whole world was to worship. Oh! dark is the history, and gloomy the fate of that apostate Church! Under the pretence of extending the knowledge of Christ, she has concealed and corrupted it. Like a wicked parent, she has mingled poison with the children's bread, and not given them 'the sincere milk of the Word that they might grow thereby.' This is *my* quarrel with the Church of Rome! Like a faithless wife, she has departed from her husband, 'and committed adultery, in all the high places, with stocks and stones.' Satan (through that corrupt Church) has kindled the fires of persecution, and immolated on her altars, in our own and other lands, bishops, and clergy, and private Christians—has spared neither sex nor age. The Romish Church, in the plenitude of her power, has delighted to shed blood, yea, has ever emulated the cruel Moloch of old—less cruel than she! Moloch devoured children—the Church of Rome, men! He stifled the cry of prattling innocents—she, the voice of God and truth."—p. 14—16.

If, without suffocating, or strangling, or at all deranging the animal economy of the reverend gentleman, we could "*stifle the cry*" of this "*prattling innocent*," Mr. Isaac Saunders himself, we must confess that our regret would not be excessive, and that certain Moloch-like propensities most horribly beset us.

But, in serious earnestness, exaggerations on this second head, as on the first, must be most prejudicial to the cause of Protestantism. They are bad policy no less than bad Christianity. To exaggerate the spread of Popery is to clothe it with a most undue and formidable importance; to recommend it to many persons who might otherwise have regarded it as so effete and exploded a system, that they would have been ashamed to embrace it, and almost to represent it as a giant, whose arm no man can withstand, and whose stride no man can overtake. To exaggerate its bloodthirstiness and love of persecution is to make it something which rises and towers, not as a vulgar bugbear, but as an appalling spectre or phantom; to stimulate a morbid curiosity; to fascinate towards it that arrested and riveted attention which is the child of wonderment and fear. The attention, too, which has been thus attracted and fixed, may be afterwards succeeded by that natural revulsion of feeling to which excesses always lead. Men who find that even Popery is not so black as it was painted, may almost be induced to think that it is white as the driven snow, and spotless as the robe of the saints: they may learn to sympathize

with the professors of a religion, which, in the attempt to prove too much, has been maligned and traduced. We might even add, that these perpetual images of the faggots and the tar-barrel may familiarize men with notions which they would not else have conceived; that *they* may, if *any* thing may, conjure up the actual atrocities which are dreaded, on the same principle that all monstrous and prodigious crimes seem, by some strange madness of the human mind, to excite, not lovers and admirers, but yet scrutinizers and imitators. Terrible realities are never safe contemplations; and these exaggerated and over-drawn statements *can do no good*, if there be any true lesson to be derived from either man's nature, or from experience, or from history.

3. Some of these positions may receive illustration, or corroboration, as we next examine the character of those efforts which have been recently made to arouse the Protestantism of the empire. Perhaps the chief and most imposing of these was the celebration of the 4th of October, as the tercentenary of the Reformation. We opposed this project from the beginning, although it was set on foot by Mr. Horne.* At first, as far as we know, we opposed it alone. We do not remember a sentence written against it in any religious publication, *before it took place*. It seemed to us, however, that men, however learned and estimable they might be, had chosen neither the right event, nor the right time, nor the right manner, for the commemoration which they wished to institute. As to the event, it seemed to us that the publication of a Bible which, in addition to the fact that it was not the first English version, was printed at *Zurich*, and translated out of the "*Douche and Latyn*" could hardly be esteemed as the most fitting type of the learning or the energy of our Reformers; and that the subsequent career of Miles Coverdale himself—a man, who, with many virtues and many titles to respect, yet wished to push the Reformation beyond its legitimate boundaries—made him a more proper representative of Calvinistic theology and Non-conformist discipline, than of the orthodox Protestantism of the Church of England. As to the event, therefore, it seemed to us that men had rather made a jubilee for the occasion, than found an occasion for the jubilee. As to the time, we were hear-

* We owe some apology to Mr. Molesworth for our inadvertent statement—although we quoted his full admission of Mr. Hartwell Horne's exclusive claim—that he might, perhaps, consider himself as the originator of the Protestant commemoration. The quotation itself will show that we intended no injustice, and merely spoke as we had heard. It is also a matter of sincere regret, that the first and only mention which we made of "*The Penny Sunday Reader*," should happen to be on one of the very few points where we could not agree with the pious author and compiler. Let Mr. Molesworth now allow us to assure him, that we respect the excellence of his intentions, that we fully appreciate the value of his labours, and that we sympathize with the difficulties against which he has had to contend.

ing the loudest declarations, day after day, that our Protestantism was in imminent jeopardy; that there was unequivocal peril of the return of that ferocious bigotry, and those detestable murders, which had once invested the Papal supremacy with an execrable distinction; and it, therefore, seemed to us hardly the season for *beginning*, after the lapse of three hundred years, to celebrate a jubilee—a jubilee being, as we conceived, an appointment partly political and partly typical, wonderfully adapted to the peculiar economy in which the Israelites were placed, and marking a season of restoration and redemption, of *peaceful and holy joy*. It seemed to us, when we were told that disasters and calamities were advancing upon us like a body of armed men, that our kingdom was divided against itself, and that the subjects of the same monarchy were arrayed one against another in the bitterness of hatred,—oh, it did seem to us, that, instead of holding a festival, we should be bowing down in lamentation and fast. Then, too, as to the *manner* of the commemoration, whether it should be a fast, or whether it should be a festival, it seemed to us that, if an individual could appoint it, Episcopacy was a name, and the machinery of the Church of England might at once be taken to pieces. It seemed to us that the mode, in which the jubilee was instituted, could not be right. Nor is it any answer to say, that the suggestion was a mere recommendation, not a dictation or command; and that clergymen were quite at liberty in their respective parishes to observe it, or neglect it, as they pleased. For, practically, they were *not* at liberty. The abettors, if not the originators, of the project, first called upon the journalists for their support; and then the ministers of the Church were to be coerced by the newspapers. It is a simple truth—and this, perhaps, is the most painful part of the case—that a particular topic was to be forced upon our pulpits through the daily press. We know of one clergyman, probably there were many more, who, after the 4th of October, was denounced in a public journal; because he did not choose, on that day, to excite his congregation by a manifesto against Popery. How long has this new tribunal been erected? How long are ministers of the Gospel to be brought before this Star-chamber of the morning and evening newspapers? How long are journalists, instead of their diocesans, to be the judges of the *official* acts of clergymen, when no offence against society is imputed, and no public scandal is caused?

Against the system of suppression or secrecy we have always lifted up our voice. We have always insisted that public opinion should have its proper sway. We have always recognised in that public opinion the best safeguard of the purity and efficiency of the Church, as of all other bodies, and all other interests.

We have never expressed a desire that the immorality or misconduct of clergymen should be screened and unpunished. But we do remonstrate against this new and mischievous usurpation, that, where no immorality or misconduct can be charged, journalists are to be the arbiters of clerical ministrations, and dictate the subject-matter of their addresses to their flocks. We do trust that teachers of the Gospel will act upon their own sense of ministerial duty, without condescending to plead at such a bar. They are responsible to their God, to their consciences, to their congregations, to their ecclesiastical superiors; they are not responsible to the editor either of this newspaper or of that newspaper, who would use them, if not as his own instruments, at least as the instruments of the party which he espouses. Much indeed are we mistaken, if journalists, when it suits their purpose, will not turn round upon clergymen who deliver harangues having a reference to public affairs, not to speak of clergymen who are found spouting in town halls, instead of preaching in their churches or visiting the sick and instructing the ignorant in their parishes;—and will not, if their point happens to be that ministers of the Gospel should not stand forward as political disputants, give them over at once to pitiless reprehension;—throwing them aside as implements—now become worthless and unmanageable implements—for which there is no farther occasion. We are much mistaken, indeed, if they will not be the first to cry out against a *levée en masse* of parsons; against the pulpit's being put into requisition by the partisans of factions, and converted into batteries of offence along the whole range of the empire.

On these accounts, we adopted a course in opposition to the jubilee; and we are heartily glad that we did adopt it. We have the vanity to think that our remarks operated as some restraint at the time, and prevented some exhibitions which might have brought odium, if not shame, upon the Church. Yet, as we have hinted, we then stood, and we knew it, in a small minority. It is some encouragement to reflect, as we may stand in a small minority again, that men gradually returned to the sound and common sense view of this ecclesiastical irregularity; and that there is now, we verily believe, but one opinion upon the subject among all reasonable members of the Church.

That there was some good blended with the evil, we are far from denying. It is sufficient for us, that the evil predominated. Nor is it easy to say, how far the evil might have gone, if no check had been given, and no remonstrances had been made. There were proposals for an *annual*, instead of a tercentenary jubilee; there were proposals for a second jubilee on the 5th of November; the symptoms of a confirmed jubilee-mania were

many and strong; and clergymen might soon have had little else to do than to celebrate jubilee after jubilee, as their appointment might flash across the mind of any enthusiastic Protestant, or suit the ulterior purposes of any party in Church or State.

Again, that, on the 4th of October, our Protestant places of worship were unusually full, and that the preachers, who were expected to say most about the jubilee, had the largest congregations, we see no reason to doubt. But we altogether question, whether the mere circumstance of a crowded Church is of itself the best criterion of spiritual benefit, or the truest gauge of the amount of religious feeling in the land. It only corroborates the fact, which was before too clear to need corroboration, that, in this age of excitement, more persons go to Church to be stimulated, than to kneel in prayer, or to be instructed in godliness; exactly as they read with more avidity novels and spirit-stirring romances, than sermons, or treatises of theology. But, if this test were all-sufficient, then Mr. Irving, on his first arrival in London, was the most useful preacher that ever mounted a pulpit; and his dwindling usefulness was afterwards restored by his wonderful pretensions about the unknown tongues.

Again, much has been said of the moderation of the discourses, which were preached on the 4th October. The generality of them, we dare say, really possessed that merit. The Sermon of the Bishop of Winchester, for instance, breathes a mild and truly Christian spirit; and speaks eloquently to the heart, if it does not flash out with the vivid lightnings, nor startle the ear with the angry thunders, of a vehement enthusiasm; it traces the blessings which have attended, and must attend, the free-course of God's word; it exhibits the glories of one faith, without anathematizing another: and yet we might ask, what would become of its argument, if—to borrow the language of imprudent zealots—Popery is soaring on the pinions of triumph, and the Papal Anti-Christ is going forth conquering and to conquer? For the rest, we have been unfortunate, perhaps, in the few which have fallen under our inspection. The Islington batch we have not seen. But, taking the specimens to which we have already adverted, we are compelled to state that Mr. Melvill's is not moderate; that Dr. Croly's is not moderate; that Mr. Saunders's is not moderate. And we add Mr. Saunders's to the list of Tercentenary Sermons; because, although actually delivered on the 27th of September, it is clearly the *rehearsal* of the discourse, which was to be preached on the ensuing Sunday. Many passages in Dr. Croly's display are rich and powerful, and some sentences are replete, not so much with exuberance of diction, as the true poetry of prose; but, in general, besides the straining ambition

of the style, there is, surely, a most injudicious selection of the matter; and we can perceive even less relevancy in Dr. Croly's historical analysis of the French revolution than in Mr. Melvill's striking invocation of the blood of the martyrs, and the dust of a thousand saints. Dr. Croly says, in a Preface, which, though very brief, is not very intelligible;

"This Sermon *being preached before it was written*; some authorities and illustrations, which it would have been inconvenient to introduce in the pulpit, have been added at the foot of the page."

We will venture to express an opinion, that this sermon, as it is published, was not preached at all; and that Dr. Croly's audience were hardly scared with all the butcheries and blasphemies which he depicts in the strongest colours.

"The scaffold groaned from morn till night. The leaders themselves were successively swept away in the cataract of blood, which they had let loose. Atheism, the last fury of the mind, had brought in Anarchy, the last torturer of nations."—p. 25.

"In 1793, in the dying struggles of all that constituted society, under a weight of wretchedness which might have sunk a nation into the grave, France started into a sudden rage of enjoyment, an infuriate enthusiasm of national pleasure, scarcely less appalling than her massacres. With fourteen armies, draining the population for perpetual slaughter; with fifteen hundred state prisons, raised in the heart of the country; with famine, beggary, and banishment, in the eyes of all; with ten thousand state prisoners in the dungeons of the metropolis alone; with the guillotine in perpetual action, from fifty to a hundred heads falling daily; with an internecine civil war ravaging the West; her Southern provinces swept by the revolutionary axe, and her Northern wasted by the foreign sword; France, bleeding at every pore, led off the dance of death! Under the immediate eye of the government, a succession of the costliest pageantries celebrated the triumph over religion. They had extinguished the light, which they hated for the old reason of all hatred to the light, 'because their deeds were dark;' and the four pre-eminent festivals, held by order of the legislature, within the brief interval from the abjuration to the fall of the great leader of the democracy, were expressly constructed in scorn of heaven. Still, in the midst of all those pomps, in which the proverbial luxury of France was tasked to the utmost, terror was the sovereign. While her temples and palaces were crowded with this glaring masquerade, there was a hideous subterranean beneath the dance and the banquet, an underground world, where the machinery of pain was in constant whirl. All the old governments, even in the worst extremities of power, had appealed to man by some palliative, some remnant of generous principle, some mover of the human heart capable of wearing the disguise of virtue. The atheist democracy appealed to but one, the most debasing of all—fear. Its simple and single expedient was slaughter. All was frigid treachery, calculating revenge, massacre in cold blood. The Incarnation of Terror sat on the throne, God and King!"—pp. 26, 27.

It is droll that Dr. Croly expressly assures us in this Sermon:

"I shall never introduce politics into the pulpit. I scorn the verbiage of that weakest exercise of the understanding. I disdain the Science of the streets."—p. 35.

To be sure, he immediately adds,

"But, with all leniency of construction, is it not to be regarded as a phenomenon of the most startling kind, that, out of the most abject and alien existence within the borders of the constitution, should, almost too rapidly for the eye to trace its growth, spring up a hostile shape, that overshadows the whole?"—p. 35.

Then, too, he subjoins in a note.

"The clamour against Irish tithes is fraudulent; for the Protestants possess twelve fourteenths of the land, and by the land the tithes are paid. The clamour for Church reform is fraudulent; for what interest can they feel in the purification of a Church which they pronounce heretical, and fit only to be destroyed? The clamour for Parliamentary reform is fraudulent; for what interest can they have in the purification of a Parliament, from which they openly demand to be separate for ever?"

"But all those clamours converge. By the refusal of tithes, the Church is to be famished out of Ireland. By the pretended Church Reform it is to be broken down in England. By the progress of Parliamentary Reform, the Constitution is to be thrown into their hands. Are we to regard those violent results as remote, when we see what has been done since the passing of the Popish Bill in 1829?"—pp. 35, 36.

But "while," Dr. Croly informs us of the Christian,—

"the world saw nothing, and would see nothing, in Popery, but the grave exterior of the shrine, he had been led, like the prophet, through 'the chambers of imagery,' and seen the unloosed licence, the dark corruption, the wild abomination, that outraged heaven within."—p. 36.

Mr. Saunders too, who, of course, would not preach politics, or inflame party feelings, either secular or religious, in his hearers, more than Dr. Croly, treats us with the following most delectable fulmination, in which the word, expediency, flourishes in a variety of type, which at least does credit to the ample resources at the command of the printer.

"Attempts are made to reduce us again to the galling of worse than negro bondage; and many would again desecrate our temples by idolatrous rites, under the pretence that all religions are equally good, and that all should stand on the same level. Concessions have been made to that restless and ruthless body now striving for the mastery, on the ground of expediency, and this is working deeply—rapidly—fatally. EXPEDIENCY is the watch-word of the many and also of the few! It was expediency that led our rulers, against their better judgment and implied pledges, to yield a measure, which is now seen by all to be big with portentous consequences, and which, instead of quenching the kindled embers of discontent and anarchy in the United Kingdom, has

tended to *heap up fuel*, and 'made the pile for fire great.' And, under this plea of expediency, what evils have not been perpetrated?—what injustice not committed? Alas! so it has been ever since the day that an unjust judge sat to administer *according to the law*, but condemned the innocent *contrary to the law*; and consigned the adorable Saviour to the harpy fangs of a lawless and depraved multitude with this ominous sentence, 'it is *expedient* that one man should die for the people.'—pp. 17, 18.

So, because the word in this text happens to be, *συμφέρει*, it is *expedient*,—the same word, by the way, which is used by our Saviour, where he says, "it is expedient, *συμφέρει*, that I go away,"—Mr. Saunders, misled, perhaps, by an idle annotation, has the preposterous weakness to "quote Scripture," as against the doctrine of all expediency, from the pulpit of St. Paul's. Why, he might as well denounce any other principle whatever, because the term which expresses it has been prostituted to the purposes of wicked men; he might as well make our Lord, as Caiaphas, the author, or advocate, of the tenet which he abominates, from the expressions of the New Testament. But this is quite of a piece with the rest of the sermon; which, for the absence of all consecutive connection,—for the "*neck-and-heels*" introduction of all sorts of topics, while nothing is properly brought out—for the want of sober discretion and charitable piety,—is indeed richly entitled to a most unenviable pre-eminence.

But to proceed: among the efforts for the resuscitation of our Protestantism, must be reckoned the public meetings at Exeter Hall, and, subsequently, in various parts of the country, where Dens and his theology have been discussed, together with the general character of the proceedings adopted by the delegates of the Reformation Society. But here, we shall say but a few words. If we had not been censured from two unexpected quarters, we should not have said a syllable. In two or three sentences we shall be enabled to set ourselves right; and, hereafter, the fault will not be ours, if the subject is renewed.

Our position is, in this case, as in the case of the October jubilee, that, at best, the immediate advantage, the temporary impulse given to religious emotions, is no compensation, no equivalent, for the mischief of the principle, and the danger of the precedent; that these meetings must lead to turbulence and disorder, to scenes of railing accusation and violent recrimination, which must annoy and shock the sober Christian—and we did not want the account of the *fracas* at Brighton to confirm our opinion;—and that the performance of the chief part in them is unbecoming to

the character, and directly contrary to the true functions, of clergymen.

The indictment against us is, as far as we can understand it, that we have relied on newspaper statements, without taking the trouble to look into the authorised reports; that we have not stopped to acquaint ourselves with facts, whereas facts are valuable things; and that we have treated Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan at least, if not his coadjutors, with harshness and discourtesy. We will take these accusations, in reversing their order.

We ask any one, then, to show us a page, or a line, where we have spoken of Mr. O'Sullivan, personally, but with kindness and tenderness; we defy any one to point out a single word of asperity, or disrespect, or enmity against him. But the vast importance of these things to the Church carries us far beyond the circle of personal considerations. As we could not praise the design of the jubilee, although originating with the able and excellent Mr. Horne; and as we have censured, and shall have to censure again, the introduction of certain topics, although set off by the glowing oratory of Mr. Melvill; so we cannot approve the scheme of clerical itinerancy, although recommended by the example of the pious and eloquent Mr. O'Sullivan. For, if one clergyman, without any authority from the heads of the Church, may go from place to place, and convene public assemblies in town after town, why not another, why not a hundred others, why not all? The *principle* must be equally defensible, or equally indefensible: unless some reverend gentleman has a document to prove that he alone is the chartered wanderer of the establishment, and acts "*cum privilegio*." If there is a justification for Mr. O'Sullivan, there is a justification for Mr. M'Ghee; and if there is a justification for Mr. M'Ghee, there is a justification for the whole system. For is it not a concerted and connected plan? Is it not a complete chain, of which all the links are unbroken? Where is our eulogy to stop? where are our misgivings to commence? If Mr. O'Sullivan is right, then it becomes almost impossible for any Bishop to refuse his sanction and assent to Mr. M'Ghee, when he aspires to call a meeting for the very objects, in which he is the colleague with Mr. O'Sullivan. And if we allow to Mr. M'Ghee the privilege of speechifying to his heart's content at Exeter Hall, or elsewhere, we can hardly blame him for backing his speeches by long letters on the same topics in the newspapers, and so giving his countenance to the truculent fierceness of their leading articles; we can hardly blame him for rushing into the midst of those missiles of rude invective, which have been driven, like a shower of sleet from side to side, to an extent almost unparalleled in the annals of political and literary warfare:

we can hardly blame him for setting all who would deprecate his mission at defiance, for putting himself in direct opposition to the bishop of a diocese, where he sought to interrupt the regular action of the Church; or for telling us of an archbishop of that country in which he is himself a subordinate minister, that Dr. Whately was sitting down at a table with Dr. Murray, "to mutilate the word of God." Our object is not to asperse Mr. O'Sullivan, or Mr. M'Ghee, but simply to assert the true principles of Church-government which we regret to see them violating.

"But we have overlooked the facts; and we have taken hold of the wrong reports." Our answer is, to ask, what facts have we misrepresented, what report have we falsified? Oh, we have mistaken the nature of the meetings.—Public assemblies for the purposes of *religious excitement* do not admit of exculpation; but these were political meetings for political ends. Then, what right has Mr. O'Sullivan, as a clergyman, to become a political agitator? He will hardly thank his friends for representing him in such a character. The incumbent of Killyman would hardly have it thought that he is absent from his parish on a tour of political agitation? But to clear away all doubt, we have the best authority for stating, that the meetings at Exeter Hall had in view religious objects, rather than political, and that the mistake, if there is one, is not *ours*;—although one misfortune is, that they have a *two-fold* tendency, and must produce a *two-fold* effect. Lord Kenyon the Chairman—and we quote the authorised report—said at the first—

"We are here summoned upon one of the most important and *sacred* occasions upon which Christians can be called together; and I am sure I only say that which will meet with a corresponding feeling from all present, when I suggest, that the proceedings should be opened by a prayer to Almighty God.

"Dr. HOLLOWAY then came forward, and with due solemnity repeated the following prayer:—.....' We praise thee that we are permitted to ask counsel at thine hand; we bless thee that thou hast promised to preside at the head of thy Church, and to be by thy wisdom an unnerring guide, and to *conduct us in all things that concern thy heavenly kingdom. Blessed Lord, we are here assembled to deliberate upon the truths of thy kingdom. We pray thee to preside over us, and grant that we may receive the revelation of thy word in spirit and in truth.*'"

This extract, we think, may set this matter at rest.

But we ought to have known, that Mr. O'Sullivan did not come to London as an itinerant declaimer; but was summoned to attend a Committee of the House of Commons. Still we cannot trace the connection of the reasoning, that, because Mr. O'Sullivan had some business at the House of Commons, therefore, he had any business at Exeter Hall. Still less can we link

the premises with the conclusion, that, because he was to give evidence before the House of Commons in London, therefore he was to make speeches at half a hundred places in the country. If he took the places in coming and going, the same excuse may be urged with even greater force for the "*mission*" of Mr. O'Connell, who was called up to London as a member of the House of Commons, and not as a mere witness before a committee. However, whether the plea be valid, or be nugatory, Mr. O'Sullivan plainly repudiates it. Were not his missionary labours antecedent to his arrival in the metropolis? and, since his departure from it, have we not heard of him at Gloucester, Hereford, Glasgow, Birmingham, Brighton, in short, at more towns and cities than we are enabled to recollect? Has Mr. O'Sullivan spent months in returning to Ireland? or has he undertaken another expedition, in his character as the emissary of Protestantism, when there is no committee of the House of Commons, which requires his attendance? Other grounds may be tenable: Mr. O'Sullivan may be achieving a vast good, instead of harm, by his exertions for that righteous cause, to which he has devoted so much of time and trouble, so much of ability and zeal. But the fact of itinerancy is really too obvious to admit of question. If Mr. O'Sullivan be not an itinerant orator, we can only say that he is very locomotive for a person who is non-itinerant: if he is not itinerant, he has a very Irish way of being stationary.

Another error, which has been charged upon us, is, that we have talked of uncharitable language, but could not have discovered any, if we had looked at the authorised reports. We *have* now looked at the authorised reports; and are prepared to prove from them, if it should be necessary, that many expressions in the speeches, which were delivered at Exeter Hall, are as deficient in charity as in discretion. But we should undertake this task with the utmost reluctance. Although we do not fear controversy, we never seek it: and it would be most painful to find ourselves committed to a serious disagreement with men whom we respect and admire; and to be considered, perhaps, as taking the side of other persons, with whom we can have infinitely less in common, than we have with the excellent men, whom we should be thought to oppose.

Still the point just at the present before us is one which we must notice,—not, let our readers be assured, on account of our personal concern in the matter; but because it has an important bearing upon a grave and weighty question. It has been said of us, that we have been guilty almost of a falsification of the facts, by citing newspaper reports, when there were authorised publications of the proceedings, which we might have consulted. Now

considering the two parties, from whom the reprehension proceeds—either the editors of journals, or the orators, who are anxious that their eloquence should be exhibited in their columns—we might be justified in replying, that in the one case it is preposterous, and, in the other case, it is ungrateful. But we have to say, first, that we have consulted the authorised publications as soon as we have heard of their existence; and, again, that after consulting them, although some things have been softened down, the feeling upon our minds has been scarcely, if at all, altered. But more: whenever we have quoted from a newspaper report, it has been a report in some newspaper, favourable to the speakers, and advocating the same cause: and it has been an uncontradicted report. We frankly acknowledge, that, under such circumstances, we should be inclined to take the newspaper report in *preference*; because it is the newspaper report which makes the impression, and upon which the public opinion is formed. It comes out at the moment, when men's minds are intent upon the business; it spreads far and wide; it is circulated, rapidly as well as extensively, over all parts of the kingdom; it is perused with eagerness at the domestic fire-side, in clubs, in reading-rooms, in taverns, and in all other places, to which a newspaper finds access; whereas the authentic report, more confined in diffusion, and less felicitous in the time of appearance, lags behind it, slowly and impotently, and with most unequal footsteps. Nor, perhaps, will the report which men publish with a bookseller as authentic be, of necessity, on that account the more exact. It may be a report of their deliberate sentiments rather than of their hasty expressions: a statement rather of the things which they would be glad to have said, than of the things which they did actually say. Many, without intending to cast the slightest imputation of bad faith, would place more reliance upon the notes of a short-hand writer, than upon the memory of an orator. It is not so very easy, in the cool intervals of leisure, when another and a calmer view presents itself to the understanding, to remember all that has been uttered in warmth amidst the excitement of a public meeting. But here, too, we have much better evidence than our own speculations; Dr. Cooke, a Presbyterian divine, and *one of the speakers at Exeter Hall*, is made by the *authorised report* to declare,

“I cannot but refer to another fact. I always take it for granted that the newspapers know nothing about the matter, and I refer to it as nothing more than their report. It was said, that upon one occasion I had celebrated a marriage between the Church Establishment in Ireland and the Presbyterian Church; that I had made all the effort in my power to obtain a marriage licence. So ephemeral were the expressions that I employed, that I could not obtain a copy of them, and *I could not depend*

upon my own memory ; but I will endeavour to state the terms in which I did express myself.

“ I do not pledge myself for the words, but for the sentiments.”

At any rate, we submit it seriously to clerical speakers, as a matter of practical and almost solemn consideration, whether they must not make their account to be judged as their observations will appear in a newspaper dress,—more especially if they do not contradict any misstatements on the instant: whether it will not be well to ponder over their words in their closets, and, we might add, upon their knees,—their words, never so irrevocable, as when a newspaper reports them; and to pause before they deliver their opinions, so that nothing rash and uncharitable may issue from their lips, instead of thinking to do away, by an authentic account, the effect of their harangues, as given in the journals of the day.

How very seldom, too, can we get at authorised reports: how very seldom are they published! We only know of an authorised report of the two meetings in London. Are we to be dumb, then, as to all the rest, because they are only reported in the newspapers? For what reason, then, upon earth, do orators speak, and journalists report their speeches, if they tell us that such reports are worth nothing, and are not to be made the foundation of an argument?

Another, and a very different method, by which Protestant feeling has been aroused, is the subscription which is going on in behalf of the distressed clergy in Ireland. Who is there, that does not thrill at the righteousness of its object? who is there, that does not rejoice at its spreading and universal success? This is an appeal, which must be felt, unless a man be actually as a block of ice, his sympathies frozen, and his heart petrified. When there is a demand for assistance, the claim is usually measured by these two elements; the greatness of the need, and the desert of the sufferers. If ever these two elements were combined in their amplest plenitude, it is in this very case. As to the need, we shall add nothing to the distressing and spirit-piercing facts, which were stated, with all the pathetic power of simple truth, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London. For, at most, we could only be as gleaners after the abundant but melancholy harvest, which has been reaped by other and more skilful labourers, having better and readier access to that field of calamity. Again, as to the desert of the sufferers, we shall merely refer to the testimony of the same dignified prelates; content with just mentioning, as a circumstance which may even enhance both the severity of the need, and the merit of those who are exposed to it, that, after the harrowing details which have already been brought to light, it is more than suspected that worse remains behind, which delicacy and honest pride have foreborne to disclose.

The ear of England has never been deaf, the hand of England has never been closed, when appeals have been made to her religion or to her charity. It is now made to both. Shall not England respond? In the cause of sacred benevolence England has never been found wanting. Her generosity is proverbial. The Poles and Spaniards have experienced it: shall not the inhabitants of the sister-kingdom? The Irish peasantry have experienced it: shall not the ministers of the Gospel in Ireland? The Roman Catholic Clergy of France have experienced it in the agonies of their Revolution: shall not the Protestant Clergy of our own empire experience it at this crisis of their faith? Much has been given to others from their importunity. Clamour has sometimes extorted what justice might not have obtained. Shall not more be now given, because *nothing is asked*: because, as it is more blessed to give than to receive, it has been felt more difficult to receive than to give? Shall not the silent dignity of endurance, the uncomplaining magnanimity of Christian patience, plead and avail more than the most emphatic utterance of eloquent distress?

Here is indeed a case for *religious charity*. The Irish Clergy are not petitioners: but they are far more than petitioners: they are men, almost broken down by their privations, who, amidst the gloom of their condition, have scarcely any other ray of comfort than this; that no shame, no disgrace, mixes its bitterness with their misfortunes; that their adversity has not been incurred by their folly or aggravated by their misdeeds; and that through that strength and grace, which an all-merciful God sheds upon them that love him in sincerity, their sorrows can be borne with fortitude, while their fortitude is exalted by devotion. As countrymen upon countrymen, they have an irresistible claim upon all the laity of the realm: as Clergymen upon Clergymen, they have every claim which one human being can have upon another. And when we beheld, at the meeting at the Freemason's Tavern, a large body of the English Clergy—some happy with youth and health, some pale indeed with many thoughts and many cares, but not wasted by the humiliating solitudes of actual want—none pampered, none, perhaps, overpaid, yet all appearing to be surrounded by their accustomed conveniences;—with their dwellings inviolate and their families safe and smiling at home; and at the same moment thought of their Irish brethren, as well born and as well educated as themselves, familiarised with the same notions as to food and dress and domestic enjoyments—yet compelled to sell their libraries for bread, compelled to unlearn and forget the habits of their existence, compelled to fling away first the elegancies of life—its luxuries they scarcely had—and then its refinements, and then its comforts; and then unable to provide for its

necessities—yet haggard with apprehension, even more than with poverty, and sick to the soul with that most crushing of anticipations, the utter penury and destitution of their wives and children:—when such thoughts and images rushed across us, we could not have felt surprise at any amount to which the subscription might have been raised.

Why must we say another word? simply to express our regret that the matter could not be *left* as one of *religious charity*; simply to express our deep regret, that polemical and political ingredients have been thrown into the cup which Christian kindness should have filled. 'To the relief of the Irish clergy, as a case of *religious charity*, no objection could be raised. The *object* could not be attacked. The ministers have subscribed to it; the ministerial writers have eulogized it; they could not carp and cavil, until rash orators interposed. No limits can be set to the subscription, unless the spirit of party shall confine it; unless men shall be taught by speakers, and by editors of newspapers, to look at the subscription list as an index to the political sentiments of the subscribers. The Archbishop of Canterbury deprecated the introduction of politics. The Bishop of London identified the cause of the Irish clergy with the cause of Protestantism in general; and expressed his fear, lest Protestantism should be starved out of Ireland. But his lordship went no farther; and why could not the matter stop here? Why was it necessary that exciting and debateable topics should be implicated with a cause, to which the King and Queen had affixed the sanction of their names? Really we cannot but lament that the unflinching suavity, the uncompromising urbanity of the Archbishop, and the terse vigour of the Bishop of London were followed by other remarks theatrically eloquent, but sadly and deplorably out of place. When the Bishop had described how the futurity of Protestantism was menaced, how the sources of supply for its ministry might be cut off, because Irish clergymen could not afford to train up their sons as their successors, so that the number of young men educated at Trinity College, Dublin, was diminishing year after year; when he gave the affecting detail, that they had been obliged, in many instances, to drop the insurances upon their lives, which formed the only provision for their daughters, who must now go into the wide world on the chance of becoming governesses;—it was hardly needful, that rhetorical flights about martyrs and confessors, racks and flames, in addition to factious demagogues and anti-Christian priests should mar the effect, because marring the reality, of the representation: or, if it were imperative, that the figure of endangered Protestantism should be inserted in the mournful group, it required some master hand to sketch the

picture with a few simple touches, and a pencil delicate as it was firm.

In the country, the fault, of which we complain—for this is the tendency of all imitation—has been carried farther than in town. We trust, that this subscription will be promoted *in every way*. Here, there is a legitimate purpose for convening public assemblies; and every objection to their principle must be obviated, if any archbishop or bishop of the Church is present to take the chair. And yet, when we have read the speeches of the Rev. R. W. Kyle, at Whitechurch; the Rev. Mr. Tottenham, at Bath; and Rev. Dr. Gilly at Durham—so unlike the tone of the letter written on the occasion by the bishop of the diocese—the doubt, we confess, has sometimes come over us, whether parochial and local efforts were not preferable to these public and imposing displays; which, although they afford a greater stimulus, may lay the seeds of misapprehension and opposition. One specimen from the Reverend Dr. Gilly's harangue may justify our misgiving.

“The Protestant clergy suffer, because the Popish priests misrepresent them. When the priesthood of France were plundered and murdered, it was by *men who called themselves atheists*, and from that time to this France has never been tranquil—she has never known repose: a curse has been upon her. The clergy of the Protestant Church of Ireland are oppressed by men *not avowing themselves Atheists, but ever false and fair, calling themselves Christians, and addressing their victims by the soft term, ‘beloved Christian Brethren.’* The words of their mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in their hearts: their words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords.”—*The Times*, Dec. 7, 1835.

This allusion of his own—for its good taste and good feeling we should be sorry to be responsible—might at least have taught Dr. Gilly that, *if* the soft and moderate language employed by Dr. Murray was merely assumed and hypocritical, it must at least prove, that, in the opinion of the titular archbishop, soft and moderate language was calculated to advance the interests of his religion. Why, then, did not Dr. Gilly enquire of himself, what would be the effect of language, which was harsh and NOT moderate? In speaking upon religious subjects, even Mr. O'Connell finds his account in blandness and conciliation, and is as oily as a courtier. In fact, it is evidently a part of the policy adopted by the more astute and experienced of the Popish leaders, to contrast their smoothness and gentleness, in matters of religious controversy, with the stormy invectives of the Protestants. So far, let us take a lesson from our enemies. There never was a case to which the *fas est et ab hoste doceri*

was more applicable. Another lesson, too, may be borrowed from seeing how sincerely and how acutely some Roman Catholic clergymen are alive to the mischief and the injustice of confounding the whole order with the intemperate ebullitions of a few. We, therefore, extract part of a letter which appeared in *The Times* of November 4, from the Rev. Thomas Doyle, priest of the Catholic Chapel, London Road.

“Here and there a restless and, perhaps, an ambitious mind may court popularity by uncalled-for political exhibitions, and even against the will of superiors seek for fame amidst the noisy contention of popular political meetings. But is the Catholic clergy of Ireland to be caught up in one fell swoop, and to be denounced because of the indiscretion of a few? Is the true pastor in his laborious travail by day and by night, unseen and unknown, save by God and the deserted poor who feel his charities, to be vilified and trampled under foot? Is the contemplative and the peace seeking minister, who would rather suffer and die, than that strife, confusion, and disorder should invade his flock, to the suspension, if not to the ruin, of true religion, to be cried down and insulted?”

We are considering, be it recollected, the means to an end. That end is the preservation, the promotion, of the interests of our Protestant establishment. That inroads have been already made upon its integrity; that aggressions far more desperate are meditated; that subtle and malignant foes are menacing it with extinction; and that political chances have, if we may so speak, turned up in favour of religious bigotry—all these truths, for truths they are—should only render us more wary, as well as more determined, in conducting our defence.

4. And thus we are brought to examine, as the proper close of our observations, the general methods by which Popery can be best encountered, and the cause of Protestantism most effectually served.

Some men are beginning to speak of the re-establishment of Protestantism by the reconquest of Ireland. It is impossible to conjecture to what shock of battle things may come; but we trust that no man will use such expressions, without deeply and solemnly considering the full meaning of his words; without reflecting, that, if a reconquest be literally intended,—that is, if an entire people be against us—even a repeal, upon all Christian maxims, would be far preferable to a re-conquest.

Others can contemplate, a few are already wild enough to recommend, the re-enactment of tests, the repeal of the measure usually called the Catholic Emancipation Bill, and the re-imposition of civil disabilities and restrictions. Where do these

men live? and with whom do they converse? How have they been taught, that such a scheme is practicable, and that the temper of the times will bear it? Without a *reconquest*, the attempt would utterly fail; and the whole Protestant and Conservative cause would be involved in the disgrace and unpopularity of the failure.

We are driven to the conviction, that the tithe question must be settled at once, and even at a sacrifice. In other words, upon some such terms as those proposed by Sir Robert Peel, the Irish Clergy must buy certain advantages with a certain part of their present dues. They must barter a certain portion of their tithes, for the security of payment, and the blessing of less collision with their neighbours about the temporalities of the Church. Taking into account the actual state of Ireland, we see in such an exchange, simply a pecuniary arrangement, by which all parties may be gainers, and not a surrender either of spiritual truths or of ecclesiastical authority.

At the same time, we are most strongly of opinion, that any such measure ought to be unfettered and uncontaminated by any "*appropriation*" clause; and other points being put aside, for this obvious reason. The matter is, in reality, one of *principle*, far more than of *statistics*. An "*appropriation*" clause undermines the *theory*, while it cripples the actual power, of a Church Establishment. It goes to stop—to remove—the parochial and local machinery, without which an establishment is unworthy of the name; and, while it introduces such and such provisions to come into operation when the number of Protestants is increased, it takes care that the number of Protestants shall *not* be increased; but makes the little become less, and the less dwindle into nothing.

At least—for so many difficulties and anomalies environ the whole subject, that "*facile pronuntiare*" is indeed "*pauca videre*;"—at least, as long as by the law and constitution of the empire the established religion is Protestantism, so long we hope to see a Protestant pastor stationed in every Irish parish—not a missionary zealot, the delegate of a self-constituted society, who just comes and goes, and probably does far more to disturb his own Church than to make proselytes from its antagonist,—but a Protestant pastor, who, even if he lives alone amidst a Roman Catholic population, may assert meekly and quietly the principles of his creed, and commend them even to the favour of his enemies by their visible influence upon his life.

For the rest, although there are members of the Conservative party, both Clergymen and Laymen, with whom we cannot go all

lengths, our difference is not half so much about their aims, or even their measures, as about the methods by which they pursue them, and the tone and temper in which they advocate them. We may agree in the spirit of that passage, which Coleridge cited from Spanzotti, and which has since, we believe, been re-quoted again and again; “*Ecclesia Cattolica non, ma il Papismo denunciarno; perchè suggerito dal interesse, perchè fortificato dalla mensogna, perchè radicato dal piu abbominevole despotismo, perchè contrario al diritto e ai titoli incommunicabili di Cristo, ed alla tranquillita d’ogni Chiesa e d’ogni State.*” We do quite allow that it is “good to be zealously affected always in a good thing;” but we have yet to learn that there is any quality in true moderation opposite to zeal; or that the perfection of true zeal is to outrun prudence, and set at nought all considerations of time, and place, and manner of speech. As long as extremes are wrong and pernicious, so long the worst foe to any party must be the man, who carries its opinions to an extravagant pitch;—the man, who, affecting to be the champion of its principles, takes them up upon false grounds, or advocates them with rudeness and fury. We cannot well be mixed up with the sentiments of our enemies; but we are held responsible for the excesses of our friends. A good man will be of pure intentions when he speaks. A man, wise as well as good, will also calculate the probable *effect* of what he says. He will consider not only the precise meaning which he attaches himself to his own words, and the limits by which he would bound their application; but likewise the acceptation with which they will be received by others, and the practical inferences from them which are likely to be drawn. A man may contend, that he is not accountable for the service into which his language may be pressed by temerity and violence: but he is morally accountable for their influence upon the fair average of mankind, be his own private interpretation what it may. And it is this kind of scrutiny, at once diffusive and reflective, which is one great secret of genuine moderation. By genuine moderation we mean decision without intemperance. For, on the one hand, by coarse contumely and headlong warmth, men injure their own usefulness, and destroy their own means of doing good. On the other hand, they are to seek justice, and not to court popularity. It is foolishness beyond all common folly to dream of satisfying men, whose occupation would be gone, whose influence, and even whose income would be annihilated, if the country were at peace. Their very position forbids them to be satisfied. Their interest, which is their idol, is directly adverse to the tranquillity of their

country. Even from the meagre and, perhaps, reluctant assistance, which Lord Mulgrave and Lord Morpeth have ventured to give towards obtaining the arrears of tithe, they must have discovered the impossibility of pleasing, or conciliating, or contenting, the selfish demagogues and agitators of Ireland. How, indeed, should the Lord Lieutenant and the Secretary afford satisfaction by their conduct in quarters where their titles and offices are held in almost open abhorrence ; or among persons, some of whom would fain even go farther, and substitute an Irish for an English governor, and a regal for a vice-regal authority ?

It is in the midst of these elements, that we must endeavour to find a path to good order and sound religion. There are yet other difficulties. The state of Ireland is frightful : but when alas has it been comfortable ? The general principles, which are applicable every where else, often seem mockeries when applied to Ireland.

On that unhappy theatre of misrule, the evils have an evident tendency to multiply, and aggravate and perpetuate themselves, and almost to preclude the expectation of a remedy. Absenteeism is an evil ; absentees might be denounced and even taxed :—but how is a man to be punished for being an absentee from a country, where neither person nor property is safe ? The want of regular industry and wealthy capitalists is an evil. But here again the insecurity of property interferes as an obstruction ; although the actual growth of manufactures, the actual increase of trade and introduction of machinery, may indicate how much might be effected, if the land were in repose. The sound education of the people might be a transcendent good. But in Ireland, the mere mention of the education of the people has become an incantation and a spell, to evoke the angriest spirits of hatred and recrimination. Still stranger and more remarkable instances might be furnished of the fatal genius which seems to haunt and track the destinies of the sister island. It is over-run by an excessive population ; and some outlet must be found. And yet English labourers are already making a grievance of the swarms of Irish interlopers, who step in between them and their customary employments. And even the American writers, when they would present the *rationale* of the spread of Popery in the United States, complain bitterly of the *immigration* of *Irish Papists*, just as Clergymen on the spot remonstrate that the Church is suffering from the *expatriation* of Irish Protestants ; or, when they begin to feel the incipient burden of poor rates, demand prohibitory enactments as a protection of the Trans-atlantic shores, against the invasion of Irish pauperism, and laziness, and drunkenness, and quarrelsomeness.

There are really moments of superstition, when the hero of the ancient tragedies, the sport of a stern necessity, hurried onward to a resistless doom, appears to our eyes as the personification of a kindred people. The condition of Ireland is so complex, and so extraordinary, that it is a thing *sui generis*. Nor is it the least striking feature in the case, that so it has always been. The evil is as inveterate as it is glaring. From age to age, and from century to century, circumstances have arisen, or remained in force, as if they were either constant or ever-recurring causes—which have turned the whole blood of a kingdom into poison; and converted its vast natural advantages into fountains of misfortune; and changed many of the finer and nobler qualities, by which its inhabitants are distinguished, into instruments of wretchedness and ruin to themselves and all about them. As we turn over page after page, of the crime-polluted and blood-stained history, it seems, as if each was a repetition of the last, and that the same marks of ravage and oppression, of civil strife and spiritual tyranny, are foul upon them all. As we read the disheartening annals, we behold, like the same spectres ever before us, the shapes of feud and massacre, overt rebellion, or rankling and scarcely varnished disaffection; the sword of justice broken, the law dishonoured, scorned, inoperative, and trampled in the dust; the juries suborned, or terrified out of their honest convictions; and Ireland still the dark spot of the empire, still the opprobrium and despair of British legislation.

But our business is to speak simply as Churchmen or Church-politicians; that is, we would speak of Irish politics, simply as they affect the interests and the well-being, the stability and the efficiency, of the Protestant Church. We do not ask, therefore, what the wolves of a greedy agitation will be soon wishing to devour: we do not ask, whether the non-payment of rent is to follow the extinction of tithes; whether the landlords—the sometimes short-sighted and reckless—the sometimes grasping, because necessitous, landlords—are to be the next victims to the Clergy; and whether all forms of property are to be immolated upon the same barbarous altar, by the sacrificial knife of the same ruthless priests. Neither, therefore, in looking back to the past, and glancing over the accounts contemporary with the occurrences, will we have recourse to the more known historians. We rather mention the fact, that Washington, for instance, in the midst of the great American war, spoke of *Irish claims* and disaffection as one source of weakness to Great Britain. We rather select one writer having a religious object in view; and make our extracts from a sermon preached by Bishop Lowth, on the 19th of May, in the year 1773, in behalf of the Protestant schools.

Our readers will discern, that with some very slight exceptions, such as the enlistment of bodies of Irishmen as soldiers in foreign armies, the touches are as true and as exact, as if the unfortunate land had been sitting yesterday for its picture.

“ For many centuries this unfortunate nation laboured under all the disadvantages of subjection to a superior power, without partaking of any of the advantages, with which it is often accompanied. The conquerors even refused to impart the benefit and protection of their laws to the conquered. Unable to reduce them to order by force, they would not condescend to try the gentler, but more powerful influence of benevolence : and, instead of reforming the natives, suffered even their own people, settled among them, to degenerate and become barbarians. The condition of the times, the manners of the people, were unfavourable to every kind of civil improvement. Those, who are accustomed to live by rapine and plunder, always look upon manual labour, and the arts that depend upon it, with contempt and aversion ; and who, in a state of civil confusion, will bestow his pains, the fruit of which he can have no reasonable expectation of enjoying ? Their very laws were calculated to extinguish every inclination to industry, by affording no security in the possession of property, nor certainty of its descending by inheritance. When the light of the gospel was relumined by the reformation, the same pillar of fire, which gave a guiding light to England, became a cloud and darkness to the Irish ; making a still greater separation between both, so that one came not near the other. The reception of it by the former was of itself a sufficient reason for its being rejected by the latter. It threw them over more irrecoverably into the arms of Rome, and made them seek alliances with every Popish nation, that could flatter them with promises of protection. These connexions, formed so long ago, still subsist ; hence the constant supplies which they afford to foreign armies, doubly destructive to their country, as they diminish its force, and at the same time increase the strength of its enemies. The next age was unhappily distinguished by discord and devastation, more violent, and more general ; by rebellions and massacres ; by civil wars, inflamed and heightened by religious fury, rendering ineffectual every approach which had before been made to order and government ; embittering and confirming old animosities, aggravating ancient prejudices, and rendering them invincible.

“ The great era of British liberty, the revolution, marks the commencement of peace and prosperity to Ireland, after at least nine centuries of uninterrupted discord, confusion, and desolation. The way to happiness was then plainly laid open ; but in so long a course of time, as hath passed since, what advances have been made towards it ? Much less than in reason might have been expected, even allowing to every obviating cause its full efficacy. Barbarism hath retreated with a slow pace ; some remains of it at least still appear in the manners of the people, by its genuine marks, ferocity and indolence ; outrageous acts of lawless violence, unheard of in any civilized country, are still

frequently committed there ; and hardly any other country bears on the face of it such plain indications of the bounty of God in imparting the gifts of nature, and of the sloth of man in neglecting to improve them.

“ Popery, that more than Egyptian darkness, still covers the greater part of the land ; a darkness, which may be sensibly felt in its pernicious effects and destructive consequences. It is the great obstacle, that stands in the way of every beneficial, every generous design ; it counteracts every principle that leads to loyalty and true piety, to industry and useful knowledge, to national strength, security, and happiness. It inspires its wretched votaries with a detestation of that government which protects them, because it is administered by those whom they call usurpers and heretics ; and makes them ready to join the enemies of their country, because they call themselves Catholics,—a name perverted in the application to the very contrary of its true meaning. The love of their country being thus extinguished in their breasts, one of the strongest incitements to the noblest exertions of the powers of body and mind is destroyed. Their understanding, subdued to the belief of gross falsehoods, and habituated to absurdities, is weakened and depraved ; it becomes impervious to the light of truth, and callous to the force of argument. Intrenched in ignorance, and in a language of their own, little known to others, and difficult to be attained ; enslaved to the peculiar customs and superstitions of their ancestors ; fixed in an obstinate adherence to hereditary errors, and a determined hatred of those, whose duty it is to remove them ; awed by the terrors of dreadful anathemas, and (in the case of converts at least) by the obligation of oaths, binding them not to hearken to reason or yield to conviction, they render themselves inaccessible to human instruction, and give up their claim to the direction of the word of God : ‘ Seeing, they see not, neither do they perceive ; and hearing, they hear not, neither do they understand. The heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed ; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted, and healed.’ ”—pp. 167—171.

These striking observations, in which the spirit of Protestantism is sufficiently conspicuous, may yet demonstrate the necessity, as well as the Christian charity, of not disdaining to blend the “ *suaviter in modo* ” with the “ *fortiter in re*,” in dealing with the most susceptible, the most sensitive, the most inflammable of nations. It might be well, indeed, if we could put ourselves, in thought, but for a few moments, into the place of the Irish Papists, ignorant but quick, poor but energetic, full of prepossessions, derived from their fathers, and fostered by their priests. They are burning with the sense of accumulated wrongs, which have a terrible reality, at least to their excited imaginations ; they are taught to see in their native land a country which is governed not as a sister kingdom, but a conquered province ; its religion

oppressed, its independence overthrown ; its nobility and gentry—its natural honour and defence—allured or torn from its shores. If they are told, that there never was a country like Ireland, their reply is ready, that there never was a country treated like Ireland. It becomes us to reflect with what delicacy, with what discretion, with what temper, as well as with what firmness and what energy, such elements require to be managed. The danger is, that men of Irish temperament and Irish notions will be hurried into unjustifiable, perhaps inhuman, acts of violence, even by the ungovernable warmth of feelings, which, however mistaken, may yet be honest and conscientious in their origin. To provoke and exacerbate such feelings, by mere scurrility of denunciation, by mere wordy attacks, which gall without subduing, is, in one word, *madness*. This course will soon render the steady government of Ireland impossible ; it will lay the axe to the root, not merely of present repose, but of all hope of future tranquillity. If Sir Robert Peel be restored to power in a month, it will embarrass *his* administration far more than it can weaken the administration of Lord Melbourne. It will clog Lord Stanley far more than it can hurt Lord John Russell. It may even extinguish the already struggling light of the Reformation with a deluge of blood. It *opposes* the cause of Papal oppression ; but it *injures* the cause of moderate Conservatism and rational Protestantism.

For ourselves, we are in favour of *Lay* Associations for the recovery of Tithes, by process strictly legal. It is monstrous, we think, that the demand for dues, which, *until the legislature interferes*, are the very means of subsistence to him who demands them, should be held up to reprobation as a *Tithe-campaign* ; it is indeed intolerable that the clergy should be hunted, and persecuted, and vilified, as robbers and *banditti*, because they seek that which the law allows them, and without which they must sink into absolute destitution. But, even here, many will say, it is neither wise nor just, to represent the case as a mere conflict between Protestant and Papist. It is not wise ; for what, in fact, can be more foolish, than to convert an organized system, which strikes at all authority, and at all property, into a dispute, simply religious, between 1,500,000 Protestants, and 6,500,000 Roman Catholics ? It is not just ; for is there no opposition in England to tithes and to church-rates ? and the opposition to tithes in Ireland, has it not long been considered, must it not always be *in part* considered, as a political disaffection, or a predial agitation, and an agrarian resistance ? Is it not, alas, a resistance with which the Protestant landholders have sometimes had as much to do as the Popish peasantry ? But these questions, we repeat, are not for us ; although we may lament

that here, too, the pedestrianism of cautious statesmanship may pant in vain behind the fiery chariot of clerical impatience. Here, too, clergymen, when they publicly interpose, are apt, instead of looking at the multifarious bearings of a complicated question, to bring all to one exclusive issue : and the complaint is, not that they will disfigure the sacerdotal character more than they can promote the conservative interests; but that they do the sacerdotal character and the conservative interests an equal detriment. Besides, even if the dispute be nothing more or less than an actual antagonism between the two faiths, still our first anxiety ought to be, not to bring our Protestantism in to discredit, by putting ourselves anywhere in the wrong.

In our former article, we spoke of the Ministers of the Crown as crouching at the feet of the master-demagogue. And then, we apprehend, the representation was strictly true. But, since that article was written and printed, they have, we rejoice to say, done something to assert their independence, and vindicate the majesty of the insulted laws. Moreover, the tone of the public mind, the late elections, and the speeches made at the elections, all indicate to us, that the country is wearied and disgusted with O'Connell and O'Connellism. We entertain, therefore, a confident hope, that the Conservative party will be triumphant, if the Conservative party is moderate. But if fanaticism, whether political or religious; or, what is still worse, both religious and political together, be not merely unchained but rampant, all is lost. We shall take an early occasion, if it be possible, of discussing, by itself, the very delicate subject of popular education in Ireland, including the strictures of the Rev. E. Stanley; and we should be glad to examine the valuable Report upon Irish Pauperism, which has been lately furnished by the Commissioners; but, at present, we can only offer two or three very general remarks. The statutes of the realm no longer outraged with impunity; the arm of the imperial legislature felt and acknowledged; the right hand of constituted authority vigorous, but not despotic; the people tranquillized, because the Government is respected; industry increasing, and capital flowing to the shores like a tide; a judicious system of poor-laws well organized and well administered, together, we should say, with wise and comprehensive measures for emigration and foreign colonization; and, above all, a sound and righteous education pouring in, by degrees, the rays of a diffusive light, and strengthening the eyes of the mind sufficiently to bear them; these are the things which Ireland wants; and, if she has them, Popery, even among her sons, *can* no more resemble the monstrous tyranny of former days, than the present Pope resembles a Leo or a Hildebrand; but then

Protestantism will flourish, strong in the intrinsic might of its genuine character, and supported upon the pillars of public order and public intelligence. Yet these things Ireland can never have, so long as excesses and extremes rend the unhappy land, like wild beasts tearing a carcase ; so long as obstructions are interposed by the men who should begin the work ; so long as there remains scarcely one quiet and unravaged spot, in which the first stone of improvement can be laid.

If Ireland were once at peace, Protestantism, we do verily believe, would advance through the indirect but progressive influence of general instruction and example ; through the regular but unostentatious labours of the parochial clergy ; through the spread of literature, and knowledge, and freedom of thought. But Protestantism will not advance amidst the convulsions which the intemperance of its own disciples has helped to cause ; just as in America, the rashness of the Abolitionists has helped to cause the frenzy of the slave-holder : it will not advance through the immediate and intrusive efforts of missionaries, who have already rendered themselves personally obnoxious ; and, if, as we are told in the Acts, there were places to which even the Apostles were commanded by the Spirit not to go, the emissaries and delegates of the Reformation Society may surely wait, before they fling themselves into particular districts, to ruin the best of causes by their precipitation and imprudence.

Here, the argument, we think, may be fairly put into two or three very simple propositions. The restoration of Popery as the established religion in Ireland would be a most terrific evil. The great safeguard against that establishment is the union at present existing between Ireland and Great Britain. While that union subsists, Popery may be turbulent and troublesome, but cannot hope to gain a legal ascendancy : with the dissolution of that union, a legalized form of Papal dominion may be almost simultaneous ; because the Papists will have possessed themselves of a power uncontrolled and uncontrollable ; and having been converted from a minority in the whole empire to a majority in the separate kingdom, they will press, and enforce, and carry the point, that the established religion of the state is to be the religion professed by the majority of its inhabitants. What, then, is our best chance of preventing the repeal of that Union ? This is the very hinge and pivot of the inquiry. And we should answer, by maintaining, indeed, a tone firm as well as moderate ; but not by, as it were, issuing a challenge to millions of people, through invectives levelled at all the persons and things which they hold most dear and most sacred ; not by drawing odious distinc-

tions between English and Irish; not by aggravating party differences into national antipathies.

They, who would aggravate them, and yet can calculate the probable results of their conduct, must have hearts formed of other stuff than our own. We do not advocate timorous concessions: but we do urge the preservation, as long as it is possible, of a peaceable and forbearing temper. If all Ireland were as a savage animal, our wisdom would be to resist it with calm aspects and determined hands, but not to infuriate it with a goad. Recourse can always be had to the weapons of might and violence. But let an appeal to them be the *ultima ratio*, the last resource; as to a sword, not to be unsheathed and wielded, until all gentler methods have been tried and have failed.

Let us, too, if we can, abstract ourselves from our personal resentments, and carry our views forward beyond the immediate circumstances which annoy or alarm us. Let us consider, if we can, how things will look in history; what appearance they will present to the calm retrospect which must be made hereafter; what example and what precedent they will be to future times. The unspeakable magnitude of the things at issue, while it must indeed warn us not to speak unadvisedly, must also embolden us to speak freely and without reserve. The end—yet *absit omen*—may be an international, or rather a civil, war. The end may be, yet God forbid, that Englishmen and Irishmen will be arrayed against each other, as foreigner against foreigner. Yet not quite as foreigner against foreigner; because the chivalrous rules which are observed by hostile armies, the honourable courtesies which sometimes seem to embellish the hideous front of warfare, will be discarded and unheeded in such a conflict. Only the worst and most ferocious passions—for has history no voice, and is not experience our witness?—only the worst and most ferocious passions will be let loose. Then, farewell to the sanctities of the Gospel, and even to the charities of human life. All that is unrelenting, all that is implacable, all that is hateful to God or man, all that is most shocking for earth, or most offensive in the sight of heaven; all that carries the massacre and carnage of the field of battle to the domestic asylum and the family fireside, will be exhibited upon the theatre of a ravaged and dismembered empire. The most terrible features of international war will be aggravated by the savage ruthlessness of civil discord; and both will be consecrated to more appalling deeds of atrocity and outrage by the loathsome madness of religious fanaticism.

Who is there, that can look, without a recoiling shudder, though it be but with the eye of imagination, upon that scene of horrors and pollutions—that sea of tears and blood? Who is

there, then, that has a Christian heart beating in his bosom, who could endure the reality? Surely, therefore, to provoke such a contest by virulence of language, and to embitter it by insults, which stab more deeply than injuries, is a dreadful and deadly crime, which man, at least, can scarcely be permitted to pardon. But virulence and insult will not only precipitate, will not only exasperate the contest; but they will weaken and divide the strength of Protestantism; and the spirit of Protestants may be half crushed, and their arms half palsied, by the thought that they are partly in the wrong, and that heaven's favour can hardly be expected in a cause which man's violence or folly has defiled.

But Ireland is not all. We must also take into the account the Protestantism of England. If men cannot, or will not, see that certain parties are taking advantage of the present alarm to inoculate the country and the Church with their peculiar doctrines, under pretence of saving it from Papal despotism, they are either blinder, or more unstable, than we have hitherto been willing to believe. But we warn them; we would awaken them. If they fall into the snare, they shall at least fall into it with their eyes open. We admonish them to beware, lest they strengthen the hands of their most insidious enemies. We tell them, that the same persons, who are assailing the Roman Catholics by irregular methods hitherto almost unknown to the Establishment, think and affirm, some of them, that Episcopacy is but a few shades less malignant than Popery; think and affirm, almost all of them, that the orthodox members of the Church are but one degree removed from Popery; that their opinions, their sermons, their acts, are, at least, semi-Popish, and semi-Pelagian; think and affirm,—although, as we have shown, they prove by their descriptions of the growth of Romish tenets, either that they are uttering libels upon their own system, or that the true antidote cannot be ultra-Protestantism—that there must be another and a more searching purification of the doctrines and discipline now connected with the constitution of the realm. At least, whatever be their aim, the effect of their exertions, if they have their full swing, as it will be to re-euthrone Popery in Ireland, by the repeal of the Union, will be to change the character, if not to destroy the existence, of the Established Church in England. *Unless they are checked in time, they will not rest until these wretched consummations have both been reached.*

We must remember, too, that, according to their tactics, all the battalions of Protestantism are to act together, and that there is to be a simultaneous charge, along the whole line, against the forces of Antichrist. This is to be an integral and essential part of their plan; this has been announced in almost all the proclama-

tions issued by its most strenuous supporters; and thus the Church of England is to be, of necessity, mixed up in some degree with all the rash things, and all the violent things, and all the unjust things, which the Dissenters may say. Now, our great anxiety has been, on the contrary, that the Church of England should act by itself, and stand on its own ground, in its opposition to Popery. And there are sound reasons, well calculated, as it appears to us, to create and confirm this solicitude. One reason is, that, in the education and the habits of the clergymen belonging to the Church, and in the salutary restraints of Episcopal discipline, there is always *some* security against outrageous ebullitions of intemperance: but the Church cannot guarantee to herself, or others, the moderation of those who stand apart from her communion; and, therefore, may be seriously a sufferer if she should appear to the world answerable in any manner for their words and actions. The glory of the Church we have considered to be, that it *has taken a middle place, that it has really attained the golden mean—between the ambitious usurpations of the Hierarchy of Rome and the elemental anarchy of Sectarianism*. But, if the Dissenters and the Papists are at the two extremes, surely there is danger lest the Church should forfeit its distinctive excellence, and depart from its distinctive station, by coalescing with the one extreme to make an attack upon the other. Surely, there is fear, lest she should be compelled to fling her peculiar tenets into the common stock; and lest, in the grand union of Protestantism, she should be terribly damaged by the fury of associates who would go farther than herself. By the side of the utter derangement in the present equipoise of her principles, we hold the peril comparatively slight, that in the very fact of a coalition there must be some sacrifice of dignity, perhaps some compromise of the system of government, some descent from the level of pre-eminence to the level of equality. One plea is, that the purer metal of the Establishment may be melted down into the compound mass, to be formed out of all kinds and descriptions of Protestantism fused in the same crucible.

The main source of the evil is that narrow and exclusive vision, which is determined to take a part for the whole, however difficult it may be to keep the exact line, without swerving to the right hand or to the left. The only way by which we can hope to attain our object is, by looking on both sides, by throwing a comprehensive glance over the entire sphere of our duty, by combining all the principles which ought to be held in view; by striving so to maintain the purity of the Church, as not to destroy its peace and unity, yet so to cultivate unity and peace as not to abandon the purity of the Gospel; so to extend the in-

structions of the Establishment as not to uproot its discipline ; so to oppose Popery, as not to introduce a caricature of Protestantism ; and, above all, so to contend for the faith of Christ, as not to lose the spirit of Christ ; and display a truly evangelical religion, unadulterated by extraneous corruptions, and untarnished by its own excesses.

Our opinions,—we apprehend, and we must say once more,—will be in many quarters unpalatable ; and the freedom with which we have expressed them may subject us to imputations, which we would gladly avoid. If our style has been at any time, or towards any persons, acrimonious or offensive, we have to express our regret ; and acknowledge—though it is now absolutely necessary to express opinions without disguise—that so far we have been wrong. We are none of us infallible. The issue is not in our hands. We can none of us control events, or rip open the womb of futurity : although there are many to exhibit that less surprising kind of vaticination, which prophesies occurrences when they arrive. All that we can any of us do, is to judge and act for the best, according to the light of our knowledge, and the measure of our ability. And we only ask for ourselves, that credit for independent integrity and conscientiousness, which we are quite willing to concede to others. If, therefore, we are charged with timidity or time-serving, we should disdain to answer ; if charged with neutrality, and indifference, and lukewarmness, we might almost throw back the charge ; because, in point of fact, lukewarmness, and indifference, and neutrality are much farther removed from an earnest moderation, than from the violence which, either in exhaustion or in the consciousness of mistake, so often subsides into them at last. But our general reply is simply this. If we have evinced a disposition to betray the cause of the Church, or to desert from its standard in the day of battle ; if we have slandered its friends, or sought the praise of its enemies ; if we have paltered with the truth ; if we have endeavoured to propitiate men of power, or authority, or influence, who are yet assailants of the Establishment, by pretending that *they* can be justified, because Churchmen have gone too far ; if we have criminated individuals in a spirit of bitterness or petulance, or unkindness ; if any fair ground of suspicion can be shown, that we have been actuated by one feeling of private malice, or envy, or resentment ; then let our arguments be disregarded, and our warnings go for nothing. But if not one of these things is the case, then we do adjure the men who have common interests with ourselves, and who are now as our shipmates in a storm, to read and examine our statements, as being the statements of those, who have the good of Protestantism at heart as warmly as they can have it ;

who in its defence would do as much, and sacrifice as much, as they can be prepared to sacrifice or to do; but who would now speak and act without impetuosity, and without rancour, even because their view of the futurity before the empire is thick with gloom, even because they are saddened by the thought, that coarse brawls may lead to sanguinary collisions; even because they begin to fear, that matters will, and must be, brought to extremity; but who, if they must at last enter into a desperate and final struggle, would have the satisfaction of reflecting, that they had first done all in their power to prevent it. Let others embroil; we would yet attempt to pacify:—if the strife comes, our part is taken by the side of our brethren:—but whatever may be its issue, we can never repent of the wish to mitigate its bitterness by the infusion of Christian charities.

Note to ART. XI.

We have *only just* received the corrected Report of the London Meeting, on the 3d of December, and some further accounts of the proceedings at Brighton. As to the first, we are heartily glad to perceive at the end, that “the Committee strongly recommend the formation of *Local and Parochial Committees*, for the purpose of obtaining subscriptions.” The effect, too, of some of the speeches and details is almost more powerful upon us as we read, than as we heard them. Upon some other points, however, we find another proof that, as to an accuracy true to the words which were actually delivered, a “*corrected report*” is not of necessity the most *correct*. With regard to Brighton, “the committee most unequivocally assert, that their motives were *not political*, but *religious and solely religious*.” Again:—“The committee entertained the sincere and honest intention of having the subject fully and publicly discussed; but from the information they have since received, they have been compelled to come to the opinion that, in the present excited state of party feeling, such a meeting cannot be held in the Town-Hall without the possibility of *that uproar and violence, which would altogether defeat the calm investigation of truth*. They have, however, every reason to feel assured that, by what has already occurred, great and important good has been effected.” We are too well satisfied with the practical conclusion to quarrel with the steps by which the committee have arrived at it: otherwise, we might take the liberty of noticing the apparent *non sequitur* of the reasoning that one uproarious meeting having effected great and important good, there would be mischief in

having another likely to be uproarious. This little matter we leave to be settled by the logicians of Brighton. But it is worth while to look generally at the inconsistencies and dilemmas in which such meetings involve their abettors. Some approve them, because they are political; others defend them, because they are *solely religious*; whereas, to calm observers, they present, *not the proper combination*, but the most incongruous mixture of religion and politics; now the rash intrusion of *party* politics, now the excessive application of religious stimulants, and now the jumble of both. Mr. Melvill, for instance, talks of "*furious priests and factious demagogues*;" and yet tells us, on *two occasions at least*, that "*the struggle now going on in Ireland is NOT a struggle between rival Churches, each striving for the temporal ascendancy; it is not a struggle as to the possession of tithe, the claim to the mitre, the right to the benefice*;" but it is, almost *exclusively*, a religious, or theological, struggle.

But are not—we seriously and dispassionately ask—are not these extreme and one-sided statements pernicious in the assertion, while they are in the teeth of obvious facts? What, then? is Ireland to be simply considered as the arena of a theological conflict, where the clergy are to be the gladiators? Are centuries of political turbulence and individual pauperism nothing?—are absentee or improvident landlords, who have sometimes exhibited the shameful spectacle of *rent against tithe*, nothing?—are tenants, now multiplied for the sake of multiplying voters, and now driven from the soil like noxious animals, nothing?—are all these elements, which pervade the whole social system, to be disregarded; so that there shall only be left a *sacred war*, a fire and faggot affair between the holders of the two creeds? If it be thus, may God in his mercy help us; for we see no prospect of assistance from human means. If it be thus, there is no room for statesmanship; there is no hope in parliamentary measures, or legislative adjustments; for they cannot reach the evil, they cannot deal with the case. Such is the imprudence of introducing at a charitable meeting sentiments, which, in one sense, are positively wrong; and, if they are right in another sense, yet cannot be adequately developed and explained.—We end, by passing from Mr. Melvill to parties and opinions in general, which we have sufficiently designated; and of which we should be most unwilling to consider *him* the representative. We would put our conviction upon record, first, that a good cause cannot be saved by notions so confused and contradictory, by language so unmeasured and overstrained: and, secondly, that unless some strict and immediate precautions are taken, *the Church of England and Ireland will not be so much endangered by the external attack in front, as by the pressure within and from behind*.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

THEOLOGY.

It is fortunate, as our space is already much exceeded, that there is little occasion for an Ecclesiastical Record at this period. The recess of parliament leaves us no legislative measures to discuss; and of other occurrences we have already written at some length. Yet we would once more impress upon our readers, that, when we look abroad upon the Christian world, when we mark the heaving waters, and restless perturbations of religion; when we see quietism or mysticism contending in Germany against rationalism, and popery finding its advantage in the excesses of both; when we see similar phenomena occurring in America, and even among ourselves; the solemn conclusion upon our minds is this,—How much, how very much, does the Christianity of the civilized earth depend, under Heaven, upon the theology of the Church of England; how imperatively is every man who loves the truth now called upon to uphold its integrity. We want not merely the excitement of preaching; though preaching is, of course, a mighty lever, and may be an instrument of unspeakable good; but solid scholarship and sober prayer. On this subject we might confirm the observations already made in our first Article, by reference to an old book now lying before us, intituled, “*Pietas Londinensis, or the Ecclesiastical State of London in the year 1714, containing an Account of all the Churches and Chapels of Ease in and about the Cities of London and Westminster; of the set Times of Publick Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, both ordinary and extraordinary, &c. &c.*” But we may recur to it hereafter. Suffice it now to say, that the main hope of the country, as well as the Church, is in a moderate orthodoxy,—an orthodoxy not sitting upon the chair of lazy state, not afraid of disarranging its formal dignity, not wrapt in the encumbering folds,—folds which may become fetters—of ecclesiastical etiquette; but eagle-eyed in its vigilance, swift-footed and sure-footed in its movements,—of capacious views and sound understanding,—quick to observe the spiritual wants of a nation, and anxious to supply them. But, for our further remarks, let us proceed to

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY:

A matter having a much more intimate connection with the Theology of a land, a much more powerful reciprocation of action and reaction, than is usually supposed. Now, we deliberately re-affirm, that the ecclesiastical polity of our Establishment, its entire system of Church government, is in some danger of being supplanted. We seem to see the indications of an approaching confederacy, an actual coalition between some, we trust but a few, belonging to a particular section of the Church, and the Dissenters, whom they are disposed to call orthodox. The evidence which we offer in support of this opinion is,—1st.

The general tone of language and behaviour adopted both among themselves and with reference to Churchmen of another school. 2nd. The existence of publications having it for their special design to include the sermons of *Evangelical* divines of various denominations, and exclude the sermons of other clergymen, as if they were beyond the pale of godliness, pariahs and outcasts from vital Christianity, such as "The Pulpit," "The Preacher," &c. &c. such as "The Evangelical Register, a Magazine for promoting the spread of the Gospel, without reference to Sect or Party." 3rd. The fact that ecclesiastical intelligence is communicated, embracing the proceedings of these same parties, and *their proceedings alone*. 4th. The fact that societies are formed, in which these parties associate together, and *these parties alone*. But this brings us to the head of

CHRISTIAN SOCIETIES.

In the old Societies we might hint at demonstrations of turbulence, and attempts at change. But we will confine ourselves to the new. On one day a *Protestant Association* is proposed, which is to include all denominations, that they may prosecute together certain objects, religious as well as political. On the next day, improving upon the principle, that a Wesleyan Chapel is opened almost under the auspices of men high in the establishment; a complete scheme of *spiritual* instruction is put forth, which is to embrace laymen as well as clergymen, and Dissenters as well as Churchmen. We do entreat the latter to look at these things calmly and steadfastly; to look at their progress, to see how one step leads to another, and how the subversion of the Church, or an entire change of its constitution, must be the result. We entreat, we adjure Churchmen to look at the *common sense* of these matters. We even respectfully solicit the Prelates of our Church, whatever shades of difference may be suspected in their opinions, the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Durham or the Bishop of Worcester, the Bishop of Peterborough or the Bishop of Winchester, to take these subjects into their immediate, and we would almost add, joint consideration. Let men call us, and think us what they please; High-Church bigots, officious pretenders, sowers of strife and division; but let them investigate the facts, and judge by the facts. From certain premonitory symptoms we had expected much. But we confess that "these Home Missions," and these "*London City Missions*," do surpass our expectations; have outrun the most fear-winged of our suspicions. It is a matter of felicitation that men belonging to the national Church, and men seceding from the national Church, are to *inculcate together a religion stripped, as of course it must soon be, of the distinctive peculiarities of that Church*; it is a matter of felicitation that a *self-constituted Society* is to send *lay-teachers* into a parish, not a bishop to ordain Clergymen to a cure: it is a matter of felicitation that the number of Churchmen and Dissenters on the platform was about equal: it is a matter of felicitation that there was no high and dignified patronage, because such "patronage, though it could not sink the ship, might"—oh, shades of our old divines,—oh, memory of all the worthies and ornaments of the Church of England—"might spoil the crew!"

That many of these things sin against the true principle and the true use of *Associations*, it were idle to say. Why should we talk to such men about the *Philosophy of Associations*? We might as well talk to an infant about the differential calculus. But, at any rate, why should there not be two, or more, societies, going separately to work: one, labouring in behalf of the Church, and the others on behalf of the Dissenters? What motive, what purpose, can there be in working *together*, except to merge the Church in the fusion of all Sects? In asking how the Church was to be saved, we pointed out the mischief of these strange junctions and influences, rather putting the hypothetical case. But now the facts have rushed beyond our hypothesis. There are clergymen of the Church of England, who more than "sin up to our song." They throw into the shade that munificent layman, who, as the newspapers of November informed us, "offered to contribute £100 to the erection of a new Church at Norland, in the parish of Halifax, on condition that he might be occasionally allowed to supply the pulpit with Ministers of the Independent, Baptist, and Methodist denominations." It may be said, we know, "why make so much of men, whose judgment is worth nothing, whose influence for the most part is not greater than their judgment; who are floundering about in the Serbonian bog of contradictions, and unable to trace any object aright, amidst the Cimmerian darkness, in which their foggy prejudices have enveloped them?" Our answer is, "*Principiis obsta.*" It is wisest and most merciful to speak in time and to act in time. We have long watched the *progress* of things; for, alas, they are *progressive*. We fear, that these men, silly as they are, and weak as they are, will yet draw others into the vortex of their folly; even until at last no alternative will remain, but either they must eject, or be ejected; because the Church will no longer be wide enough for the two sections, who will indeed be torn violently apart, and stand, in a rugged and frowning opposition,

"Like cliffs, that have been rent asunder."

Yet there are some things, in which even these men are to be imitated. Let us, we say, once more, imitate their love of *Union*, but union formed on the right basis, and with the proper boundaries. For some boundaries there must be; some line of exclusion must be drawn; and we never yet knew a man, however loud in his protestations, whose unity was not fenced round by some inclosure, and, in fact, was not to stop, just where it suited his purpose to set the limits. Again, let us imitate their activity, let us imitate their earnestness; but let us *not* copy that suicidal imprudence, by which they will assist Popery in Ireland, and Dissent in England, and Infidelity every where. Oh, for a "Temperance Society," that will reach the understanding! And oh, too, for a moderation, which is not neutrality—which is *not* a moderation, too timid or too slothful to interfere, until the hot-headed and the narrow-minded shall have carried all before them, through the mistaken sufferance of men, who yet disapprove their schemes, and shrug up their shoulders at their indiscretions!

The societies which we have mentioned—the missions, the erratic and disorganizing movements—these things are bad; but there is one thing, we allow,

which is much worse, namely, absolute inertness and indifference to spiritual destitution, wherever it exists. The valid defence, the complete justification of such proceedings would be that no alternative was left—at present, thank God, there are many alternatives—except either these irregular exertions, or the abandonment of the land to depravity and unbelief. Others must not have to say, as Wesley and his disciples at first said—and not altogether without justice—"the work must be done in some way. If our way is wrong, why did not you accomplish it in the right? To do what we are doing is at least better than to do nothing. You cannot blame us for entering the field, which you have neither occupied, nor shown a disposition to occupy."—Even in Home Missions, with voluntary subscriptions and contributions raised for their support, and sometimes, in moral and religious instructions undertaken by members of the laity, male and female, we can discern an instrument of utility as well as power, *provided always*, that they be wisely constituted and directed, that they be made to co-operate, and not to clash, with the regular organization of the Establishment; that the appointment of the Missionaries, or at least a *veto* upon their appointment, rest with the Bishops; and that every Missionary, when he comes into a parish, place himself, like the rest of the subordinate clergy, under the jurisdiction of the incumbent of that parish—all parties being alike subject to the superintending control of the hierarchy of the Church.

Still let us remember that Ministers are better than Missionaries. Missionaries, as in heathen lands, are but as a substitute, where regular Ministers cannot be appointed. Missionaries, too, we should say, belong rather to the dissenting or the casual, Ministers rather to the parochial or established system. An Establishment, it is evident, cannot be complete, until there is an adequate supply of religious ministers for all its population. This completeness of the Establishment ought to be our first object; and it is only when its attainment is proved to be impossible, that we should have recourse to the instrumentality of Missions for a temporary relief.

Here, as in some other points, the Scotch appear to be now working out, more thoroughly than ourselves, both in the theory and the practice, the true *rationale* of a national Church. As the sphere of their Establishment is comparatively small, and it is easier, therefore, to embrace at once the whole field of vision, while the hot controversy respecting it is at this moment drawn almost to a point, they are stimulated, and they are enabled, to give a fuller development of its principle and its economy. We have before us the *Edinburgh Church Lectures*; and the *First Report of the Edinburgh Young Men's Church Association*; rather, perhaps, a *questionable society*, and sometimes marked, in its proceedings, by the "*perfervidum ingenium juvenum*," as well as "*Scotorum*." But, from both these sources, we hope to draw, *hereafter*, some very serviceable hints.

We are not speaking of the doctrines of a Church, or of its internal polity and organization, but of its mechanism as applied to the people, of its practical working with reference to those on whom it acts; and it is here, we think, that, following their great leader Dr. Chalmers, the Scotch might be our instructors. It is often easy to detect a lurking hatred of Episcopacy—it is often necessary

to deplore an acrid and atrabilious humour, which drives many of their Clerical speakers into a stern intemperance, at the heels of which will be a deep repentance. But they are grappling, as it deserves, with the important science, for a science it is, and one of vast moment, both theoretical and practical, which we may designate as *ECCLESIASTICAL ECONOMY*. The views of the Scottish clergy and even laity, although, perhaps, not always correct, or not always adapted to English circumstances, are at least digested and matured; they are clear, they are definite, they hang together, they harmonize into a whole; whereas the notions entertained in England are, for the most part, quite loose and ambiguous, quite crude and inconsequential, quite confused and disjointed; and it frequently happens, that the very men who are the noisiest sticklers for an Established Church, are, through their ignorant inconsistency, shaking its buttresses and sapping its foundations. The Scotch might be our teachers in fully pointing out the necessity of an endowed Establishment for the mass of the poor; in fully pointing out the mischief, in connection with an Establishment, of Chapels which are *private property*, and which must be made to *pay*; in advocating the *parochial*, as contradistinguished from the *congregational*, system, and the great principle of localization, in opposition to a chance-medley of pastoral superintendence, to the exertions of Ministers who have no sphere or orbit marked out; and, most of all, in insisting that a National Church should aim, with undivided singleness and straightforwardness of purpose, at teaching and training the whole nation. But we stop; for we must attempt very soon a more thorough examination of this momentous subject of *Ecclesiastical Economy*, when the Lectures, of which the new edition has now reached us too late for any accurate analysis, will not be overlooked. The substance, however, of the Scotch opinions may be summed up in the words, that the object is the Christianization of a land, “the promotion of the spiritual welfare of the destitute;” but that there is no likelihood,” as was said by the Rev. Mr. Cunningham, “the President of the *Young Men’s Association*,”—“of this great object being fully effected except by the division of the whole community into small districts or manageable parishes, and securing, so far as the best regulations in connexion with adequate resources can, to each parish, the services of a well-qualified minister of the Gospel, whose duty it will be to labour unceasingly for the moral and spiritual welfare of those who are under his charge—a minister who must be supported by an income independent of their contributions, and who must have a church attached to his district, to which he can invite and urge them to come—a church in which the seat-rents shall be no obstacle to the poorest of the inhabitants of the district attending there every Lord’s Day. It can be done only in this way.”—*First Report*, &c. p. 5.

Here, then, we must leave the question; merely pointing out to our readers, who wish to be informed and roused as to the state of the case in England, the late very earnest and impressive charge of the Bishop of Chester.

APPLICATION OF GENERAL MATTERS TO RELIGION.

It is not the least remarkable feature in the aspect of our times, that, as the affairs of the Church are drawn into a most marked prominence by causes

quite foreign from spiritual considerations, as the ecclesiastical establishment is considered the turning point of the constitution, and almost the field of battle in which the force of different parties and different principles is to be tried; so the eyes of a whole nation are attracted towards it; so it enters into the daily and hourly thoughts of individuals in all classes; so the politics, the literature, and the social discourse of Englishmen, are conversant more than heretofore with its merits and demerits. There is both good and evil attendant upon this state of things, although the good ought to preponderate. It is to be hoped, that all they whose hearts are leavened by the real influences of Christianity, will love that sacred institution, which is among us the chief instrument for promoting it, with a more affectionate reverence, as they are led more deeply to investigate its history, its position, and its character: and that they, too, who are drawn from secular motives to talk about the Church, will learn at last to think about the religion which it inculcates. But there is this concomitant mischief; that, as ecclesiastical subjects come forward, the country is inundated with hasty and superficial views; and every speaker or writer of the day must produce his theory, and intrude his advice upon matters of transcendent moment, on which he has seldom reflected, and read scarcely at all. In fact, in every newspaper and magazine, even in essays, tales and novels, we find speculations indulged upon the Established Church, and plans made to amend it, which only prove that their framers have never served an apprenticeship to their present vocation. Hence the Church is oftentimes defended in a way, which is more injurious than attack; while many, again, in their abomination of Popery, jumble all its opponents together, and *fancy all Protestantism to mean one and the same thing*. The consequence is, in many cases, that, although there is more of Protestant ardour, more, perhaps, of religious sentiment, and a louder outcry in defence of the Church, there is worse Churchmembership. Even these things afford another reason for our preceding remarks.

BOOKS, &c.—MISCELLANEOUS.

HERE, as we have deemed it a duty to speak with very plain terms of censure, of some who style themselves *Evangelical, par excellence*, we are the more anxious to recommend, conscientiously and cordially, but still reserving to ourselves the right of objecting to particular expressions and opinions, the works of men, to whom we can gladly hear the term *evangelical* applied; such as the Lectures on the Articles by the Rev. Henry Blunt; the most recent productions of Mr. Griffith, and the Advent Lectures of Mr. Ayres. We would also point out the Essays, &c. of Mr. Woodward, a man who rather belongs to the sentimental school, and who, although he has much in common with the party called Evangelical, is diametrically opposed to their bustling and restless agitation: again, the sermons on the *Rationality of Revealed Religion*, by the Rev. P. E. Butler; Mr. Mills's "Answer to Howitt," whose book, unfortunately, we fear, for Mr. Mills, was not of consequence enough to require any answer at all: and a pretty book intitled "*Cruciana*," by John Holland, Liverpool, which is really an interesting work on a very interesting subject:

namely, "Illustrations of the Cross, with reference to Piety, Superstition, Imagination, and Taste." For such productions as "*Metaphysical Rambles, Stroll the First and Second*," rambles and vagaries they are indeed—we have neither relish nor leisure. An early opportunity will, we know, present itself for considering the very excellent and temperate observations by a Prelate on the present anomalous condition of the Psalmody in our Churches and Chapels: and also, in conjunction, perhaps, with Sir J. Macintosh's Discourse on Ethical Philosophy, and Mr. Whewell's Preface, the "*Course of Lectures introductory to the Study of Moral Philosophy*," delivered at Oxford by Dr. Hampden; a publication, by the way, which contains some remarks, having reference to Theology, which are very true and very valuable. The receipt of Mr. Gleig's "*Soldier's Help to Divine Truth*," "Pearson on the Apocalypse;" some papers on the momentous topic of "Capital Punishments," and "Two Sermons on the Poor," by the Rev. Peter Cotes, we have now only room to acknowledge.

There is some very interesting matter in the Annual Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge;—but we would now only mention, on the subject of this great Society, that its Standing Committee intend to publish a *Quarterly Report* of the more important business which takes place at its meetings; and would then draw the inference, that if this and other associations are finding more and more the need of giving a publicity, not casual or irregular, to their transactions, there ought, *à fortiori*, to be some general report of the proceedings of the whole Church.

We should have been glad to have passed some strictures upon the geological speculations of Mr. Fairholme and his school:—we had also prepared some remarks on the subject of the ministerial scheme for a new Metropolitan University, and the projected board of Examiners; taken in connection with Mr. Short's "*Letter on National Education*," and Mr. Whewell's "*Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics, as a part of a Liberal Education*:" but these things, with many others, must stand over.

The *remanet*, however, not to speak of works forming portions of "Libraries," and other volumes and tracts, with sundry beautiful illustrations, for which we are very thankful,—the *remanet* which most grieves us, is the mass of contribution to Christian learning and Christian piety, for which we are indebted to the Episcopal Church in America—a communion which has little connection with the errors of Republican Christianity; and which, according to its limited means, is, perhaps, doing as much for the glory of God, and the good of mankind, as any branch of Christ's Church upon the face of the earth. But these several matters we have been compelled to postpone, on account of the absorbing importance of those great points, to which we have thought it right to devote so large a share of our attention.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1836.

- ART. I.—1. *Horæ Decanicæ Rurales, being an Attempt to illustrate, by a Series of Notes and Extracts, the Name and Title, the Origin, Appointment, and Functions, Personal and Capitular, of Rural Deans, with a few Incidental Remarks on the Rise and Decay of Rural Bishops, and on the Incardination of Parochial Clergy; to which is added an Appendix of Documents, ancient and modern.* By William Dansey, A.M. Rector of Donhead, St. Andrew, Rural Dean of Chalke, Wilts. 2 vols. London. Rivingtons. 1835.
2. *The State of the Metropolis considered, in a Letter to the Right Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London.* By Baptist Wriothsley Noel, M.A. Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row. London: Nisbet and Co. 1835.

THE volumes which stand first at the head of this article are of a character and form which we love to look upon. They are, altogether, redolent of good old times. The title-page is partly in black ink, and partly in red: and much of it is in the type usually known by the name of *black letter*,—though, evidently, without the slightest reference to its complexion; which may be either red, or blue, or green, without impeachment of its right to the distinction implied by the epithet in question. And then, the whole *getting up* of the book carries back the imagination into the midst of by-gone centuries. The heading of each page is in *black letter*—really and positively *black*; and it is inclosed between two parallel lines, which fence it off from the text. Moreover, all the technical words, indicative of rank and office, are, throughout, exhibited in the same dark and awful typography; and are, thus, made to stand out, in solemn relief, from the body of the page. Lastly, the very shape of the volume is not of the present day. It is a small-sized quarto, with a somewhat spacious

margin, ample enough for the commodious and honourable reception of the references; which, by the prevailing fashion of our time, are generally degraded to the station of the foot-notes. So that, if we were to see the work lying open, for the first time, nothing but the freshness of the paper, and the beauty of the execution, would lead us to doubt that we were about to converse with one who lived in the land, when its literature was racy, and its intellectual pioneers were robust and brawny, and when the very outward costume of publication had about it something quaint, fantastic, and original.

From the very bottom of our souls, we pity the man who affects to regard these as unimportant matters! We are firm believers in the physiognomy of books, as well as men. And we collect, with entire confidence, from the aspect of *this* book, that the author of it has the organ of veneration brought out into ample development; that organ, without which no man was ever an accomplished antiquarian. We should have no doubt whatever of this, even if we had not perused a single page of these volumes. But an examination of their contents has potently confirmed our judgment. They are evidently the work of one who loves and reverences the Church, with all his faculties. Her history, her antiquities, her services, her functionaries, her outward and visible attributes, her inward and spiritual influences,—all are, evidently, invested, in his sight, with an inexpressible charm, which deprives the word *labour* of any formidable, or even intelligible, meaning, so long as her interest and her honour are involved in his researches. And then, together with the patience, he has all the simplicity, and good humour, and *bonhomie*, which are essential ingredients in the genuine antiquarian character. It is pleasant to see him surveying, not with dismay, but with positive delight, the store and treasure of his authorities; and to hear him lamenting, that his want of opportunities and facilities denies him the inestimable privilege of unearthing buried manuscripts, revelling in the odour of time-honoured parchment, and choking in the dust of Episcopal muniment-rooms!

In spite, however, of all the disadvantages deplored by him, he has done the Church admirable service by the present compilation. He has placed within the easy reach of every Churchman all the knowledge which can possibly be needful, relative to a very ancient, and very important office. He has relieved us from the necessity of buffeting embattled folios. He has furnished to all, who may be desirous of co-operating towards the effective restoration of the Church's discipline, a mass of valuable and curious information, illustrative of primitive zeal, and of ancient manners, and of long-forgotten customs. As a book of

reference, we hold his work to be indispensable to the library of every intelligent Clergyman. In short, his labours are precisely of a kind peculiarly appropriate to the wants of the present day. Without any wearisome iteration of the cry that the Church is in danger, we may quietly assume, as a notorious matter, that the Church is in a condition which requires, not only that the things which remain unto her should be strengthened; but that the things which once were her's, should be revived, and brought out into action; so far, at least, as they can be made applicable to the present frame of society, and be converted into elements of activity, and vigour, and salutary influence. We have, therefore, abundant cause of thankfulness to any of her ministers who, like this writer, will boldly throw himself back into the depth of ages which have rolled away; and question closely with the experience, and the wisdom,—or even with the weakness and the folly,—of the olden time; and present, within a manageable compass, the result of his adventures, to his over-laboured brethren; harassed and distracted, as many of them are, with toils and cares fatally adverse to habits of deep and laborious research; working, as they many of them do, in the very midst of the fire, which, at this moment, is raging through the land,—and which threatens to consume whatever has the mark of antiquity upon it, as if it were so much hay, or stubble, or dry and sapless wood.

The department of ancient discipline which the author has selected for illustration, is one of remarkable interest, on two accounts. First, the office of Rural Dean was, in former days, nearly universal, and embraced a very large extent and variety of duties: and, secondly, the partial restoration of that office is now becoming an object of great and commendable solicitude in the highest places of the Church. The first institution of this office,—more especially in the Western Church,—is a matter involved in some obscurity. But the outline of its history appears to be as follows. Bishops, it is well known, were originally placed in cities, with the superintendence of a surrounding region, or *παροικία*. The spread of Christianity, however, gradually brought with it an accumulation of duties, which rendered assistance indispensable to the diocesan. The *rural* parts of the *παροικία*, or diocese, were accordingly divided into districts (*χώραι*), and consigned to the care of prelates, who bore the title of *χωρεπίσκοποι*, or *district-bishops*. In one sense, these officers were *subordinate* and *vicarious*, inasmuch as they were the assistants and delegates of the diocesan. But, according to the best authorities, in point of *order*, they were not inferior to the diocesan himself; being invested with plenary episcopal rank and function, and, consequently, distinct from the next inferior grade of the Presbyterate.

In the course of time, this constitution of things was not found to work so happily as might have been expected. It would seem that these rural prelates began, at length, to affect a lofty independence of the supreme bishop of the diocese, and to exercise their episcopal power in a manner which was thought injurious to ecclesiastical regularity and discipline. A remedy for the evil was sought in the abolition of the office of the Chorepiscopus, and the substitution of itinerant or visiting Presbyters. This change was brought about so early as the year 360, by a canon of the council of Laodicea; which ordains that “it is not fit that bishops should be placed over villages, or districts, but *circuiteers* (περιοδεύται); that where bishops had been so placed, previously to the canon, they should do nothing without the approbation of the bishop in the city; and that the Presbyters”—(that is, the Presbyters who should be appointed *circuiteers* or visitors)—“should, in like manner, do nothing without the bishop’s approbation.” The περιοδευτής, thus substituted for the χωρεπίσκοπος, is, doubtless, the archetype of the functionary afterwards known by the various titles of ἑξαρχος, πρωτοπρεσβύτερος, πρωτοῖερεὺς, and πρωτοπάπας; and, in the Western Church, more generally by that of *Rural Dean*.

There is no certain evidence that the office of Rural Dean was introduced into this country at an earlier period than the eleventh century. But it seems beyond all question that, when it was once established, it involved a very comprehensive range of duty. The function was evidently one of great importance. It was among the most effective and powerful wheels in the mechanism of ecclesiastical discipline. To his personal vigilance was entrusted the vicarious visitation of the rural cantonments of the diocese,—the supervision of the clergy within it, with reference to their life, manners, and the discharge of their ministry,—the detection of heresy,—the suppression of vice, in all its forms and varieties,—the support of churches and ecclesiastical mansions,—in short, the care of all things which concerned the service of Almighty God. Among subordinate matters, the Rural Dean was responsible for the due observance of the sacerdotal crown and tonsure by the clergy of his district; and was authorized to reduce, by main force,—yea, with his own hand,—the skulls of refractory and disobedient priests, to due conformity, in this particular. Moreover, if there were found within his limits any persons who came under the description of *Clerici Ribaldi*, (in other words, clergymen who degraded their profession by the profane practices of juggling, stage-playing, and buffoonery,) the Rural Dean was required to disgrace him by obliterating the sacred tonsure from his cranium! He was, further, expected to see that

every thing connected with the altar was kept with becoming propriety; more particularly the holy eucharist itself, and the *καλυμμάτιον*, or *corporale*, on which it was deposited: and he was to take especial care that the latter was of pure white linen, and washed only by a deacon or priest attired in his surplice. He was, lastly, to provide that the coverings, and sacerdotal vests, and all other things consecrated to the altar, should be cleansed, apart from the contamination of unhallowed clothes, by some pure and pious virgin, or matron of unimpeachable character. Such, at least, were the duties of the Archpresbyter, in many parts of the Continent; and there is no reason for believing that they were less various and extensive, when the office was introduced into this country. It would, further, appear that—(if the custom in England were similar to that in other parts of Europe)—the secular burdens incident to this distinction must often have been commensurate with its spiritual dignity; for our author has presented to us a sumptuary ordinance of the Council of Pavia, held in the year 855, to the following effect:—“ We ordain that the Bishops, “ when they go the circuit of their parishes, for the purpose of “ administering confirmation to the people, shall not oppress “ their Archpresbyters”—(Rural Deans)—“ but shall be content “ with the following” (*extremely moderate*) “ scale of entertain- “ ment: viz. one hundred loaves, four young pigs, sixty quarts “ of wine, seven pullets, fifty eggs, one lamb, one porker, six “ bushels (*modii*) of provender for the horses, three measures “ (*corbes?*) of hay; honey, oil, and wax, *quantum sufficit!*” This, be it remembered, was the *reformed* measure of purveyance. So that our imaginations are left at full liberty to estimate what must have been the amount of refection, in those good times, when no restraint was placed upon the hospitality of *Rural Deans*, or the voracity and number of Episcopal retainers. But the costly honour of entertaining the travelling dignitaries of the Church was by no means the most formidable appendage to the office of a Rural Archpresbyter. His function was frequently a post of danger, as well as of inconvenient expense. The duties he had to discharge were, at times, exceedingly unpopular. It was his business to see that the Episcopal citations and summonses were regularly served, and properly returned; and, moreover, that Ecclesiastical censures were duly inflicted. For these purposes, he was provided with a sufficient retinue of *apparitors*,—a race of men, which never enjoyed much credit for refinement of feeling, urbanity of deportment, or moderation of demand! The consequence was, that the sanctity of the Archpresbyter’s person was not always sufficient to protect him from violence and

insult. Of the scurvy treatment to which he was occasionally exposed, the following instance is given by Mr. Dansey, from *Prynne's Papal Usurpations*. One Richard Christian, Rural Dean of Ospringe in Kent, had been sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury to execute certain citations, and to despatch sundry other matters pertaining to his office, at a town called *Sellinges*. On reaching the place, he was seized by certain evil doers, and disturbers of the peace, who placed him on his horse with his face towards the rump; and, in this guise, compelled him to ride through the town, holding the tail of the animal in his hand, instead of a bridle, in the midst of the shouts, and songs, and ribald buffoonery of the mob. Not content with this, the brutal ruffians cut off the horse's tail, ears, and lips, and rolled the reverend Archpresbyter in the mud; who, of course, was fain to escape as he could, without executing his commission! When this outrage took place, we are not informed; but it conveys a somewhat fearful notion of the rough responsibilities laid upon the Rural Dean, in remote and semi-barbarous times. The dangers of his office are illustrated by another instance,—though not of quite so savage a type,—which occurred in the time, and diocese, of Bishop Grostête. It appears, that Roger de Lexington, one of the King's itinerant justices, with his associates, ventured to hold pleas of blood on a Sunday, at Lincoln. The *Dean of Christianity*—(so the *Rural Dean* was sometimes called)—boldly remonstrated against this breach of the Sabbath, and told their lordships that “it was a thing that ought not to be done.” The dispensers of *justice* were furiously incensed at the presumption of the *meddling* Churchman! They loaded him with opprobrious language; shut up the door of his house; took possession of his own personal effects, together with some goods belonging to his relatives; and seized on certain lands, held by him in trust for his nieces, to the King's use! That he did not, however, exceed his authority, in rebuking the judges, on this occasion, would appear from the fact, that Grostête sent a letter of expostulation to the Sabbath-breaking Justice; in which he affirmed, that the Dean was worthy of commendation and reward, rather than of punishment and persecution, for cautioning them against a violation of the Sabbath; and that he would have been culpable himself, if he had omitted to apprise them of their sin*.

This was in 1246; from which it appears, that at that period the Rural Dean was still a functionary of no ordinary consideration and importance in the Church. His authority and dignity were, further, exalted by the power, with which he had been long

* Pegge's *Life of Grostête*, p. 38, cited in the *Hor. Dec.* vol. i. p. 230, note (2).

invested, of summoning periodical meetings, by the name of *Rural Chapters*, or *Decanal Synods*; the members of which were the parochial incumbents of the deanery, or their curates, as proxies; and of which the Dean himself was, *ex officio*, the president. There are traces of these clerical conventions, in England, as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor. Their business became, gradually, very comprehensive: and, at last, involved much of that sort of *contentious* jurisdiction which now belongs to our Ecclesiastical Courts. The *Dean of Christianity*, sitting in chapter, had even power to suspend laymen from the Sacraments, and clergymen from the execution of their office. In short, he could exercise an authority nearly resembling that which is exercised, at this day, by the *Deans*, in the Channel Islands; where, in the absence of the higher Church-functionaries, the primitive authority of the Decanal office is supported in full vigour. It would seem, however, that, in the course of ages, the vast jurisdiction which had been accumulated, by imperceptible degrees, in the person of this officer, and his assistants, had led to considerable corruption and abuse. These evils were, eventually, remedied by the Constitution of Cardinal Otho, in 1238; which authorised and required the Archdeacon to appear frequently, as an assessor, at the Rural Chapters, throughout his Archdeaconry. This intrusive power, though slackly exercised at first, introduced an essential change into the constitution of these assemblies; and, at last, though very gradually, wrought their dissolution. The result was, that the jurisdiction of the Rural Synods was absorbed in that of the Archdeacon and his officials.

By the time of the Reformation, the office of Rural Dean had fallen into desuetude, throughout the greater part of England. An attempt was made to restore it by the Compilers of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in the time of Henry VIII. and of Edward VI. One chapter of this code is devoted to the subject. The following is the substance of the enactment which describes the duties of the officer in question: "Let each Deanery have its Rural Archpresbyter, to be placed over it, either by the Bishop, or by the Ordinary of the Church. His office shall be annual. And here, as from a watch-tower, he shall keep a vigilant look out, upon the Presbyters, Deacons, Wardens, and Sextons, that each may perform what appertains to his office. Let him make inquiry concerning idolaters, heretics, persons guilty of simony, adultery, fornication, drunkenness, bigamy, or any other scandalous vice: also, concerning witches and magicians, slanderers and blasphemers, falsifiers of last wills, perjurers, and violators of Royal or Episcopal injunctions. Let him have

authority to summon, and examine, persons suspected of such delinquencies. Within ten days, he shall report in writing to the Bishop, or Ordinary, the whole ground of accusation; whether it rest on public rumour, on the evidence of the informers, or on their suspicion. Whoever shall refuse to come to him, when summoned by the apparitor, shall be adjudged contumacious. He shall take care that the will of the Bishop, signified to him by letter, shall be expounded, with all possible expedition, to the churches of his Deanery; otherwise he shall undergo the punishment of contempt. On every sixth month of his office he shall certify to the Bishop, or Ordinary, how many sermons have been preached, in his Deanery, in the course of that time.”* This is a sweeping commission! But it is devoutly to be wished that the scheme had been carried into effect. It might have done something towards preserving the discipline of the Church from that pitiable imbecillity into which it has, ever since, been sinking; and have kept the parochial clergy, throughout the realm, under that perpetual and salutary consciousness of supervision and controul, which, in our present state of moral imperfection, is a valuable auxiliary to the keenest sense of duty. The project, however, was unfortunately rendered abortive; first, by the premature death of Edward VI., which intercepted the sanction of the Legislature from the whole Reformed Code of Ecclesiastical Law; and, afterwards, partly by the growing aversion for all spiritual discipline, and partly by the dragon-like jealousy of Elizabeth, who dreaded all possible invasion of her prerogative and supremacy.

In the following reigns, the hope of reviving this ancient office became continually fainter. It found but little grace in the eyes of James. The Puritan Divines were intensely solicitous and importunate, that clerical conventions should be held, every third week, in the Rural Deaneries, for the exercise of *prophesying*. And thus, the whole affair became associated, in the Royal mind, with images of fanatical and seditious disputation. The Rural Chapter, he apprehended, would, eventually, be little better than a sort of Presbyterian Kirk-session;—a thing, he said, “which
“agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. Then
“Jack and Tom, Will and Dick, shall meet and censure me and
“my Council. Therefore I re-iterate my former speech, *Le Roy*
“*s’avisera*. Stay, I pray, for one seven years, before you demand
“that! And then, if you find me grow pursy and fat, I may,
“perchance, hearken to you; for that government (the Presby-
“terian) will keep me in breath, and give me work enough.”†

* Reform. Leg. Eccl. c. v. p. 95.

† Conference at Hampton Court.

And, accordingly, says Harrington, (who was present at a part of the conference at Hampton Court,) away went Moderators, or Rural Deans, and district conventions of the Clergy! Nothing whatever was attempted for their restoration, during the disastrous reign of Charles I. But, in 1660, the Rural Arch-priesthood appears to have occupied a place in the thoughts of those who were engaged in the re-construction of our Church Polity. In the royal declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, there is a clause which relates expressly to the *decanal* office of the *country*, to the nomination of the *Dean* by the Diocesan, and to the nature of his duties. By that clause it is provided, that the Rural Dean, together with three or four ministers of his deanery, chosen by the major part of the ministers within it, shall meet, once in every month, to receive such complaints as shall be presented to them by the ministers or churchwardens of the respective parishes; to compose differences referred to them, by way of arbitration; to convince and reform offenders, by pastoral reproof and admonition; or, if that should be impossible, to present them to the Bishop. At these meetings other ministers of the deanery might be present, and assist. Moreover, the Rural Dean, and his assistants, were to see that the children and youths received proper religious instruction from the ministers of their parishes, and were, in all respects, duly prepared for confirmation, and the reception of the sacrament.

No further documents, relative to this subject, are to be found until the year 1710. In that year, sundry matters were referred, by the Queen, to the Convocation, to be debated and agreed on; and among them was "the establishing Rural Deans, *where they were not*, and rendering them more useful, *where they were*." From this language, we may collect, that the office still survived in many parts of the country, though in a languid and ineffective condition. It might reasonably have been expected, that the sanction of the Crown would have given an effectual impulse to the deliberations of the synod, and brought them to a prosperous issue. Unhappily, however, the whole design ended in fruitless discussion. The spirit of jealousy and discord took possession of the assembly, and disabled the two Houses from coming to any agreement with each other: and thus a precious opportunity was lost of infusing fresh life and vigour into the decaying discipline of the Church.

From that time to the present hour, there has been no authoritative movement on the part of the State,—or of the Church *collectively*,—for the repair of this department of our ecclesiastical organization. The Convocation, as every body knows, fell into a deep and deadly slumber; from which it awakens at stated periods,

shows some feeble signs of animation,—and then, sleeps again! Nevertheless, the Rural Archpresbyterate is not, even now, entirely extinct. All its contentious jurisdiction, however, is gone, probably never to return. No effort for the revival of that jurisdiction was made by the royal declaration of 1660; or by the reference to the Convocation in 1710. So that, when we recollect the original honours of the Archpresbyterate, and compare them with its present decline, we must consider it as little more than “the shadow of a mighty name.” Like Lucan’s oak, *Trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram*.

And yet, who can tell but that the day may come, when,—(provided the Church itself should be spared, in the midst of the sweeping changes which menace all institutions which have the infamy of being old,)—this function may, again, be called into general and vigorous action, and resume at least some considerable portion of its ancient dignity and power? And, if that day should come, most certainly the present author will be entitled to an ample share in the credit of the revival. In 1825, he accepted the appointment to the Rural Deanship of Chalke, in the diocese of Salisbury. His first care was to make himself acquainted with the history and constitution of the office. His researches were rewarded by the accidental discovery of an autograph sheet containing an address to the Clergy of the *Decanate* of Chalke, by John Priaulx, D.D. on the occasion of his appointment to the charge of Dean Rural, by Bishop Seth Ward, A. D. 1667. This little treatise was published by Mr. Dansey in 1832, with a body of notes by himself; accompanied by a pledge “that Dr. Priaulx’s “little Breviary should be followed by a more copious and formal “treatise by himself.” This pledge he has nobly redeemed in the volumes now before us; which (we repeat) supply all needful information, whether to the lovers of Church antiquities, or to those who may be desirous of helping to quicken the *circulation* of our ecclesiastical discipline.

Bishop Seth Ward was succeeded, in 1688, by Bishop Burnet. The zeal of Burnet for a re-animation of Church discipline, is well known. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising that he should have suffered this office to expire, after the pains which had been taken by his immediate predecessor, for its restoration. Yet, such appears to have been the case. From the time of Burnet to that of Bishop Fisher, there are no traces of its existence in the diocese of Salisbury. Bishop Barrington, and Bishop Douglas, indeed, appear to have been sufficiently well disposed to revive it, but it seems that they were withheld by some unaccountable doubts, as to their legal authority to make any such appointment; doubts which could never have arisen if a work, like that of Mr.

Dansey, had been, then, before the public. The Rural Deanship was, once more, brought into action by Bishop Fisher, who occupied the see of Salisbury from 1807 to 1825; and has been continued by the present diocesan, Bishop Burgess. His lordship has laboured, ever since his translation, to render the office more effective, “ by enjoining annual, or more frequent, inspection of churches and chapels, with their ornaments and furniture, church-yards, manses, &c.; by circulating, periodically, visitation articles of inquiry, to be formally filled up by them, and deposited in the archives of the see; by distributing *mandates*, and prosecuting inquisitions, where necessary, by the instrumentality of *Deans Rural*; and, lastly, by holding a yearly conference of all the *Deans* of the three archdeaconries of the diocese, at the episcopal palace; reviving, therein, the image of those elder conventions, at which the *Deans Rural*, as the proper delegates and standing representatives of the parochial Clergy, were, heretofore, wont to deliver their *acta visitationis* to their diocesan, and to report, and consult with him, on the spiritual condition of their respective *Decanates*,—‘ *ut quæ ex ipsorum judicio, reformatione opus habere comperientur, communi consilio emendentur*,’—(*Dansey*, vol. ii. p. 466.)

It is satisfactory to find that this element of strength is by no means confined to the diocese of Salisbury. From the documents in the Appendix, we learn that the custom of appointing Rural Deans is now extended to the dioceses of Canterbury, York, London, Winchester, Bath and Wells, Bristol, Chester, Chichester, Exeter, Gloucester, Lichfield and Coventry, Lincoln, Llandaff, Norwich, Oxford, Peterborough, Rochester, St. Asaph, Worcester, and Sodor and Man. In Ireland, they were revived by the exemplary Bishop Bedel, in the diocese of Kilmore; in that of Ossory, by Bishop O’Beirne, about the year 1795; and in that of Armagh they exist at this day, in a very efficient state, under the Primate, Lord J. G. Beresford. They are, likewise, to be found in Cashel, Limerick, and Clonfert. The nature of their duties is well described by the late Bishop of Limerick (ὁ μακαρίτης), in the following extract from the speech delivered by him in the House of Lords, on the Church of Ireland. It requires some little self-controul to peruse it without feelings of indignation and scorn, at the shameless calumny and falsehood which his lordship found it necessary to expose: “ There is another class of dignitaries,” said his lordship, “ respecting whom a word must be said, I mean the *Rural Deans*. Of this body we have heard much. They have been repeatedly brought forward, as contributing to swell the pomp and dignity of the episcopal retinue; as drawing large revenues from the oppressed population; as con-

“ *stituting one great division of the enormous staff of the Church.*
 “ Now, what, in reality, are these portentous Rural Deans? My
 “ Lords, they are simply six or eight of the parochial Clergy in
 “ each diocese, selected on account of their good character, or
 “ appointed in rotation, to discharge the laborious, invidious, and
 “ *unpaid* duty, of visiting, and reporting upon, every parish, in
 “ their respective dioceses. Every year, previously to the Bishop’s
 “ visitation, and at as many other times as the Bishop may re-
 “ quire, they inspect the glebes and glebe-houses, the church-
 “ yards and churches, the vestments, the books, the communion-
 “ plate and linen, and all things requisite for the decent celebra-
 “ tion of divine service. On all these particulars they make a
 “ special report; as, also, on the condition and regularity of the
 “ parish registers; on the residence and attendance at church of
 “ the officiating Clergy; on the number of communicants, whe-
 “ ther monthly, or at the great festivals; on the time set apart for
 “ the catechetical examination of young persons; and the numbers
 “ actually catechized in the Church. Such, my Lords, are our
 “ Irish Rural Deans; and such are the duties they have to per-
 “ form. *And it appears that these idle and useless staff-officers,*
 “ *in addition to their other duties, undertake this charge, (which*
 “ *implies much labour, much travelling, and sometimes no trivial*
 “ *expense,) without any other recompence whatever, than the con-*
 “ *sciousness of being usefully employed!*”

And even so it is in England. The office, by its very nature, must, in some respects, be an invidious and laborious one; and, in all cases, instead of bringing in emolument, it entails expense. It would, indeed, be still more invidious and laborious than it actually is, if it were to be executed according to the plenitude of the commission which imposes it; for that commission always demands a report, touching all matters whatever *respecting which it is proper that the Diocesan should be informed.* And there are few things respecting which it is more fit and proper that the Diocesan should have distinct information, than the life and conversation of his Clergy. In spite, however, of the largeness of the words, the Rural Dean is, in practice, spared the distressing task of even standing forward as an informer against his brethren; a task which formed a regular department of his responsibilities in by-gone days. Whether it might be expedient to restore to him this extremely unenviable privilege, is a very questionable matter. In the first place, it is very doubtful whether, in these days of refined and sensitive honour, any person who had received the education of a gentleman, could be prevailed upon to accept the office of Rural Dean, if it involved the occasional necessity of denouncing a brother Clergyman before

his Diocesan. Our modern notions and habits must always be in violent insurrection against the discharge of so ungracious a duty. And, secondly, if, in any instance, the power of public spirit should be sufficient to overcome this aversion, it is greatly to be feared, that the exercise of this function might, on the whole, be attended with more evil than good. It might become a source of dissension and ill-will, which, in the end, would inflict more serious mischief upon our parochial communities than could be compensated by a restoration of the semblance of symmetry and completeness to our scheme of Ecclesiastical administration. In some instances, it is well known, even the inspection of parsonage-houses by the Archpresbyter, has occasioned no inconsiderable degree of irritation and impatience. It has been resented as an invasion of personal and domestic privacy! And if these effects have been produced by an official examination of brick and mortar, and lath and plaster, what, it may be reasonably asked, would be the probable consequences of an investigation into personal character and habits? If the survey of decaying and dilapidated walls be ever regarded as an insult, what would be the exasperation excited by the exposure of a sinking and ruinous reputation? It may, indeed, be alleged, that, if the Clergy are unable to endure the thought of being *reported* to the Bishop by one of their own brethren, how shall any one of them bear the ignominy of being *reported* by the churchwardens of the parish—(the only *testes Synodales* now practically known to the law);—the churchwardens, who, however personally respectable they may be, may, nevertheless, chance to be elected from among the small tallow-chandlers or grocers of the place! To this the answer is, that, in the present condition of society, the inquisitorial function of churchwardens, with respect to the moral conduct, or spiritual efficiency, of Incumbents or of Curates, is, for the most part, little better than a nullity! It is fallen into almost utter desuetude: into such desuetude, that we ourselves are acquainted with an instance, in which a parochial Clergyman, (not otherwise ignorant or ill-informed), *recalcitrated*, in high disdain, against the insolence of the churchwardens, for presuming to make a representation to the Bishop, to the disadvantage of his good name for decorum, and virtue, and morality! It was intolerable—he thought—that a minister of the Church of England should be degraded by an accusation, emanating from such a quarter! All this, to be sure, manifested deplorable ignorance of our Ecclesiastical Constitution. But all this, likewise, tended to prove, that one of the most important duties of churchwardens had nearly fallen into oblivion. Now, if it were possible that the *Rural Dean* could

be fully re-invested with his ancient censorial character, the negligent or delinquent minister would, at least, be left without the miserable pretence of revolting against authority and supervision, on the ground of its being exercised by a person of an inferior grade. The whole process might, indeed, still be painful enough to both parties. But, nevertheless, the culpable or suspected minister could never be in a condition to complain that he was debased, in the eyes of the world, by the meanness of his accuser. After all, however, this is, perhaps, but empty speculation. We are in a state of society altogether different from that in which the discipline of our Church grew up. Whether for good or evil, we live under a new dynasty,—the dynasty of public opinion. And this is a power which, by the invention of printing, has become endowed with a pervading and almost omnipresent influence. Like other mighty potentates, it is often monstrously capricious; and, like them, too, it rules chiefly by the instrumentality of fear. *Oderint dum metuant*, is too frequently its maxim. Its operation, nevertheless, is sometimes salutary. Where higher motives are wanting, it may chance to do, after a manner, the work which *ought* always to be done by conscience; and which, in former days, was imperfectly done by Rural Deans, or Churchwardens! This is our consolation for the decay of the authority, or the vigilance, or the sturdiness, of these Ecclesiastical functionaries. We are most happy to add, that even this consolation is less needed at the present day than ever it was before: for we verily believe that a conscientious sense of duty, a holy feeling of responsibility, is more generally prevalent among our Clergy, than at any period that can be named, since the earliest and purest ages of the Church. And, if so, the cares of Rural Deans may, *for the present*, safely be limited, (as, in practice, they *principally* are,) to the inspection of walls, and rafters, and chalices and flagons, and other visible and tangible matters; without, however, losing sight of any possible extension of their power and responsibility, which, from time to time, the wisdom of our spiritual rulers may judge to be expedient.

There is one portion of the ancient authority of the Rural Dean which might unquestionably be restored to him, with signal benefit both to the parishes and incumbents. In former times, the custody of vacant churches within his deanery, belonged to him. But “the Canon Lawyers,” says Bishop Kennett, “soon deprived him of this, as well as all other parts of jurisdiction. For the Chancellors of the Bishop, or the Archdeacons, laid claim to the custody of vacant Churches; and, by forms of sequestration, assigned them over to the *Æconomi*,

“ or lay-guardians of the Church.” But who can doubt, for an instant, that the Rural Dean of the district, aided perhaps by some neighbouring Incumbent would, on all such occasions, be an incomparably fitter *trustee*, than the churchwardens? The sequestrator has not only to receive the profits of the sequestered benefice, but also to apply them, so far as needful, to the purpose of providing for the cure, during the continuance of the vacancy. Now, without any disrespect to that class of functionaries, we may venture to suggest that it is far from impossible, that a churchwarden should be ignorant, or obstinate, or neglectful, or unfaithful, or too deeply involved in secular affairs to pay much attention to ecclesiastical matters. But there is, comparatively, a very slender chance that a Clergyman, selected by the Bishop for the excellence of his character, should labour under any one of these disqualifications. Whether it is competent to the Bishop to effect this most desirable transfer of duties, without the authority of Parliament or Convocation, we are unable to pronounce. The change, however, was actually contemplated by the Convocation of 1810; but the proposal came to nothing!

Before we quit this subject of Rural Deanships, we cannot resist the impulse to bestow a passing notice on one department of it, to which Mr. Dansey has, very properly, invited the attention of the reader. The modern instructions to Rural Deans,—he remarks,—should always include the fencing and due keeping of church-yards. In many dioceses, he regrets to observe, the cemeteries of the dead do not receive the respectful attention they are entitled to from the living. In country villages, the κοιμητήριον, where “ the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep,” is often trampled beneath the hoof of the incumbent’s cattle, or the cattle of his tenant: and this, without any care to prevent, or to repair, the unseemly defacement occasioned by the enjoyment of the surface-pasturage. Now, this is most revolting and abominable! “ The Rural Dean,” says Mr. Dansey, “ who visits “ authoritatively, in order ‘ to reform what is amiss,’ should not “ forget that a cemetery is holy ground, a place of religion, ‘ a “ *field of God sown with the seeds of the Resurrection*;’ and, consequently, that it ought not to be desecrated to the profane “ uses of ordinary pasture-land. On the contrary, he should “ point out to the Clergy, or others whom it may concern, in the “ strong language of Archbishop Secker, ‘ the duty of keeping “ the church-yards neat and decent; not turning in cattle to “ defile them and trample down the grave-stones, and make “ consecrated ground such as they would not suffer the courts “ before their own doors to be: but taking the profits of the “ herbage in such a manner, as may rather add beauty to the

“place.” In truth, a burying-ground ought never to call up any other images than those of sanctity and repose. It should never show like a mere loathsome receptacle of the ruins of mortality; a place to remind us *only* of dust, and ashes, and mouldering dissolution. It should rather speak to us of the things which lie beyond “the grave and gate of death,”—of *the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away*. And this it can never do, so long as it assails the eye, and afflicts the imagination, with spectacles of sordid, brutal, and slovenly neglect. Even the nations who know nothing of *the incorruptible inheritance*, may often teach us Christians a lesson, which well may cause us to blush. The followers of Mahomet, more especially, are, in this respect, qualified to be our instructors and our monitors; for, with them, a cemetery is generally a place whereon the eye can rest with delight, and in which the heart may be visited with serene and peaceful influences. Their cemeteries, for the most part, are spacious; and, within their boundaries, taste combines with religion to testify an affectionate remembrance of the departed. But in England, on the contrary, church-yards may still be seen which speak of little but foul and comfortless desolation. In our great towns, and cities, more especially, they are too often a disgrace to civilized communities. They are crowded receptacles of *all manner of uncleanness*; we might almost add, of pestilence! We can never think of them without feeling utterly ashamed of the complacency with which we are eternally trumpeting forth our own superiority in refinement, and our advancement in all the arts, and all the sentiments, which can exalt and dignify humanity! In saying this, however, we, probably, are speaking in vain. We live in the days of steam-engines, and rail-roads; of every thing, in short, which is, of the earth, earthy; of every thing which tends to banish the recollection of man’s higher destinies. What is to be got, by making our cemeteries a school for the cultivation of humanizing emotions? What return is to be expected from the capital laid out in enlarging the space for the reception of lifeless carcasses? Why should the ruins of the human mechanism be treated with more costly respect than the remains of a worn-out and superannuated spinning-jenny? And thus it is that the triumph of *philosophy*, and the glories of civilization, (unhallowed, as they often are, by the spirit of the Gospel,) tempts us, almost, to wish for the dominion of some amiable and imaginative superstition, which, at least, would recognize man as a being whose very *exuviae* are sacred things, and would rebuke the gross and grovelling *materialism* of this arithmetical and commercial age. Sumptuous funereal pomp is, doubtless, ridiculous enough:

but, still, there is something generous, and soothing, in the folly; and, with all its absurdity, it is respectable, and even laudable, when compared with the coarseness and the barbarism which so often converts our church-yards into scenes fit only to be haunted by Gouls and Afrits, and all unclean and hateful things. Christianity, indeed, would reconcile these matters, and bring them to their due level of propriety, if it did but warmly pervade the whole body of the communities which profess it. For, then, the depositories of the dead would always be connected, in our thoughts, with the solemnities of that day, when this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality. And this recollection would, alone, be sufficient to protect them from irreverence, and neglect, and odious defilement.

Our imaginations are positively infected by this theme. Let us endeavour to sweeten them with an "ounce of civet," taken from the store of an approved and cunning artist.

"Let Vanity adorn the marble tomb
With trophies, rhymes, and scutcheons of renown,
In the deep dungeon of some Gothic dome,
Where night and desolation ever frown.
Mine be the breezy hill that skirts the down,
Where a green grassy turf is all I crave,
With here and there a violet bestrown,
Fast by a brook, or fountain's murmuring wave;
And many an evening sun shine sweetly on my grave."*

There is nothing, to be sure, very technical or didactic in these lines. Nevertheless, we wish that every *Rural Dean* would get them by heart: for, if he did, we are quite sure that the very spirit of them would make him unable to endure the sight of dilapidated church-yard fences, and graves trodden down nearly into mire, and cemeteries overgrown with weeds, and nettles, and "things rank and gross in nature."

Before we lay aside the *Horæ Decanæ*, we are desirous of calling the attention of the clergy to that section of it (in vol. ii. p. 109, &c.), which contains some valuable and interesting suggestions for the revival of Rural Chapters. We hear perpetual complaints that there is a grievous want of intercourse among the clergy; and that this defect of communication between them is unspeakably injurious to their efficacy and influence. With a view to remedy this evil, Church-union societies have been established in a few of the English dioceses. And if such societies were formed in every diocese throughout the kingdom, their tendency would be highly beneficial to the Church,—provided, of

* Beattie's *Minstrel*, book ii. stanza xvii.

course, that they were all under the superintendence and sanction of their respective bishops. But, as Mr. Dansey remarks, these unions have hitherto been merely diocesan associations. There are no similar affiliated institutions in connection with the maternal Establishment. Now here, it may reasonably be contended, the ancient mechanism of the Church might be most advantageously employed. It might be impossible, and by no means desirable if it were possible, that the Rural Chapter should be revived in all its original authority and power. Its *contentious* jurisdiction, we have already seen, has long been utterly lost; and few things, perhaps, would be more injudicious than any attempt to restore it. But it would be difficult to perceive any objection to the scheme of re-animating the Rural Chapter, under the form of a *Decanal* Union or Society, and with a view to the accomplishment of various purposes, strictly in accordance with those objects which fell within the *voluntary* jurisdiction of the original tribunal. The formation of such unions would be in perfect harmony with our ecclesiastical polity. The Rural Chapter itself, we are told by Linwood, was the creature of custom rather than of law. And, if so, what is there to stay the bishop, if it should seem expedient to him to awaken the custom from its protracted slumber? If there be no positive law for the organization of Rural Chapters or Associations, neither is there any law against it. “ They have never been put down by the legislature. They “ have simply fallen into disuse and decay. They have become “ antiquated and obsolete, to the great loss and detriment of the “ Church, merely because their subsidiary importance to church “ polity has not been duly appreciated by the clergy. They may, “ therefore, at any time be revived, with the sanction of the “ hierarchy. Nay, any zealous diocesan may restore them, and, “ with the aid of their machinery, work out his schemes of gene- “ ral or local improvement, in the distant departments of his “ diocese, with as much facility and efficacy as if those depart- “ ments were under his own personal cognizance. Whenever, “ and wherever, he needs a correspondence with the rural clergy, “ he may avail himself of the instrumentality of rural deans and “ chapters, for making known his wishes and executing his man- “ dates. And from the same source he may derive a perfect “ knowledge of the state of the parochial clergy, and of other “ matters of ecclesiastical interest in the Rural Deanries.”— (*Horæ Decan.* vol. ii. pp. 112, 113.) “ Let us, then, earnestly “ hope that local ordinaries, aided by local chapters, may be “ *generally* instituted through the dioceses of Great Britain and “ Ireland. In some, Deans Rural are altogether wanting; and, “ where existing, they need more of a formal and legitimate esta-

“ blishment, amplified powers, and acknowledged authority. In
 “ all, the Spiritual Ruler of the Deanry is unassisted by his pri-
 “ mitive and useful adjunct, the Rural Chapter; so well fitted to
 “ keep up order and uniformity, to cultivate a good correspondence
 “ among the neighbouring clergy, to arm them against common
 “ dangers and difficulties, and to enable them in every way to
 “ promote the interest of religion and virtue, and the good of
 “ souls committed to their charge.”—p. 189.

Here we must take leave of Mr. Dansey, which we do with the deepest thankfulness for his labours. Our brief account of his work, we trust, will have no other effect than that of stimulating the curiosity of our readers, and impelling them to become possessors of the book itself. We must now take flight from the *Country* to the *Town*, from the comparatively peaceful province of the *Rural Dean*, to scenes in which the powers of evil seem to be in such high revelry, as to mock, with a sort of fiend-like glee, at the puny battle which the powers of the world to come have hitherto been able to wage against them. No thoughtful man can sit down to an examination of this fearful spectacle, without feeling as if he were about to plunge into a fiery crater, deeply charged with elements of destruction, and threatening desolation and ruin to all our social institutions. The pamphlet of Mr. Noel exhibits to us a tremendous apocalypse of the interior of this mighty caldron; and it is scarcely possible to look upon it, without astonishment at the delay of the eruption! And, can it be delayed much longer? Is it, or is it not, even now, too late for mortal zeal and energy to pacify the monster, and to avert the explosion? This is the question to be considered: and it is a question which seems enormously to overtask all merely human sagacity and wisdom. The difficulties it presents are so gigantic, so perfectly *Titanian*, that it would be the maddest of all impiety to think of grappling with them in any other strength than that of God himself!

Previously, however, to any further notice of Mr. Noel's exposition of the evil, and proposal of remedies, we shall advert, for a moment, to the spiritual condition of the metropolis upwards of one hundred years ago. We have before us a little volume, entitled “ *Pietas Londinensis*, or the present Ecclesiastical State of
 “ London; containing an Account of all the Churches and
 “ Chapels of Ease in and about the Cities of London and West-
 “ minster; of the set times of their Public Prayers, Sacraments,
 “ and Sermons, both ordinary and extraordinary; with the Names
 “ of the present Dignitaries, Ministers, and Lecturers thereunto
 “ belonging. By James Paterson, A. M. 1714.” The object of this publication was, “ to show the beautiful and excellent

“order of our churches;” by virtue of which, the author tells us, “there is scarcely an hour of the day but a devout person may have the opportunity of serving God in public, after the manner of the primitive Church.” And, he adds, “it is heartily wished that we had as much of the fervor of their spirits as we have opportunities of testifying it. And, in many of these, it is four times a day.” According to the report of this writer, there were, at that time, in the metropolis, “sixty-four stately parish churches, and one cathedral, besides the thirty-five parishes of the demolished churches, and divers chapels within its walls; in the suburbs, sixteen; in Westminster, seven, besides the Abbey; in the parishes of Middlesex and Surry, fifteen; and, as if all these had been too few, the last session of parliament, out of their godly respect to religion, thought it necessary to order fifty new churches to be erected about it,” (of which, however, but a small portion were ever built,) “which is twice as many as are in any city of Europe, and is not paralleled in any city of the world beside itself; yea, little inferior to a whole kingdom.” The account of these places of worship is alphabetically arranged, and contains a special notice of the hours of prayer, sacrament, and sermon, at each of them respectively.

Now the first thing which strikes us, on this survey, is the provision for frequency of public prayer. For instance—St. Andrew’s, Holborn,—morning prayers every day, at six in the summer and seven in the winter; again at eleven; and evening prayers at three *constantly*; sacrament every Sunday.—St. Andrew Under-shaft, *vulgo* St. Mary Axe,—morning prayers every day, at six in the summer and seven in the winter, kept up by the gift of Sir Thomas Rich, who left £400 for that end; on all holy days at eleven; and evening prayers at six, except Sundays, for which Madame Acton gave the annuity of £200 for ninety-nine years.—St. Anne, Soho,—prayers at six, or seven, in the morning; again at eleven; and at four and six in the evening.—St. James’s, Westminster,—prayers, in like manner, four times a day; sacrament every second Sunday. In some places the prayers were but twice every day. In others, only on Wednesdays, Fridays, and holy days. Catechizing, also, was much more regularly kept up than it is now. It would be needless to load our pages with more extracts. The whole volume shows what, in those days, was held to be, if we may so speak, the *theory* of the Church, relative to our reasonable and acceptable service to Almighty God. Sermons and lectures, indeed, were by no means forgotten. At one church (St. John’s, Walbrook) there was an endowed lecture for every day in the week. But it is evident that, after all, prayer, whether with sermon, or without, was considered as the life and

soul of all public devotion. Such, we repeat, was the *theory*. But, alas! it appears that, even then, the theory was rapidly losing its predominance. The author complains, in his postscript, that the order of things described by him, was, in many instances, itself, a degeneracy from the primitive institution—a falling back from the necessary duty of daily morning and evening prayer, at least in the Temple, the first being frequently confined to twice a week, and the latter totally neglected, because of the paucity of supplicants. He further deplures the growing disinclination to the duty, which was manifestly prevailing throughout all ranks of men. The poor, it seems, were hindered by their necessities,—the men of business by the multitude of their concerns,—the rich by their perverseness and their laziness,—the careless by their apathy as to all spiritual matters; and all were, more or less, repelled by the weary length of the service, and the frequency of the hours. The Jewish Rabbins, he reminds us, have a proverb, that, were it not for *standing*, (the Jewish posture of prayer,) the world could not *stand*. Nothing, he observes, can divert the Musulman from the observance of his five daily seasons of adoration. And the heathens, after their manner, were inflexibly punctual in the worship of their false deities. All nations seemed to combine in condemnation of those listless, luke-warm Christians, who throng the coffee-house, the tavern, and the Exchange; while so scanty a remnant go up to the Temple to pray, that “the minister thinks it not worth his while to attend upon so few!” “And thus,” he adds, “the life of religion is like to vanish in this carnal and profane age!” What, then, would he say, if he were now to live again, and to put forth another exhibition of *Pietas Londinensis*? What would be his feelings on perceiving that the degeneracy from primitive institution had been widely spreading since his days,—that in most churches the *daily* sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving had almost, if not altogether, ceased,—and, lastly, that men had grown so much more fond of hearing their duties powerfully enforced, than of diligently and devoutly performing them, that the funds which had been left for the purpose of keeping up the voice of daily supplication, were now diverted from their destination, and were employed in calling forth the utterance of the preacher or the lecturer? And yet these, we believe, are the phænomena which he would have to record, if he were now among us, to pourtray the ecclesiastical state of the metropolis!

There can be but little doubt that, for this change, we are, *in part*, indebted to the reign of Puritanical *ambition*. We say *ambition*; because it is notorious that, in the days of the first James and Charles, many of the Puritan ministers and lecturers ex-

pressed a high disdain for catechizing, as a low and beggarly task, which better befitted a pedagogue, than a man potent in the Scriptures; and that they, accordingly, exalted the ordinance of preaching above every other exercise of devotion. As catechizing went down, long discourses became more general, and, it must be added, more necessary. And thus the sermon, which, originally, was but a humble adjunct, *inlaid* into the communion office, was, at last, elevated into a supremacy, which never belonged to it in those days of primitive humility, when the homilies of the Fathers of the Church frequently occupied but the modest space of five, or ten, or fifteen minutes. When prayer was once deposed from its sovereignty, it followed, in natural course, that human indolence, and worldliness, would, in the course of time, conspire to prevent the re-establishment of its dominion. The coffee-house, the tavern, the exchange, would all unite, readily enough, to complete the revolution. And then, they who had wrought out their deliverance from the daily interruption of their secular pursuits, would gladly compromise for a weekly hour or two, either of gentle drowsiness, or of theatrical excitement. And, in neighbourhoods of great population and considerable intelligence, the result would be,—just what we witness at the present day,—that the only artifice for filling large churches or chapels, even but once, or twice, in the week, is to place there a persuasive, mighty, and spirit-stirring preacher; and, further, that, if the mighty preacher be removed, a beggarly account of empty pews is the inevitable consequence!

We beg to have it distinctly understood, that we are not prompted to speak thus by any perverse inclination to disparage the effective exposition of God's Word from the pulpit. Wherever there is preaching, let the preacher put forth all his powers. We protest against nothing but the perversion, which has, gradually, elevated a supplementary department of public worship to an undue and overpowering predominance; and has helped almost to banish from among us the very thought of hallowing each day, as it passes by, with a simple and open acknowledgment of our dependence upon the Father of Spirits, for the blessings of our creation, preservation, and redemption. The author of *Pietas Londinensis* is gloriously eloquent, in setting forth the blessings lost, and the dangers incurred, by the national abandonment of daily and public supplication; an abandonment which, even in his day, was becoming general enough to indicate something like a spirit of practical apostasy. "It is thus," he exclaims,—“that the life and practice of Christianity is in danger to be lost. We provoke God's indignation and curse upon us, and all that we put our hands to; and deprive ourselves of the comfort and

“ blessing, which he has promised, and we might expect, in doing
 “ of our duty, earnestly and constantly, according to his com-
 “ mandment.—*The hand of the diligent maketh rich*, both in spi-
 “ ritual and in temporal affairs; without which, there is little
 “ hope of success, in an ordinary way. All the means of salva-
 “ tion are to be used, in obedience to God’s commandment, *with-*
 “ *out our picking and choosing*, which proceed either from laziness
 “ or superstition, both of which lead us out of the way of
 “ righteousness.”

But here, we shall probably be asked, is there, at this day, among us, any sign of Heaven’s desertion? Is there any thing to indicate that God’s indignation has been provoked, and that a curse has fallen upon us, and upon all that we have put our hand to? Would not the chronicler of *London’s piety*, if he were now living, be compelled to acknowledge, on surveying our measureless wealth, and imperial grandeur, that the Lord has never dealt with any nation as he has dealt with us? Now, if the chronicler were at this moment at our elbow, contemplating with astonishment the might wherewith the *arm of flesh* has been endowed, since the day in which he wrote, we should assuredly recommend him to look into Mr. Noel’s pamphlet, or into the documents and publications from which that pamphlet is compiled, before he ventured to form any judgment as to the safety of our condition, or our exemption from the displeasure of God. We should call his attention to the appalling calculations, there exhibited; and of which the following is the tremendous result; namely, 500,000 Sabbath breakers, *at the very least*, living in total neglect of the restraints of religion: of whom, 10,000 are enslaved to gambling; 20,000 subsisting on beggary as a trade; 30,000 eating the bread of theft and fraud; above 100,000 habitual gin-drinkers, and 23,000 of them, in the course of the year, picked up drunk in the streets; and, lastly, 100,000 given up to systematic and abandoned profligacy. And all this, within the Metropolis and its vicinity! What would the worthy and pious *Statistic* of 1714, say to the *Pietas Londinensis* of 1836, on examining this fearful computation? Would he not have reason to think that his denunciations were in a rapid course of fulfilment,—that the growth of our prosperity was but the heaping up of wrath,—and that the neglect of God’s worship was converting our very blessings into curses?

We are not, indeed, contending, that the life and practice of Christianity are in imminent danger to be lost. We have better hopes. We trust that the realm of England is still pervaded with religious principle and feeling strong enough, under God, to effect our preservation, if we are but careful to stir up the

gift that is in us. But still, we never can think closely upon the vast and horrible residuum of vice, and misery, and ungodliness, which has been deposited in the process of our civilization, and which is now lurking and fermenting beneath the brilliant surface of our prosperity, without feeling persuaded that, if the nation is to be saved, it must be as it were through the fire. We shall hardly be suspected of much indulgence for rash, irregular, or desultory enterprize, even in the cause of religion; and yet,—so terrific are the evils now before us,—that the very thought of them is almost enough to make us impatient of the ordinary march of our ecclesiastical institutions; and to wish that some mightier impulse might be given to their movements. At times, we are well nigh driven to the belief that some eccentric and impetuous course of action is positively demanded by the dreadful exigencies of the case. And, such being our own *occasional* impressions,—it was, we most certainly cannot say with approbation,—but still, without any overpowering surprise, that we found Mr. Noel calling upon the Bishop of London to venture on “a brave neglect” of ordinary principles; to burst through the trammels of established usage; to cast off all encumbering notions of the Church’s *dignity*; and, if need be, to call forth other Whitfields and Hills, from among the ministers of the Establishment; in order that the voice of God’s Wisdom may cry in the street, and in the market place, and in the field, and on the hill-side, beneath the canopy of heaven. And if such men are not to be found within the pale of the Establishment, why, then, adds Mr. Noel, “necessity has no law. Christ *must* be preached to “perishing sinners. Before this necessity, all forms, however “venerable,—all rules, however salutary—must give way. And “I venture to intreat your lordship to send forth, among the “people, *Methodist* or *Congregational* Missionaries; or any “good men, who may, by the blessing of God, be the means of “saving their souls.”

Such is the appeal of Mr. Noel to his diocesan. And if any thing *could* justify the proposal which that appeal contains, it assuredly would be, that the mischief to be encountered does seem, just now, to require something in the nature of a missionary movement; and this of a widely extended, and vigorously aggressive character. Nevertheless we cannot but feel it to be the sacred duty of all churchmen to repel and keep down the agitation and the impatience, which the prospect of imminent calamity and peril is always apt to produce: and this—in order that they may be enabled to exercise a far-sighted and comprehensive prudence, instead of rushing, blind and headlong, into an abyss of desperate experiment. No time will, eventually, be lost, no chance of per-

manent good will be thrown away, by calmly considering, whether it may not be possible, even in the very jaws of the crisis which seems to be yawning upon us, to devise some measure of hopeful promise, which yet shall not involve an utter subversion of the order and discipline of the Church, and a sweeping sacrifice of its essential principles! If, indeed, it could once be irresistibly made out, that nothing can redeem the land from the danger of general apostasy, but the employment of a miscellaneous, insubordinate, and tumultuary force, then, indeed, we might be compelled to acknowledge that the necessity of preaching Christ must overrule and trample down the ordinances and statutes of Christ's Apostolic Church. But we are extremely slow indeed to believe this. We cannot but hope that there are other methods far less hazardous and revolutionary, to which the Church of England may resort, for the purpose of averting the displeasure of God, and the ruin of our country. Dark and lowering as the skies may be, we can hardly reconcile ourselves to the thought of bringing in strange fire, to keep alive the flame upon her altar. Yea, even though her candlestick should be threatened with danger of removal, we still should shrink from hastening its extinction, by exposure to the gusts and tornados of doctrine, which then would set in upon it from every corner of the heavens.

What may be the most safe and effectual expedients for meeting the exigencies of the time, (whether the subdivision of parishes—or the licensing of spacious rooms—or the multiplication of preachers and of visitors)—we deem it advisable to abstain from inquiring. And we abstain the more willingly, because we cannot permit ourselves to doubt, that the evils which have stirred the spirit of Mr. Noel within him, are likewise viewed with the deepest anxiety, both by the rulers of the Church, and by the most devoted, intelligent, and generous of her laity. Her chariot wheels may, perchance, seem to tarry and drag heavily, as slackness is counted by men whose zeal has in it more of integrity than of discretion. But, for our parts, we are disposed to trust that the long-suffering of God will graciously allow time for the mature preparation of whatever designs may now be in hand,—provided always that they are undertaken in a spirit of godly wisdom, of ardent charity, and of faith unfeigned. In the mean time, we cannot forbear to offer a word or two of caution,—(craven and heartless caution, it may possibly be thought)—touching the two last resources which have been suggested by the zeal of Mr. Noel.

And, first,—of field-preaching,—or preaching in the open air, whether in the city, or in the forest. This, doubtless, in itself,

is a legitimate missionary proceeding. By this, among other methods, the Gospel was originally promulgated. But what can be done by field-preaching, towards the permanent establishment of multitudes in the faith of Christ, unless it be followed up by other measures of a more enduring and prospective character? What—humanly speaking—would have become of the crowds, so rapidly reclaimed from heathenism by Apostles, or by apostolic men, if their preaching had not been attended by the formation of a regular and local ministry? What would field-preaching have done for John Wesley, if his genius had not, likewise, raised up a masterly and effective system for the organization of his followers and converts? A series of itinerant and tumultuary ministrations might, probably enough, succeed in *pricking to the heart* some considerable portion of our godless myriads. But the impression which could thus be made on the general mass of national impiety and vice, would be slight and transitory; unless the same scheme of operation should be kept up, from one generation to another; or, unless it should be resorted to merely as the breaking up of the ground for a course of subsequent and regular husbandry. We are by no means prepared to affirm that it may *not* be within the competence of our spiritual rulers to confer ordination, with a view to this particular department of ministerial labour. But—even if the State should grant its assent, or withhold its opposition,—we can scarcely imagine that field-preaching would ever be allowed to enter, permanently, into our Ecclesiastical system. And, if not, the task would still remain, of providing stated and local means for the perpetual cultivation of the wastes, which might have been thus reclaimed. And—this being so—it does appear to us that the shortest and most excellent way is to proceed, at once, to the extension of the Church's local influence and efficacy, instead of trusting to desultory bursts of missionary ardour: in short, to enlarge our apparatus of general irrigation, rather than to let in an occasional torrent of enterprize, which, after all, may only pass away, like a wintry flood.

In support of our views, let our readers listen to the following suggestions of a writer, quoted by Mr. Noel himself:—

“In all our great towns there is a population growing and deepening under the influence of democratic orators and Sunday newspapers—of cheap infidel tracts, and cheaper gin—of vice and pauperism, deserted by the Establishment, and overlooked by all besides. The ten-pound franchise is thought by some to have inverted the social pyramid. But the ten-pound householders are an aristocracy compared with these tenants of cellars, and garrets, and teeming alleys. If the ten-pound householders are dangerous politicians, what sort of politicians are these?

The wealthy and the great may stop their ears, and turn away their eyes; but these myriads, with nothing to lose by tumult, and no principle to control their violence, are roaring at the gates of the Constitution through the mouths of their furious artillery—the unstamped periodicals; and are waiting impatiently to make their way over every shattered and prostrated barrier, to political power. If we are in an abyss now, we seem on the brink of something worse;

‘ And in the lowest deep, a lower deep,
Still threatening to devour us, opens wide.’

“ Is the State sane, which can close its eyes to the existence of such a population, or overlook it when discovered? There it is; so degraded, so miserable, and so disloyal, that it would be a disgrace to the worst Government, and a terror to the strongest. And what are we doing for it? Cheap bread, cheap government, plenty of employment, and a gradual extension of civil privileges, as education advances, would be excellent checks and palliatives. But our debt is heavy; the supply of labour is beyond the demand; the habit of gin-drinking is inveterate; and education is very partial. Under such circumstances how can you save them from wretchedness, or make them love the Government under which they suffer it? Educate their children—very good; and when those children go from your schools to the dismal, vicious, discontented, and blaspheming society among which their parents dwell, is it likely that their school-lessons will prevail over the fearful lessons of another character, with which these scenes are daily and hourly storing their minds? The schoolmaster may be powerful; but here he is a child in the grasp of a giant. And your schools, unaided, would do about as much to allay the anti-christian and anti-social fermentation of that diseased mass, as a school-boy’s squirt would have done to put out the fire of St. Stephen’s. They must be penetrated with Christian instruction. They must be conquered, and humanized, and moralized, by Christian benevolence. They must witness Christian examples. And how is this to be done? The Independents have not done it. The Methodists have not done it. *No out-door preaching has done it.* No district-visiting has done it. Still new swarms are thrown off by the monstrous hive, threatening, not only to leave the members of the Establishment a minority of our city population, but to outnumber them and the members of all other orthodox denominations together. Let every thing be tried which ingenuity can devise, or Christian zeal attempt.” *

We have, here, the testimony of a zealous Clerical Reformer, to the effect, that *out-door preaching* has hitherto done nothing considerable towards humanizing, or Christianizing, or moralizing, the countless multitudes, who still require to be *penetrated* with the power of God, and the wisdom of God, as manifested in the Gospel. And such a testimony as this may surely “ give us

* See “ Fundamental Reform of the Church Establishment; by a Clergyman.” Published by J. F. Shaw, 27, Southampton Row, 1835. P. 51, &c.

pause," when we are speculating as to the expediency of departing from the immemorial order and system of the Church.

But what shall we say to Mr. Noel's proposal for a call, on the part of the Diocesan of London, upon Methodist and Congregational Missionaries? That "they would come when he did call for them," we conceive to be highly probable. But, whether the spirits from that "vasty deep" would be quite so tractable and obedient as might be desired, is a matter which may admit of reasonable question! He must be a mighty magician indeed, who should venture to summon up a battalion of such agents. We grievously suspect that they would be found, in the end, to resemble certain auxiliaries, who, in former days, were enlisted for the defence of the Roman Empire. We say not this, however, to the invidious disparagement of the forces under consideration. Nothing on earth can be more natural, than that they should regard such a call as a virtual acknowledgment of their right to legionary and prætorian honours. They must be more or less than men, if they did not treat it as a solemn proclamation of ecclesiastical liberty and equality. All this, it is true, would be quite in accordance with the spirit of the age. But there, still, are many Churchmen who are, Heaven knows how much, behind the spirit of the age! And this "lagging race of frosty grovelers" will, probably, be apt to figure to themselves all manner of awkward results from this sort of miscellaneous levy. They will, we sadly fear, be tempted to look beyond the region of fugitive advantage; and to pry into the depths of dark and ominous contingency. They will, perhaps, be haunted by fears lest the expedient here proposed, should end by altogether merging and *swamping* the Church in the slough of Dissent. And, if so, they will, not very unreasonably, be slow to counsel that the Church should hastily venture on a plunge into that yawning gulf. And we must confess, that we ourselves are weak and *obsolete* enough to be molested by similar apprehensions. We do feel strongly disposed, rather to leave to them that are *separate* from the Church, to pursue, *separately*, and in their own way, the work of evangelizing the dark and cruel places of these realms. If they feel themselves impelled to itinerant and missionary toils, they can hardly want a word of command from the Diocesan of London. It is beyond *his* power to lay an interdict on their activity. It would, therefore, be difficult to understand for what good purpose his voice should go forth to call them into action.

It may possibly be thought by some that we have wasted too many words upon projects, which have, to all appearance, been engendered by the power of a sort of hot-house temperature; and which have little of the compact texture which is the result of

unforced and natural vegetation. And this complaint might be just enough, if all among us sought to qualify themselves for speaking skilfully of every plant that grows, *from the cedar of Lebanon, to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall*. But since, unhappily, this is not the case, we have ventured to hope that even our shallow and imperfect notices might not be altogether profitless. We now conclude, for the present, with the expression of our sincere and cordial participation in the alarm and the solicitude manifested by Mr. Noel, and with the assurance of our deep conviction that he has been prompted to speak by the purest and holiest of motives. And our heart's desire and prayer unto God is, that the subject which has opened his mouth, may enter deeply into the hearts of those who, in Scripture, are called *gods*, and who, under Jehovah himself, are entrusted with the destinies of the human race. Our wish is, that the Church may be endowed with power, if we may so express it, to *inject* herself, with all her healing and life-giving virtue, into every corner of the realm. But this—except by miracle—she can never do, unless they who call themselves her's, shall supply her with the human means of putting forth her self-expansive energy. It can never be too frequently reiterated, that, in spite of the late increase of churches and of chapels, there is still a fearful and dreary chasm to be filled up. More places of worship, and, of course, more ministers to occupy them, are still urgently wanted. And how are these to be provided, but by a pious prodigality on the part of those who have the resources of this world at their command? It is vain for Mr. Noël to tell us, that, “if myriads still remain un-
“taught, the Clergy must be called upon to do their duty, by
“*providing curates to officiate in rooms*, to be licensed in every
“part of the metropolis.” This, really, seems to us to resemble the ingenious scheme of Captain Bobadil, for killing off his foes by *computation*! The incumbents of the metropolis, and of most of our great towns, are, many of them, notoriously, in a state not much above positive indigence; and it would be about as reasonable to ask them to raise, each of them, a regiment for the service of his country, as to exact the appointment, out of their own means, of a little college of evangelists, for their swarming parishes, respectively. If the Legislature refuses to come to the help of the Church, (and, in the present temper and constitution of the Legislature, who can anticipate its help?), the most opulent and devoted of the laity must be solemnly adjured to honour the Lord with their substance, and to render back to Him his own, with simplicity of eye, and singleness of heart, and openness of hand. If this appeal should be made in vain, nothing will remain for the Church, but to lift up a faithful, but calm and respectful, protest, against the lukewarmness of certain of her own children;

and to till, with unwearied industry, the harvest-field assigned to her, to the utmost extent which the numbers and the strength of her labourers may reach. And then, if other adventurers are found to undertake the culture of the out-lying wilderness, our holy mother may look,—with an aching heart, indeed,—but still with a conscience void of offence, upon the hard necessity, which compels her to abandon any portion of her territory to irregular occupation. Our prayer is, that the Lord may put it into the hearts of her more prosperous sons, to help her, in this hour of her need; and so to strengthen her, that she may be able to embrace her whole family, and to nourish them with the bread of eternal life.

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- ART. II.—1. *The Monarchy of the Middle Classes. France, Social, Literary, Political. Second Series.* By Henry Lytton Bulwer, Esq. M.P. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Bentley. 1836.
2. *A Defence of Christianity, or Conferences on Religion; being a Translation of Défense du Christianisme, ou, Conférences sur la Religion, par M. D. Frayssinous, Eveque d'Hermopolis.* By John B. Jones. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Rivingtons. 1836.

WE scarcely know how to tread the labyrinth, “all without a plan,” as it appears to us, of Mr. Bulwer’s two mazy volumes; or in what manner to analyse the huge undigested farrago, the *votum, timor, ira, voluptas, Gaudia, discursus*, which they present. Certain we are that no manuscript was ever dismissed to the press more completely *currente calamo*. This haste is evinced not only by the numerous misprints which are still left, but by the errata which have been collected, and by the cancels which so frequently recur. We cannot think very highly of the accuracy of that scholarship which throughout leaves *Cataline* uncorrected for *Catiline*; or which, without altering the erroneous prosody occasioned by dislocation of the real order in which the words occur, is in another place compelled to change *deterrema* into *teterrima*, in a quotation somewhat trite and not easily to be forgotten. The printer may be answerable for substituting “half-pence” for “pence;” “a lady with three daughters” for “a lady with her youngest daughter;” and for various other minor delinquencies; but the faults which we have adverted to above are not imputable by any subterfuge to a lesser source than that of the author himself.

Our business is chiefly connected with the chapters which relate to Religion, and to these, therefore, with a short animadversion upon the others, we shall principally direct ourselves. Mr. Bulwer’s theory seems to be, that we, as well as our neighbours, are advancing at no distant date, either by a sudden political tempest, or, as he inclines to believe, “gradually, slowly, safely,”

to a Monarchy of the Middle Classes. What that means we really know not, but if it means anything like the description which he has offered of the state of France, we most devoutly exclaim, may Heaven forefend!

In the first chapter we learn that the present work is to be considered as the continuation of one published a year since, and which, having swept away French History and Drama, left the writer at liberty to commence upon lighter literature. From Madame Scuderi, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Le Sage, he passes accordingly to the imitators of Sir Walter Scott, De Vigny, Mérimée, and Victor Hugo. The first of these writers, it is well known, has chosen to exercise his pen upon the varying aspects of the Court of Louis XV. The second has framed a tale, and, as we are assured, "truly, energetically, vividly, and naturally," of "the passion, the levity, the superstition, the gallantry, the debauchery, and the bloodthirsty cruelty of that epoch, memorable by the massacre of St. Bartholomew;" and with all who delight in visiting hospitals, and in assisting at executions, he must doubtless be a favourite author. Of Victor Hugo, it may be enough to observe, in Mr. Bulwer's own words, that his heroines, for the most part, resemble "galvanised frogs." Omitting certain dirty, licentious, absurd and indecorous writers, Mr. Bulwer advances with proper reprobation to the class of extravagant Novelists. But to these insane regions of fiction it is quite unnecessary that we should follow him, because, as he assures us, they are cultivated for the sake of only very young men, and of kept mistresses—a large class, but one which we trust, even in France, is not likely to produce a Revolution in Letters.

Light literature, as it appears according to Mr. Bulwer's distribution, is by no means to be confounded with the Press Proper; by which no other is intended than the Newspaper Press. Mr. Bulwer is a strenuous advocate for the interchange of this ephemeral writing, the easy transmission of which commodity between the two nations, would, as he is convinced, generate "a communication of thought and an approximation of sympathy of opinion." He then sketches the characters of the chief newspapers circulated at Paris, with the nice discrimination of one who has been behind the scenes; but we must be permitted to add, as a commentary of our own, that we much doubt if England would be benefited by the naturalization among us of any of the venal and voluptuous men whom he mentions as Editors. Our daily press is already sufficiently corrupt; what would it be if by the removal of all restrictions, as is here ardently recommended, every doctrine were allowed to enter every house under the sanction of Government?

The next four chapters comprise the Sketch of Religion; the

first of them, consisting of four leaves and a half, presents Mr. Bulwer's own opinions, which seem to be, that in 1769 there existed less real Religion in France than there is now, in 1836. If so!—

“ But notwithstanding any isolated facts to the contrary, many of which must necessarily fall within the reach of a partial inquirer, I think the state of Christianity in France may be thus fairly described, as it exists at the present moment.

“ CHRISTIANS.

“ 1. The south and west of France almost without exception.

“ 2. The higher classes, (to use an expression familiar to the English reader,) i. e. the nobility, gentry, and the more rich bourgeoisie.

“ 3. The rural population in general.

“ From this it would follow—

“ On the one hand:—

“ That the districts most distinct from France, in general, are:—*Christian*. That the classes most wealthy in France, are:—*Christian*. That that part of the population numerically the most important in France, is:—*Christian*.

“ On the other hand:—

“ That the spots in France most mixed up in French affairs, are:—*Indifferent or opposed to Christianity*. That the classes most influential in French society, are:—*Indifferent or opposed to Christianity*. That that part of the population politically (electively and municipally) the most important, is:—*Indifferent or opposed to Christianity*.

“ The national religion in France is considered to be the religion of the different influential sects in the nation; and the state pays a salary to the minister of the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Jewish worship.”

“ The following are the Ecclesiastical Statistics of the numbers of the Catholic clergy composing the twenty-four dioceses of the kingdom, drawn from authentic documents, year 1833.

| | |
|--|--------|
| Titular | 675 |
| Honorary | 446 |
| Curates | 3,241 |
| Assistants | 24,517 |
| Vicars..... | 6,989 |
| Chaplains | 449 |
| Almoners | 989 |
| Priests (supernumerary) authorised to preach and confess . | 439 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 37,745 |
| | <hr/> |
| Priests on duty, died 1833 | 1,114 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total, priests in active service | 38,859 |

“ INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO
CHRISTIANITY.

“ 1. The great majority of the metropolitan population.

“ 2. The men of science and letters; the army.

“ 3. The small bourgeoisie of the towns.

| | |
|--|--------|
| Number deficient for the service of dioceses..... | 11,732 |
| Number of priests judged necessary by the bishops..... | 50,591 |
| Priests employed whose age exceeds sixty years | 9,755 |
| Priests, aged or infirm, not capable of duty | 1,870 |
| | 11,625 |

ORDINATION DURING THE YEAR 1833.

| | |
|---------------------|-------|
| Priests | 2,059 |
| Deacons | 1,721 |
| Under-deacons | 1,681 |
| | 5,461 |

ECCLESIASTICAL SCHOLARS.

| | |
|---|----------|
| Theology | 7,417 |
| Philosophy | 2,162 |
| In the secondary ecclesiastical schools | 13,826 |
| | 23,405." |

A MS. translation of the insane follies of the Abbé de la Mennais, undertaken by an Englishman of more ardour than discretion, resident in Paris, met our eyes within a few weeks after the appearance of the original. The execution was spirited and faithful—but let it be remembered, to the honour of English booksellers, that although it was said that more than 6000 copies of *Les Paroles d'un Croyant* had been sold in Paris in a single week, no respectable Publisher for his unholy parodies could be found in London. Mr. Bulwer (as far as we understand) appears to have formed a correct judgment of their Political and Religious tendency; of their merits as a composition he thinks far more highly than we do.

" ' I was sitting one day,' said a friend of mine to me, in the bureau of the *Avenir*, (a religious journal,) ' waiting for one of the editors of that paper, when a little man came in and sat himself shivering down before the small fire, from which I was endeavouring, in no very happy mood, to extract some kind of consolation. Small, plain, and ill-dressed, with large green spectacles, and an immense nose, timid, awkward, there was nothing at first sight very interesting either in the manner or the appearance of my acquaintance. I spoke, however; he spoke, and in speaking his air became more firm and decided—his features assumed a new cast—his eye lit up—thought, suffering, compressed passion, were visible in his countenance—and his whole person swelled out as it were, into more spiritual and imposing proportions. " Monsieur l'Abbé!" said my friend, entering just at the moment that

my eye was fixed on a print opposite. The print was that of the Abbé de la Mennais,—the person I had been talking to was the Abbé de la Mennais himself.

“At St. Malo, in Brittany, in 1782, of a family in the middle classes in life, (merchants fitting out ships,) was born Félicité Robert de la Mennais. His early years were spent in the house of an uncle, who lived a retired country life, in the midst of a large library, to which the young student had frequent recourse. Every style of composition, poetry, prose, plays, history, religious tracts, were all, at this time, devoured with an equal literary avidity.

“At the age of the passions, however, books were laid aside; and for some years the follies of an ardent temperament preceded the pieties of repentance.

“At last this eloquent man appeared—the priest of the restoration; supposed by some a proselyte from divine grace, by others a hypocrite from worldly ambition, but acknowledged by all to possess singular ability.

“If I have paused thus long on the portrait of M. de la Mennais, it is not because this person was the former champion of the pope, but because, within a few months from the period at which I am writing, he has endeavoured to give Christianity new doctrines, to breathe into Catholicism a new spirit, to fashion it, according to the ideas of his epoch, into a new form, to raise up a democratic religion, full of energy, and life, and passion, in face of the spectral majesty of mitred Rome.”—

One chapter, the seventh, is devoted to Protestantism as it now exists in France—a subject upon which we have anxiously sought, but without effect, to obtain authentic and official information, and which we abstract, therefore, from Mr. Bulwer, (who gives Mr. Cockerell as his main authority,) without either impugning or vouching for the correctness of his statements. He probably deserves quite as much confidence as is to be accorded to Soulier, the only professed writer on the subject with whom we are acquainted.

Calvinists, who, however, profess few of the doctrines of Calvin, are scattered throughout France. Lutherans, who are much in the same condition as to profession, are chiefly fixed in Alsace. Not more than ten Priests would be found at present willing to sign the Confession of Faith of the old French Reformed Church. This is a matter of great regret; for, *exceptis excipiendis*, the old Confession is a composition eminent both for morality and for piety. But the Eirenaic system is prevalent; all differences of opinion are carefully merged in the common title “Evangelic;” and the pulpits are indiscriminately *supplied* by Preachers, however non-descript in persuasion, clean and unclean, from all the four winds of Heaven, “no promise or profession as to his dogmas being exacted from the Minister on Ordination.” We believe that the numbers of the Protestant population are furnished only by guess; the official computation is a million; Mr. Bulwer sup-

poses the real number to be more, and that it is increasing. The stipend paid to the Minister by the State, and beyond which he has no legal demand for any act of duty, is regulated by the numbers of his congregation, and it varies from 1200 to 2000 francs. At Paris 3000 francs are given. In the rural districts a residence is for the most part provided by the Commune. In the great towns, the department, or the town itself, votes an allowance, which is insufficient for its purpose, and is made up (the complement, as it will be perceived, being a full moiety) by the assistance of the State. No retiring pension is allotted for sickness or old age, but the "suffragant," whom a disabled and *emeritus* Minister is allowed to employ for the performance of his duties, is paid generally by himself, occasionally by the Consistory, and sometimes, though not frequently, by the State. At Bourdeaux exists a Society of mutual insurance for the support of the widows and orphans of Protestant Clergymen.

The greater number of congregations assemble in the open air or in some barn; and this may account, without any further inquiry, for an occurrence which has extorted sufficient admiration from Mr. Bulwer to occasion the use of italics, that "*no where are the seats let*, every place is open to the first occupant." Wherever Churches *are* to be found, however, they are furnished in the outset by the Government, by the towns, or by the religious communities themselves, assisted by a certain allowance. They are sometimes hired, sometimes lent. Repairs are defrayed by the State; but the service is maintained by accidental funds arising from legacies or from subscriptions. Occasionally a Roman Catholic Church, "no longer useful to its original possessors," is granted for the purpose of Protestant worship. L'Oratoire at Paris is one of these, and Mr. Bulwer assures us that "the sacrifice was a great one, for the Government had used this church as a place of deposit for the decorations of the opera."

General organization appears to be entirely wanting; but the Calvinist Church is nominally divided into consistorial and sectional. The former assemblies possess a place of resort (*un chef-lieu*), at which the elders, together with the pastors, of whom the most aged is always president, form a consistory. The pastors, however, live so far apart from each other in most rural districts, that a consistory is seldom formed, and in that case no paramount authority of any kind exists either for appeal or for the repression of abuse. The General Synod of the ancient French Reformed Church has not been revived; and even the Provincial Synods composed of deputies from a certain number of consistories, which are authorized by law, have never yet been assembled.

The Clergy are nominated by the Consistories and confirmed by the King. The Calvinistic Liturgy is that of Geneva, with a

few additional prayers. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is celebrated four times a year; at Christmas, at Easter, at Whitsuntide, and on the last Sunday in September or on the first in October. It is seldom administered at home to the sick or dying. Every member of the congregation assists at it in the rural districts, but in great towns the attendance is very rare; nevertheless 2500 persons partook of it in Paris at last Easter, (1835). Baptism is performed at all hours, but invariably in the church, unless in cases of very serious illness. Roman Catholics are admitted as sponsors. In marriages between a Protestant and a Catholic, it is almost always stipulated that the children are to follow the religion of the mother. Great attention is paid to the poor by a body subordinate to the Consistory, composed of Deacons, (*Diaconat*, we suppose *Diaconat*,) which in Paris consists of about fifty; one-tenth being physicians. A general meeting takes place every month, and a committee every week. "The Pastors" (as Mr. Bulwer twice informs us in language which we beg leave to suggest to him is *not* English) "preside the two meetings." The poor are received and questioned; if they are well known, have immediate relief afforded them, and if they are not so, await a domiciliary visit. No exclusive provision is made for education, the Protestant Schools having been absorbed in the Communal Schools which are paid by the State. "Nor is there any religious instruction given in such schools at all affecting the tenets of the scholars." That is, as we suppose, no religious instruction at all is given.

The Lutherans appear, perhaps on account of the smallness and concentration of their body, to be a little better organized than the Calvinists; and besides these Mr. Bulwer mentions a few Protestant Dissenters, whom he summarily dismisses as Anabaptists and Methodists. To their peculiar tenets it is not probable that he has paid much attention; and his knowledge of them may be estimated by the following brief paragraph:—"Their doctrines are those of the Athanasian Creed, containing a belief in the supremacy of faith over works, and a literal construction of divine inspiration." Two societies are supported by the Methodists:—'*La Société Évangélique*,' to spread Christianity through the world by every means placed by God at their disposition, and '*La Société Biblique*,' which sells to all persons except to members of the national Protestant Church, Bibles fifty per cent. cheaper than they can be procured elsewhere.

Upon this examination, Mr. Bulwer greatly prefers, and gives his reasons, which we need not cite, for this preference, the Protestant Church which he has found in France to that which he left behind in England.

For the state of the Roman Catholic Church we must turn to

the very spirited translation given by Mr. Jones of the Discourses preached by the Bishop of Hermopolis in defence of Christianity. That Prelate commenced his useful lectures in 1803, in the church of St. Sulpice, at Paris, to a congregation chiefly composed of young persons in the higher classes of society. They were interrupted in 1809, resumed in 1814, and terminated in 1822. A single extract from the Introductory Discourse will best evince their object and execution. After describing the fall of religion during the progress of anarchy, the eloquent Divine continues as follows :—

“ In the midst of this religious and political confusion, have many of you, my friends, been nursed. Yes, born, and partially educated in the very bosom of anarchy and disorder,—removed, during the age of passion, into the corruption of our cities, and licentiousness of our camps,—it must have been the unhappy fate of whole generations to have received but an imperfect education ; and to these, the religion of their fathers must consequently be as an unknown science. But, yet, how many may there be, who, apparently without religion, and without God, are yet not systematically impious, and may only be awaiting the blazing up of the torch of truth, to walk steadily in its beams. There may, doubtless be others, whose early education has been more propitious, but whose sentiments of piety, although sedulously inculcated by virtuous parents, the gaiety of the capital may have totally obliterated ; who, coming here to drink of the springs of science and of literature, at the fountain heads, have, with them, imbibed the poisonous waters of infidelity. These pernicious doctrines are found mixed up in so vast a proportion of our learned and literary works, that if our young people are not enlightened, and established in their faith by a more solid, and more extended course of religious instruction, that faith is in danger. What was its sufficient safeguard a century ago, is by no means sufficient now. He who ventures forth amidst the dangers of a vicious and corrupt world, wholly ignorant of his religion, and the universal foundations on which it rests, is as madly rash as the soldier, who, unarmed, rushes into the thickest ranks of the enemy.

“ Struck by these considerations, I have conceived the project of affording to our youth greater facilities and opportunities of fully ascertaining the true foundations of religion and morality. With this view, I have determined upon giving the following course of instruction, in which the various subjects proposed for our consideration will be discussed in such a manner, as will, I trust, bring conviction to all reasonable minds,—a conviction which will extricate them from, or secure them against, the snares of error. And why should we not institute in this city a sort of Christian academy, in which we might seek mutual enlightenment on all that is most beautiful in our nature, on all that makes man excellent, on all that makes him virtuous ? In a city of antiquity, celebrated from the name of its founder, from its riches, from its commerce, its population, and its cultivation of the arts and sciences, celebrated moreover from being the scene of certain occurrences in the early ages of Christianity, for here Christians and their most dangerous

and cruel enemies, the Jews and Pagans, mixed together,—I mean, in short, Alexandria; in this city was founded a school of Christian philosophy, from whence arose the most learned and pious men of which the age could boast. Here we see the Clements of Alexandria, and the Origenes, (that Origen who, by the irreproachable purity of his morals, by the immense variety of his acquirements, and by the many charms of his talents and his genius, permanently attached to himself both Pagan people and Pagan philosophers); here we see these ornaments of their age from disciples becoming masters. Has not religion in our day enemies as subtle and as dangerous as the sophists of the Gentile world? What say I, my friends! the apologists of antiquity, happier far than they of modern times, had to combat a gross idolatry only, whereas we are opposed to men, who, carrying corruption into science itself, have habituated themselves to a fastidious refinement of thought, which is more incurable and more fatal than the most barbarous ignorance.”—*Frayssinous*, vol. i. p. 11—13.

“My friends, the lot of St. Paul will always be that of every preacher of the truth. The doctrine which he taught formerly at Athens, we, eighteen centuries after him, announce to you in this capital, which, from its tastes, its manners, and its embellishments, is accounted the Athens of modern ages. But how will it be with us? To-day, as of old, mockers will be found, who laugh at our doctrine as at an empty tale. Others there will be, who, slightly touched, but weak, and lovers of their pleasures, put off all serious reflection to a more advanced season of life, and say, ‘we will hear thee again of this matter.’ But there may be some,—we dare hope, through the mercy of God, there may be some, who will enter into the way of truth, and walk faithfully therein even unto the end. And was there, in this immense city, but one young man, whom our conferences might induce to abjure his errors at the foot of this chair, we should feel paid, abundantly, and with usury, for all our labours, and all our efforts.”—*Frayssinous*, vol. i. pp. 31, 32.

Philosophy is naturally treated by Mr. Bulwer in the next degree to Religion; and here, as we supposed, “the mighty master” is completely at home. He describes the costume in which Le Père Enfantin appeared at the bar on the 8th of April, 1833: “over his shoulders was thrown a rich velvet mantle, fringed with ermine, boots of a singular and graceful shape covered his leg as far as the knee; a beautiful cachemire twisted round his neck, fell over his breast; and his long beard was arranged with the sacred care that should preside over the toilet of an Apostle.” Upon the neck of each of his numerous followers glittered a mysterious steel collar, composed of triangular, oval or circular rings, each being some token or sign, and from their centre projected a spheric symbol representing the Father, and cabalistically inscribed *à la Mère*. St. Simon, the founder of the sect, after some success, perceived that his system was failing, “and with the energy suitable to his character,” discharged a pistol at his head, which miserably lacerated him without ter-

minating his existence. He died soon afterwards, a victim to absolute starvation; and appears to have been more of an enthusiast than of a rogue. His successors, of whom the chief were Bazard and L'Enfantin, were downright swindlers; practising on extreme youth and senility, and deceiving simple women to their own advantage:

*"Crustis ac pomis viduas venentur avaras,
Excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant."*

The accusations against them, were—

1st. The forming an illegal association.
2d. The fraudulently attempting to mislead the public in regard to their enterprise; and thereby obtaining money under false pretences.

3d. The fraudulently obtaining a testamentary disposition.

4th. Offences against public morals arising from the tenor of the works professing to explain their doctrines.

The verdict was guilty, and the sentence accompanying it twelve months' imprisonment.

This *new Christianity*, as they dared to call it, which in truth inculcated the foulest and most unmitigated profligacy, expired during their confinement; and when the term of his punishment was ended, Le Père Enfantin embarked to teach St. Simonism in the East, the cradle of human reason.

Other philosophers have had their believers in their day; and the disciples of M. C. Fourier assert, that the sea by a natural process is turning into lemonade; and that the future generations of mankind, (contrary to the hypothesis of Lord Montbodo, who believed that civilization had worn away the original birth-sin,) were rapidly hastening to the development of tails. In order to improve the condition of society, this sage proposed a College, or *Phalangstère*, in which, during the seasons of the *four movements*, infancy, childhood, adolescence and manhood, all possible pains are to be taken to ascertain and to indulge the natural inclinations of the inmates. Of the abominations licensed in *both sexes* by this system from fifteen and a half to twenty, ("the period of the passions," the third *mouvement*,) happily for us we need not speak. Even the French themselves perceive them, and a novice, either too simple or too sagacious, naively inquired, from a Gnostic who was expounding the delights of the *Damoisellat*, (a state contradistinguished from *La Vestalat*, which is set apart for those of less ardent habits,) *où tout est l'amour*,—"Mais, Monsieur —, où est la Paternité?"

In his chapter on the division of property, Mr. Bulwer, with the natural feelings of a younger brother, impugns the rights of primogeniture. According to the French law, after a Parent's death, his property is to be equally divided among his children,

excepting, that if he pleases, he may leave one share, *une part d'enfant*, to any one child whom he prefers. "This law," says Mr. Bulwer, "produces two effects, first, to make the child independent of his father's aversion, but expectant from his father's love; secondly, to make the Parent depend for the extent of his power upon the extent of his family, and thus to provide a sufficient check against an over-abundant population. The latter of these conditions appears to us to partake somewhat of Shandyism, and need not be gravely disputed; the former is more likely to create intrigues and heart-burnings in families than peace and brotherly love. We recommend the opening three chapters of the second volume on "the social condition, on manners, and on young France," to all who are enamoured of French Society without being acquainted with its real nature. They are replete with anecdote piquantly told. The middle class is described as composed of the ruins of an old, and the elements of a new state of society; as a class into which men have fallen or risen by the caprices of the Revolution; it does not, as with us, represent the shop-keepers, who, in France, scarcely form an isolated body.

We throw together some favourable specimens of Mr. Bulwer's lighter manner, taken at random from this part of his work. "Really," said a lady near him on one occasion at a ball at the Tuileries, "one might fancy one's-self in Heaven, for there also there is no distinction of persons." Or, as another lady of great beauty described Napoleon to him: "*Oh! le petit homme il étoit charmant! dents comme des perles, toutes petites, toutes petites—des mains mignonnes—il se parfumait—oh! il étoit gentil, il étoit gourmand—le petit homme!*"

There is much practical wisdom also in the following reasoning. The Vicar of Bray belonged to an educated class, and possessed means of forming a correct judgment, which rendered his versatility disgraceful, but the case is widely different with the chief Interlocutor in the ensuing pithy dialogue: "They want to make me join them, Sir, in their émeutes and nonsense." "*Ma foi,*" I said to myself, "*Et qu'est-ce que tu as été toi sous l'empire?*" "*Cocher de Cabriolet.*" "And under Charles X.?" "*Cocher de Cabriolet.*" "And under Louis Philippe?" "*Cocher de Cabriolet?*" "And if there was a Republic what would you be?" "*Cocher de Cabriolet; alors que la dynastie aille comme elle pourra. Je ne m'en mêlerai point, moi qui ne serai jamais que Cocher de Cabriolet.*"

Many projects have been set on foot to divert the passion for amusement, which seems to beset the French working-classes, into beneficial channels; they waste Sunday, very frequently Monday and Tuesday at the tavern, or the spectacle. Lectures

on chemistry and on painting have been projected, but in vain in Paris; and Metz appears to be the only great town in the empire in which the experiment has at all succeeded. Without attempting to account for this success, Mr. Bulwer remarks, that "if you meet a working man (from Metz), you find him polite, polished, correct in his language, easy without being confident, in his conversation. You would take him, if he were not worse dressed, and better informed, for a respectable bourgeois of Paris." Surety for character is obtained by the *Livret* or certificate, which every artificer is obliged to have under the penalty of being treated as a vagabond. On this paper is written a brief history of the possessor—his name, the place and date of his birth, the names of the person to whom he was apprenticed, and of him whom he last served; his receipts, his debts, and his agreements. It is not stated, however, what security is provided against the falsification of these very important documents.

The political Police, with its whole army of spies, taken from every class of Society, and to be encountered in almost every scene of life, is pronounced to be just as unavailing at present, notwithstanding its interference with personal liberty, as it was in the time of the old Monarchy, of the Convention, of the Directory, and of the Empire. "Under the government of Louis Philippe," says Mr. Bulwer, "Don Carlos quietly traverses his kingdom, and an Italian adventurer almost succeeds in blowing up his family and his court."

The legal duration of service in the army is seven years; and it is calculated that about one-sixth re-enlists for two or four years, on the receipt of a small bounty. The Conscription calls out about 80,000 men annually; the volunteers, of whom the remainder of the army consists, amounted in 1833 only to 5591 men, and of these, 889 coming from the department of the Capital, may of course be considered as the *scabies et contagium Urbis*. The pay of the Privates is about four-pence half-penny per day, and from this pittance one penny is withheld as a provision for small articles of dress, three half-pence (pence) are kept for food, and the balance, not quite three farthings, is given him for pocket-money. Each Company provides its mess, and cooks its own victuals, and the Soldier has two meals per day, the first, at ten o'clock, consists of soup and a quarter of a pound of boiled beef; the second, at five o'clock, of a small portion of potatoes or beans, with a quarter of a pound of mutton or veal. The daily allowance of tolerable bread is one pound and a half. Water is the common drink: for wine, brandy, or other spirits are allowed only on occasions of public rejoicing, or on a visit from the General, and then in very small proportions. A pension of from 200 to 300 francs is earned by fifteen years' service in

the time of war, and by twice that period in the time of peace; and the orphans and widows of those killed in battle receive one-fourth of the pension to which their fathers and husbands would have been entitled had they survived to their retirement. Twenty-two crimes are punishable by death, which is certain to follow on insurrection, insubordination, or a blow from an inferior to a superior. The minor punishments are hard labour, seclusion, the *boulet* or dragging the shot, labour on the public works, and imprisonment. There are yet lighter inflictions, calculated to operate upon a sense of honour. Marriage is of very rare occurrence; for although the Colonel of a Regiment may grant permission to non-commissioned officers, and even to privates, this favour is seldom or never accorded, except to soldiers who wish to marry some woman who may be useful to the regiment as *Cantonnière* or Washerwoman. The Minister of War, to whom the same authority belongs with regard to the officers, never consents save in cases in which the pecuniary situation of the applicant is likely to be benefited. Promotion, after a certain number of years of service is attainable, from the very lowest to the highest rank, and purchase of commissions is entirely abolished. The National Guard, re-organized in 1831, consists of all persons from twenty to sixty years of age, who are obliged to serve for the districts in which they are domiciled, and is in fact a sort of local militia.

In his chapter on centralization, Mr. Bulwer perceives the finger of Government throughout every Institution of France.

In the Chamber of Deputies he observes little to applaud, and concludes that it is by no means a fair representation of public opinion. And, in his summary, he finishes by the subjoined avowal, vol. ii. p. 291:—

“I should say, in short, that the best government for France, without starting forth in quest of any of those extraordinary changes which are to produce theoretical perfection, would be *a popular and splendid monarchy, supported here by a national army, there by a citizen guard—administered by a centralized administration, and having for coadjutors—a Chamber of Peers elected from the superiorities of the country, which would represent, as it were, its moral interests; and a Chamber of Deputies, elected by a large constituency, which would represent its material interests.*

“Such a government would be consistent with the manners and the ideas I have described; it would make what belongs to old times compatible with the birth of new; and by placing despotism under the legitimate control of a democracy, which now agitates society in opposition to the law—render possible the union of free institutions, with a confidence in the executive power.

“Such a government would no doubt have its faults; but it would accord with all the predominant feelings of the French nation; and, at such a government, if the present dynasty be not overturned by some violent shock, it will—even in spite of itself—arrive.”

On the whole, Mr. Bulwer's volumes exhibit some talent and much more presumption; and in these times of universal education, we heartily wish him a more beneficial occupation than he can find by translating in his Appendices the passages from the French Authors whom he has cited in the body of his work. Is it possible that such a process can be necessary for any who are likely to become his readers?

ART. III.—An Essay towards a general Evangelical Hymn and Prayer-book, for Church and Family Use. Hamburgh, 1833.

MANY persons may not be aware of the prominent position assigned to hymns in the religious system of Germany. Not only do they engross as large a portion of time in the public services as prayer itself, but they appear to be considered, at least, equally essential thereto: they are referred to by the preacher in his discourses, and furnish the rude peasant with arguments, and are appealed to as an authority in his disputes. And this national predilection extends to the highest of their land; the hymns of six royal authors are contained in the collection now before us, and many others were either originally composed for the use of this or that pious prince, or were known to be their wonted formulæ of devotional expression, and, in several instances, used by them as such in their last moments. From the Reformation downwards there has been an uninterrupted succession of hymn-writers, whose productions are so numerous that the hymns now extant in Germany are said to amount to 80,000. Various and partial collections of these have from time to time been made, and are contained in hymn-books which from their bulk and their lines being printed continuously, as if they were prose, appear strange to the eyes of a foreigner. None, however, of the collections have obtained any general acceptance, or given lasting satisfaction, partly from the older and more valuable hymns being omitted or mutilated, partly from the Lutheran collections excluding the hymns of the Reformed Churches, and vice versâ, and partly from an absence of arrangement in the books themselves. In order to supply those defects Dr. Bunsen, first the secretary and now the successor of Niebuhr, as Prussian minister at Rome, undertook in 1817 the task of compiling a general and systematic hymn-book. In 1833 the result of his fifteen-years' labour appeared in the shape of a thick octavo volume, the first part of which contains hymns for public worship, and the second hymns for private use, and prayers, public and private. A copious appendix furnishes biographical notices of the authors, and critical accounts of many of the hymns.

The signal beauty and excellence of the hymns themselves, their peculiar function as constituting, in the absence of a liturgy, the settled religious language of the nation, and their essential harmony during a series extending through four centuries, invest them with considerable interest and even authority, and claim the attention of those, who are alive to the value of good hymns, and sensible of our own deficiency in this respect. It may not, therefore, be unacceptable to our readers to lay before them the substance of Dr. Bunsen's own account of the materials of which his work is composed, and also of his method of arranging them.

It is a great cause of regret that the Psalter of David should no longer, either in a prose or metrical version, form part of the public worship in Germany. Immediately on the Reformation indeed a metrical version was almost exclusively used in that country; from whence it would seem that the practice was transferred to our own church.* But while this privilege is still preserved to us, it was there gradually thrown aside, and their hymns occupied its place. These are truly a rich inheritance, and most adequate and direct vehicles of Christian prayer and thanksgiving. Still their true office is in subordination to the Psalter, illustrating and unfolding its typical and prophetic text, and loudly proclaiming the accomplishment of the glad events which had before only been whispered in the soft tones of hope.

Though in Germany the use of the Psalter is thus in abeyance, much of its substance is contained, and, as it were, reproduced in their hymnody, and they also possess paraphrases of several whole psalms, and of two out of the three evangelical hymns,—the Benedictus and the Nunc dimittis, the Magnificat appearing to have been long sung, as with us, in its original form. And these form the basis of the present collection. “But,” in the words of Dr. Bunsen, “their Reformed Church has also surveyed the treasures of Christian antiquity, and hearkened after the voices of holy men of every age, tongue, and nation, in order to commit to her communities the most precious of them as their lawful inheritance, and a living witness of the undefiled unity of the faith.” Accordingly, they have several versions of the Gloria in Excelsis and of the Te Deum, the former being the great hymn of the Eastern, as the latter is of the Western Church. The former of these being called in the Apostolical constitutions *ἡ προσευχὴ ἐωθινή*,† is with reason believed to be referred to by Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan,‡ as the hymn which the Christians were wont to address to Christ on Sundays before daybreak. It was introduced into the Latin Church by Hilary,

* Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. ii. part 1, 135.

† Bingham, 14, 2, 2.

‡ Lib. 9, 7.

Bishop of Poitiers, about the year 360, and named the "greater doxology" to distinguish it from the "lesser," which is that so frequently used in our service. The *Te Deum*, the only original hymn of the primitive Western Church, and, as it were, responsive (antiphonema) to the Eastern doxology, is by an uncertain tradition assigned to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine jointly. But Archbishop Usher found it in two MSS. ascribed to Nicetus, Bishop of Triers, who lived A. D. 535, and it would seem to have been composed about that time, for the use of the Gallican Church.* St. Ambrose may, however, truly be called the father of hymnody in the Latin Church. St. Hilary brought back from his banishment the Eastern mode of Church-singing; and he and St. Ambrose composed many hymns, the use of which first began at Milan, during a severe persecution in the year 386. Having taken refuge in the Church, and being in hourly peril of death, the pious Ambrose and his flock strengthened their faith and consoled their sorrows by this means,† and from hence sprung the choral science of the West. Two centuries afterwards the hymns of St. Hilary and St. Ambrose still sounded through the continent, as we incidentally learn from the Spanish Churches having objected to their use, which was sanctioned and enforced by a decree of the fourth Council of Toledo, A. D. 660.‡

Owing to the gradual desuetude of the Latin tongue, and the consequent exclusion of the people from a share in the services, hymnody languished during the long interval which intervened between its rise and the Reformation. Still at this latter period, 150 hymns, many of them still to be found in the Roman Breviary, were the venerable heritage of the Church. And it is painful to reflect that, while Luther and his colleagues carefully selected and translated the best of these, we of this country at once relinquished, and have made no effort to recover this invaluable treasure. Twelve of them, thus polished with reverent care, adorn the present collection.

Germany has received a rich tribute to her store of sacred songs from a remarkable course of events. In the eleventh century a fierce struggle arose in Bohemia and Moravia, which countries had been converted by Cyril and Methodius, two Greek monks, respecting the use of their mother tongue in the Church service. The larger number submitted to the rule and usage of the Romish Church, while a small body adhering to their ancient custom became separated from the rest. These,

* Bingham, 14, 2, 9.

† Augustin. Confess. l. 9, c. 7, quoted in Bingham, 14, 2, 10, and 13, 5, 7.

‡ Bingham, 14, 1, 17.

persecuted by Gregory the VIIth, strengthened in 1176 by the accession of some of the Waldenses, and again in 1453 from other quarters, formed a community on the borders of Silesia, under the name of the United or Bohemian Brothers. During a grievous persecution in 1467 they are said to have obtained the Apostolical succession from the Waldenses only a few months before the death of their last Bishop Stephen. In the years 1468-71 they again suffered; a peaceful time followed, and in 1500 they possessed two hundred Churches in Bohemia and Moravia. But in 1508 so cruelly were they oppressed, that they sent four brethren into different quarters of the world in order to discover a pure communion to which they might attach themselves. Such an one however they found not; and remaining in Bohemia sent in 1522 emissaries to Luther to confer with him on the subject of Church discipline. Their hymns bear date during the 15th and 16th centuries, and are characterized by quiet enthusiasm and childlike simplicity.

Meanwhile in Germany itself the spirit of sacred poetry slumbered, or at most was barely kept alive by fragments sung during processions, and the more popular services of the Church. But in these slept a spark which the great authors of German hymnody kindled into a flame; and when a path was opened it glowed far and wide. In 1524 appeared eight hymns by Luther, and in 1545 eighty-nine more, by which, in the opinion of Coleridge, "he did as much for the Reformation as by his translation of the Bible,"* and his own countrymen bear frequent testimony to their power.

Ever since there has been an uninterrupted succession of hymn writers; of whom 287 are noticed in the work before us. They form two distinct schools; the elder of which, characterised by its simplicity and its reverent exhibition of the historical and external relations of the Creator to His creatures, reached its highest perfection in Paul Gerhard, who lived A.D. 1606—1676. The union of cheerfulness with deep feeling, which is expressed in his hymns, is a type of the German national character, and perhaps on this very account his name is affectionately cherished by them. This school was succeeded by another, which still prevails too exclusively in Germany. Dwelling more on the inward actings of religion, and attempting to develop the experience of the heart, it has manifestly tended to an excess of sensibility and self-contemplation. Founded by Franck and Angelus, it has been adorned by the names of Freylinghausen,—of Rambach, who united the merits of the two schools,—of Count Zinzendorf, the re-founder of the Bohemian Brotherhood,—of Lampe, the learned commentator on St. John,—of Teerstegan, a mystic of the

* Table Talk, 1, 164.

Reformed Church,—of Gellert, an illustrious name in Germany,—and latterly of Döring. One principal object of Dr. Bunsen is,—not entirely to supplant this school, but by a revival of the older hymns, to restore a more healthful and Catholic tone, to lead the mind to look out from self up to the great Object of adoration, and to substitute a devotional and reverent spirit for one of complacent sentimentality.

From this outline of his materials we proceed to his mode of arranging them.

The Christian year may be divided into three periods, and this with reference not to their respective duration, but to the essential difference of the events commemorated in each. The first (Advent) bears in German the appropriate name of Preparation-tide (Rust-zeit); in the hymns assigned to it, not only the first and second Advent, but a spiritual Advent in the heart of each believer, is shadowed forth.

The second, extending from Christmas to Whitsuntide, embraces the historical development of the Redemptive Scheme, and each solemn event between these two points, the Circumcision—Epiphany—Crucifixion—Resurrection and Ascension—is celebrated by its appropriate hymns. Dr. Bunsen finds also in the hymns ground for a more general division of this period into Epiphany-tide and Passion-tide, referring respectively to the teaching and suffering of the Redeemer. And this is partly warranted by the actual practice of the German churches, which assign to the latter a more extended season of commemoration, answering to our Lent, and not Passion-week only. The feast of the Presentation in the Temple, being observed according to its historical date, forty days after the Nativity, breaks in upon this notion of the Epiphany-tide. But the observance of this feast, the institution of which is ascribed to Gelasius the First, A.D. 492, about which time at any rate the title of *ἡμέρα Φώτων* was transferred to it from the Epiphany, and the ceremony of bearing about and consecrating the church tapers was introduced,* (whence the popular name of Candlemas, Licht Messe,) is nearly discontinued in Germany.

The Saints'-days being there unhappily neglected, we find no hymns allotted to them, but some appropriate to the minor feasts scattered through the year are added. These are the Day for the remembrance of the Dead (Todten-fest),—the feast of St. Michael and All Angels—the Reformation, Harvest, and Peace feasts. A day of Mourning (Busstag) is likewise observed.

The third period, including the remainder of the year from Whitsuntide to Advent, and representing the internal nature and operation of the Scheme of Redemption, which had been histo-

* Bingham, 20, 4, 7.

rically developed in the former periods, may be called Trinity or Church-tide. In arranging its appropriate hymns, which form the bulk of the volume, Dr. Bunsen finds himself deprived of the guidance of historical events, and looks for some method whereby he may reduce the confused mass to its due order and proportions. And here he lays down a principle to the value of which, however opinions may differ as to his success in applying it, all, we think, will assent. And this is, that the clue to their systematic arrangement must be looked for in the *hymns themselves*. Surely we may recognize here a catholic and reverential spirit, very different from that of those compilers who first lay down as a basis their own religious views, and then inquire for homogeneous materials wherewith to build their superstructure. The natural consequence of this procedure is the rejection of all the most primitive and venerable hymns as unsuitable (which truly they are) to such a system, and the substitution of the crude effusions of modern religionists.

In its general outline the arrangement of the hymns of this period of course follows the order of Christian worship itself, and thus it sets out with hymns of penitence and confession. Between these and the hymns of direct prayer and praise are interposed (answerably to the lessons in our service) those of an historical or didactic character, and which, from their varied contents, admit of subdivision. Neglecting formal differences, and searching for some clue to direct him through this labyrinth, Dr. Bunsen considers that he has discovered it in the idea of "Faith." At the head of his arrangement he places the great Object of faith, in His revealed relation to man, and the close of His dispensations—death, judgment, and eternity—at its termination. Along the line between these two points the whole of Religion moves, and it may be disposed into*the following parts; the means of faith, the nature of faith, the works of faith, and the perfection of faith, or hope, which has for its object the things of futurity. "And thus," he says, "is the course, which, setting forth from Heaven itself, represents the life of the faithful in this world of strife and misery, and then, by the power of faith evokes from the dimness of futurity the glory of the life to come, accomplished." Penitence and faith, about which the two former parts of Christian worship are, as we have seen, respectively conversant, are the necessary pre-requisites for that which is its close and consummation—prayer and thanksgiving. Now if we analyse the latter of these we arrive at the idea of "self-sacrifice." For how can we testify our unreserved gratitude to our Maker, save by acknowledging all we have and are to be His gift, and thus our whole life may be considered as one continuous offering of ourselves to Him.

But that is a one-sided view of this life, which confines it to acts of charity and beneficence, and reduces public worship to an ordinance, useful indeed to the weak, but unnecessary to the established Christian. So far is this from the truth, that such worship is required, not by the earthly, but by the divine part of man, and is a want which he shares in common with the angels and blessed spirits, whose happiness consists in its exercise. Now it is as little possible to supply this want by private prayer, as it would be to perform works of charity in solitude. In the Church, therefore, must the offering of ourselves be made;—and this act constitutes the summit and perfection of Christian worship, and the fulfilment of the intimations of Prophecy. In development of this view, Dr. Bunsen presents a series of hymns, which, setting out with prayer, intercession, and praise, gradually ascend to a more direct expression of the idea of “self-sacrifice.” Upon the theory here propounded we would interpose this remark, that involving, as it does, much truth, it must ever remain unintelligible and unavailable to the many, and that mysticism seems its probable termination. Happy they! to whom the *true* Christian Sacrifice, neither corrupted by superstition nor degraded by rationalism, is still preserved, which, while it allows and implies an intention the most spiritual, presents a tangible and definite object to the mind, and guards it from the incursions of indistinct and overheated fancies.

But to return to our account: the public hymns conclude with a series embracing the offices of Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, Ordination, Burial, and Holy Communion, most of the hymns belonging to the last being Lutheran.

The second part of the work before us is composed of hymns for private use, and of prayers; the former are arranged in an order corresponding to that of the public ones; and to them are added hymns appropriate to the various events of life; distress, temporal and mental—sickness—and death. The prayers are placed in the same order, and consist of a selection as well from the Doctors of the Eastern and Western Church, as from German authors. We are informed that some of them have been used by a Protestant congregation at Rome, but neither this, nor the Liturgy authoritatively promulgated by the King of Prussia, seems likely to be willingly received in Germany. There is indeed a peculiar reason for the failure of the latter, it having been framed for the purpose of uniting the Reformed and Lutheran persuasions, and thus being one of those schemes of comprehension, which, however amiable in intention, must ever either be frustrated, or, if successful, issue in the sacrifice of essential principles to the semblance of unity. But it is to be feared that long deprivation has disqualified them

from readily appreciating the privilege of a regular liturgy. No prayers, however excellent, will at once approve themselves to the mind; they must be taken on trust and used, not in the spirit of criticism, but reverently, before we can duly appreciate their value. When so received, and rendered venerable by antiquity, they operate upon the character of the community in a thousand unseen ways, checking irreverence and presumption, moderating the heat of enthusiasm, directing it into the right channels, and elevating the mind to the true Object of worship. These, among others, are the blessings which an hereditary Liturgy confers on ourselves; rich in the possession of which we need not seek new treasures in foreign lands; rather may we dispense to them of our own abundance. But our Hymnody is not in such a state as to relieve us from the necessity of taking counsel of others; and we shall do well to consider, with reference to the collection before us, both what our condition really is, and where our deficiencies chiefly exist.

Several reasons would at once present themselves even to the mind of one ignorant of the actual state of the case why the English hymns might naturally be inferior to those of Germany, both in number and value. For instance, there is certainly a more general love of music among the latter people, and their character, in spite of the epithet we are wont to apply to it, has more warmth and susceptibility than our own. Then again, as our language, from its admixture of foreign elements, is not so homely and simple as theirs, so neither was it applied, during the period of its greatest flexibility and vigour, to the composition of hymns. External circumstances too have conspired with this inaptitude of character and language. Hardly had our Church re-established herself in comparative purity of doctrine and worship, after being relieved from Papal corruptions, when she was involved in the troubled times of the first Charles. With the return of order arose an excessive dread of every thing bordering on enthusiasm, engendered by the extravagance of the Puritans. And so the time past on till a period of apathy succeeded, which shut out all immediate prospect of any progress in Hymnody. It must likewise be remembered that while such causes *indisposed* us to the production and use of hymns, a liturgy admitting the active participation of the people in its recital partially *supplied* their place in Christian worship. This is illustrated by the case of the Separatists, who, having substituted extemporaneous prayer by the minister, and so reduced their followers to the condition, externally at least, of passive hearers instead of active worshippers, have been obliged to resort to congregational singing, in order to keep their association from falling to pieces, and the flame of devotion from

going out. Some might add the authorised Versions of the Psalter to the causes before alluded to. But when we observe that it was found necessary to accompany their publication with exhortations to their use, and when we remember that even yet such use is too frequently an act of obedience rather than a willing expression of social devotion, we shall perhaps admit that their real effect has been, not to supersede hymns, but to prevent Church singing from falling into oblivion altogether.

Whether or not we have pointed out the true *causes* of the deficiency before regretted, the *fact* at least is indubitable, as a very brief consideration of our resources will suffice to show. In the first place, then, we possess two versions of the entire Psalter. The elder of these, partly composed by Sternhold, and completed by Hopkins and other Marian exiles, and before partially in use, was formally authorised by an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1548.* Inartificial as it is, and obscured by a versification of the most homely kind, oftentimes approaching to doggerel, it has the advantage of being directly translated from the Hebrew original, and is even considered by some to convey its meaning more faithfully than any other version we possess. It is with regret, therefore, that we find it so frequently supplanted by the new version, in which, though composed with infinitely greater care and elegance, the spirit and character of the original is for the most part evaporated, and in its stead we are presented with a *caput mortuum* of rhetorical common-place. In several instances, indeed, this version hardly escapes the charge of serious doctrinal error.

Besides the old and new version of the Psalter, various paraphrases of certain psalms, and of portions of Scripture, exist; and among the former, those by Addison are very pleasing poems. But none of these, how valuable soever they would be where the Psalter itself was disused, can with us claim a permanent position; nor has it, in fact, ever been conceded to them. And this because, viewed as paraphrases, they have been postponed to the more literal versions; while, as original compositions, they are destitute of that individuality without which no poetry can exercise a permanent influence on the national character and literature. Perhaps the only hymns which can properly be said to have done so, are the beautiful morning and evening hymns of Bishop Ken. These, with his midnight hymn, which deserves to be better known, a few by Addison, and the two paraphrases of the (so-called) Ambrosian hymn, "Veni Creator Spiritus," the longer of which was composed by the Reformers for King Edward's first

* Strype's Ecc. Mem. vol. ii. part i. 136.

Ordinal, and the shorter on the review of the Prayer-Book after the Restoration,* form the narrow basis of our Hymnody. The superstructure (such as it is) has been raised by chance workmen, and built neither of genuine nor lasting materials. The chief contributors to it have been three eminent Dissenters, I. Watts, born 1674,—P. Doddridge, born 1702,—and C. Wesley, born 1708. The hymns of the first of these writers are, in Dr. Bunsen's opinion, classical, but deficient in evangelical depth and a Catholic spirit; Doddridge he places in the first rank of our sacred poets, and Wesley he compares to Count Zinzendorf, as regards the liveliness and fluency of his diction, and the fervency of his sentiments, and likewise in the peculiar character and unequal merit of his hymns. None of their compositions, however, have obtained any general acceptance in our Church, and, from their strong resemblance to the later German school in its tendencies and defects, it is not to be desired that they should do so.

Turning from hymns for public use to those of a private and contemplative character, we find productions of infinitely greater merit, yet perhaps not altogether of a kind to sway our national tastes and feelings. The quaintnesses of George Herbert's saintly poems must ever retard their progress. But there is another work to develop and establish whose influence time alone is required: we mean Professor Keble's *Christian Year*, which, while it transcends our praises, has, we trust, become a household treasure in too many homes to need any recommendation.

Our Hymnody, being in so imperfect and jejune a state, does not indeed admit of being arranged in a systematic manner like that of the work before us; but it may fairly be asked whether it is exhibited to the best advantage in our compilations. We will offer two remarks by way of answer to this inquiry.

1. It appears to us entirely essential that the ancient and classical hymns of a country should form the basis of its hymn books, and that a regular chronological series should, as much as possible, be preserved. And this not only because each hymn is for the most part valuable in proportion to its antiquity, but also because, men's minds dwelling in different ages on different portions of the truth, to give an exclusive prominence to the productions of any one period is to destroy the symmetry of the whole body, suppress some of its parts, and present others in a fallacious and distorted form.

2. Another equally essential point is a due discrimination between hymns proper for public and for private use. A religious mind, when deeply impressed with some solemn theme, or longing

* Mant's Common Prayer. Ordination of Priests.

to give utterance to its thoughts, yet shrinking from their disclosure, is prompted to clothe them in the figurative language of poetry, which, while it is sufficiently intelligible to kindred minds, eludes the rude gaze of the curious, leaving the boundaries of fancy and emotion flexible and indefinite. To such a source all really devotional poetry may perhaps be traced, and who would wish it closed up? But to introduce it into our mixed congregations, as a medium of direct worship, is a perversion and irreverence truly distressing.

Only let our hymn-books generally be brought to the test of these principles, by those who admit their correctness, and we need not assume the disagreeable office of direct censure.

After all, until our present stock shall have received considerable accessions from original sources, we cannot hope to furnish our Churches with a complete body of Hymnody. Meanwhile, by making the most of our own genuine materials, by selection and translations of the venerable hymns of the Latin Church, (of which the Breviary is a rich treasure-house,) and by borrowing from the stores of Germany, much might be done. And we cannot doubt that our countrymen would willingly forsake the insipid and unhealthy beverage which is too often presented them for the pure fountains of primitive and Catholic Truth.

ART. IV.—1. *Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. For the year 1834—1835.* London. Printed for the Society. Sold by Rivingtons.

2. *Memoir of Mrs. Stallybrass, Wife of the Rev. Edward Stallybrass, Missionary to Siberia. With an Introduction by Joseph Fletcher, D. D.* London. Fisher, Son, and Co., Newgate Street. 1836.

3. *Memoir of Mary M. Ellis, Wife of the Rev. William Ellis, Missionary to the South Seas, and Foreign Secretary to the London Missionary Society; including Notices of Heathen Society, of the Details of Missionary Life, and the remarkable Manifestations of Divine Goodness in severe and protracted Affliction.* By William Ellis. London. Published by Fisher, Son, and Co.

4. *Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journal, from February to August, 1835.* London. Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill. 1836.

THERE was put into our hands the other day a Statement of the Storrington* District Committee, in aid of the Society for the

* In the county of Sussex.

Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the year ending at Midsummer, 1835, in which were the following words: "*There never was a time when such charitable exertions were more needed; and the Report of the Parent Society is one of the most painfully interesting documents, amongst many such, in the present day.*" We were heartily glad to see this, as well as the appeal there made. And not less glad were we, on looking over the list of subscribers, to see the names of many, whose small subscriptions, according to their means, attested the spirit of charity. For, when we read many names set down for shillings and half-crowns, we are reminded of the widow's mite, and (though in some cases we may possibly be wrong) we are, nevertheless, sure that, in most cases, what is given is given not grudgingly, and out of necessity, but from a good heart, and because *God loveth a cheerful giver*, and willeth the Gospel to be preached unto all nations.

The District Committee here alluded to was established in the year 1820, and the total remitted in sixteen years to the Parent Society is 506*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* Therefore we think we are not acting unwisely in calling upon those of the Clergy who are not connected with such a Society, to join one forthwith, and to consider, that although the products at the first may be small, still, even in this sense, *the day of small things is not to be despised*. Only let this one plant, and another water, and God will give the increase.

But it seems that, in some parts, an evil spirit, whether of indifference or of opposition, has gone forth, and the endeavours of many are not seconded. This, however, has always been the case, and those who will call to mind the exertions of Bishop Berkely, ("one," says Southey,* "of the best, wisest, and greatest men whom Ireland, with all its fertility of genius, has produced,") will well recollect how he answered the gain-sayers in his "Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations," &c.

"Men of narrow minds," says the good Bishop, "have a peculiar talent at objection, being never at a loss for something to say against whatsoever is not of their own proposing. And perhaps it will be said in opposition to this proposal, that if we thought ourselves capable of gaining converts to the Church, we ought to begin with Infidels, Papists, and Dissenters of all denominations, at home, and to make proselytes of these before we think of foreigners; and that, therefore, our scheme is against duty. . . . In answer to this, I say, that religion, like light, is imparted without being diminished. That whatever is done abroad, can be no hindrance or let to the conversion of infidels or others at home. That those who engage in this affair imagine they will not be missed, where there is no want of schools or clergy; but that they may

* Life of Wesley, vol. ii. p. 260.

be of singular service in countries but thinly supplied with either, or altogether deprived of both; that our Colonies being of the same blood, language, and religion, with ourselves, are in effect our countrymen. But that Christian charity, not being limited by those regards, doth extend to all mankind."* *O digna viro sententia!*

Now if it be asked why we have headed this article with the Society's Report, and have appended to it the Memoirs of the Wives of two Missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society,—our answer is, (however much we may wish that all Missionary Societies were joined together in unity,) we have done so because the object of both is *only good*. And should there be certain requisites wanting in the one, and certain irregularities which, as *ordained* Churchmen we cannot altogether approve of, our prayer, nevertheless, is that of the righteous Hezekiah, *The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary.*†

It will be our object in what follows to recount briefly the labours of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in British North America,—to refer, according to our space, to the Siberian and South Sea Island Missions, to draw the attention of our readers to the painfully interesting Journal of Archdeacon Wix in Newfoundland,—and to sum up the whole matter with an appeal to the charities of Englishmen, which, (blessed be God!) have never been appealed to in vain. Witness it, ye unholy and judicially blinded politicians, who are labouring to starve the Church in Ireland! Woe, woe, woe! that we should be constrained to say, in the words of Ezra, *the hand of the RULERS hath been chief in this trespass!* Τοιοῖδε μέντοι φῶτες ἔμπληκτοι βρότων!

And first of all as concerns the venerable Society, let man, woman, and child, (being taught "the proposed enlargement of the East India Missions, together with the extension of the Society's operations in the West Indies, upon a scale not altogether unsuited to the wants of the emancipated Negroes,") give ear to the following appeal. *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*

"In order to meet the present and future demands upon its funds, the Society throws itself upon the Christian liberality of the British public, with more especial reference to the Members of the Established Church. It feels that adequate support cannot be produced until a just sense of what is due from this country to its Colonies, and to the heathen, shall be entertained by the great body of the people. Nor can it expect that help which may enable it to carry its various plans into effect, unless it

* See Works, vol. iii. p. 225. Ed. 8vo. London, 1820.

† Chron. xxx. 18, 19.

can render a satisfactory account of the funds already intrusted to its care, and can show that it is proceeding in the sacred task of propagating the Gospel throughout the world. By planting Christian Churches among our fellow countrymen in foreign parts, and supporting them until such time as they may reasonably be expected to support themselves, by procuring the Word of God to be faithfully preached to natives of India, and gradually raising up congregations of Christians from among the Hindoos and Mahommedans, the Society endeavours to discharge the arduous duty in which it has engaged. It ventures to hope that a favourable construction will be put upon the different measures which it may adopt with a view to the furtherance of its designs; that due allowance will be made for the extreme difficulties by which its path is beset; and, above all, that the pious and charitable will unite in fervent prayer for that Divine blessing, which can alone cause the seed to swell, and the fruit to ripen, and the harvest to be gathered in its season."—p. 20.

Having extracted this appeal, we now give the heads, together with a short detail, as we find them in the Report.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—Herein it will be found that the withdrawal of the Parliamentary Grant has been the cause of much trouble and much distress,—but that, nevertheless, “in a small number of instances only has the Society been abandoned by Clergymen formerly in connection with it.” The arrangement now in force is, that the *existing* Missionaries in British North America are to receive not less than three-fourths of the salaries which had been paid to them previously to the discontinuance of the Parliamentary Grant. In Nova Scotia, the hope expressed, that the congregation would fill up the deficiencies, has been satisfactorily fulfilled;—and in Upper Canada, where the deductions from the salaries were less, the distress of the Missionaries is less also. But in Lower Canada and New Brunswick no exertions have been made for supplying the wants of the Clergy. Next to the diminution of the salaries of the Missionaries, the Society has to regret nothing more than the retrenchment, rendered necessary by the withdrawal of the Parliamentary Grant, which relates to schoolmasters and catechists in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. With reference to King’s College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, the Society have found it necessary to suppress the scholarships and exhibitions in Nova Scotia,—but it proposes to discontinue the divinity scholarships in the diocese of Quebec and New Brunswick. But as it is absolutely necessary that a seminary for divinity students should exist in the Colonies, the Society has resolved to continue its annual grant of 500*l.* towards the general expense of the institution,—“trusting that, with this assistance, it will be able to provide means for clerical education in the Colonies, and ultimately to contribute, on an extended scale, to the propagation of the Gospel in British North America.”

Such are the heavy drawbacks with which the irreligious* and unchristian withdrawal of the Parliamentary Grant have been attended. And there are many who think, (perhaps not unwisely,) that this withdrawal will, in the end, prove the cause of the loss of the two Canadas. We dare not say we do not deserve it,—but we yet hope better things. O Christian,

“ If ever thou hast felt another's pain,
If ever when he sighed hast sigh'd again,
If ever on thy eyelid stood the tear,
That pity had engendered, drop one here !”

But we must proceed to the short detail promised ; and first, of

NOVA SCOTIA.—The Society's Missionaries in this field of their labours are 32. Of this distant land the Bishop has furnished the Society with the journals of four visits paid in the Summer and Autumn of 1834,—most interesting documents ! They will be found in the Appendix to the Report. From amongst many touching incidents therein mentioned, we give the following almost at random. At a place called Fisherman's Harbour, (on the south-eastern shore,) a very aged Englishman, upwards of eighty years old, was supported by one of the poor families there.

“ So little did he expect such a visit, that he concluded the Bishop in his neighbourhood must be of the Church of Rome ; and, when he was first spoken to, said, with much good feeling, that he was too old to change his religion, and forsake the Church of his fathers. He was greatly delighted when he found we were of the same communion ; and gladly received the rites which he had long since despaired of obtaining.” —p. 65.

“ A respectable Presbyterian minister, for some years past, had been in the habit of paying annual, or semiannual visits to several settlements on this shore. When the Church at Ship Harbour was built, he applied for permission to use it. He was allowed to *preach* in it, but the people begged to have the Liturgy of the Established Church read as usual, by their own reader, to which the minister readily listened.”

“ In the last year a Baptist minister applied for the use of the Church, but this was civilly, though plainly, refused. One of the contributors to the Church, and only one, was an advocate for the admission of this minister. The rest promptly proposed to repay to him the amount of his subscription.”—p. 69.†

We have not room for more, nor for the Bishop's concluding

* We should be glad if some one would make the Heathen's line (in its spirit) canonical, and recollect it, and act up to it.

Βούλου κρατεῖν μὲν, ξὺν θεῷ δ' αἰεὶ κρατεῖν.

Jackson well writes—“ The fool of fools, the irreligious politician !” See Works, vol. i. p. 866. Ed. folio.

† We should observe that the Bishop says, with regard to these two anecdotes, that he inserts them, *as they were related to me*.

prayer, but we would particularly refer our readers to the letter of the Rev. James Shreve, p. 105.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Missionaries of the Society here are ten. But of this district we purpose to say nothing now, as we shall have presently to refer to Archdeacon Wix's Journal. But, reader, if thou hast thy comforts around thee, look to the letter from the Rev. Thomas Wood, p. 129, and know how the Missionary is, ἐν κόποις, ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις, ἐν νηστεαίς!

NEW BRUNSWICK.—The Society's Missionaries here are twenty-six. For the letters we must refer to the Appendix. The extract which follows from the Report is truly a painful one:—

“ The allowance from the territorial revenue, which Government had engaged to pay to the existing Clergy in New Brunswick, so long as the number employed previously to 1833 continued undiminished, has been withdrawn in consequence of the retirement of several Missionaries, and the whole remaining expense is thrown upon the Society; but as the Clergy reserves in this province are understood to be of very considerable value, and there is likewise a territorial revenue belonging to the Crown, the Society trusts that a portion of the charge, which must be incurred in maintaining an adequate number of Clergyman, will be defrayed from these sources.”—p. 27.

PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND with two Missionaries, CAPE BRETON with two, and the Archdeaconry of BERMUDAS complete the Diocese of Nova Scotia; and here, each one of the five is ἐν κόποις περισσότερος!

IN LOWER CANADA the Society has twenty-nine Missionaries and five divinity Students. But here, we grieve to say, the discontinuance of the Parliamentary Grant has been sadly felt, and has not been supplied from local sources. In UPPER CANADA, the number of the Missionaries is forty-five, and the appearance of things is more cheering. “ The Missionaries appointed previously to April, 1832, are now in the receipt of £170 per annum from the Colonial Government, and £100 per annum has been paid to those who have been appointed since that time. The building also of additional Churches has been prosecuted with great success.” But we must refer to the Report of the Bishop's Visitation; and we trust the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop, whose duty it should be to preside over the Church in the Lower Province, will be ere long sanctioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and confirmed by his Majesty's Government.

Herein, then, we have stated the labours of the Society in British North America, and our object in doing so has been to show how much more is needed from other sources now that the Parliamentary Grant has been withdrawn, and the *mother* country has, so to say, *forgotten her sucking child*, and given over the reli-

gious education and instruction of tens of thousands to those whose hearts yearn towards their brethren who sit *in darkness and in the shadow of death*. On the other labours of this venerable Society in the East, we have not space now to dwell; but to the extension of its labours in the West Indies we cannot avoid calling the attention of our readers, referring them for facts and for the disposal of the sums eventually received, whether from the King's Letter or from other sources, to the Report itself.

In former Reports the connection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts with the West Indies "has been confined to the execution of the duties devolved upon it as Trustee for the Codrington estates in Barbadoes, to the superintendence of the College and School, for whose maintenance the estates were bequeathed, and to the religious education of the Negroes, by whom the estates were cultivated." This was the former connection of the Society with these Colonies. But now matters are altered. The wants of the Isles have as it were cried aloud to heaven, and the cry has been heard in the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Nearly a million of our fellow creatures have been raised to the rank of freemen, and (for "the word of God is not bound,") the emancipated Negroes are athirst for religious instruction. Now for this the Society have agreed to set apart from their general funds the annual sum of £6000. But much is to be done, much is wanting for the building of Churches and Schools, and for the additional maintenance of Clergymen and Schoolmasters throughout the Colonies in that quarter. And in such a case what is the Christian's duty? Why to *go and do likewise*, as far as his means will permit, and to help his brethren of the dispersion. To look upon them on whom *the sun has looked*, and to bear in mind that though the sun has burnt their brows, yet,—

" *Non erubescendis adurit
Ignibus.*"*

And here we would offer a few remarks, which, however often dwelt upon, can hardly be repeated amiss. The time, then, shall come when *the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea*. God's word is the voucher for this. If any, therefore, doubt of it because to the outward eye wickedness compasseth about the dwellings and the tents of men, as well in civilized as in uncivilized countries,—the doubt arises from such an one's not having read, marked, and learned, so as inwardly to digest, the lively oracles of his Bible. Such an one is unstable in his belief, and in all his ways, because, having reversed the ordinance of heaven, he walks by sight, and not by faith. Whereas

* Hor. Od. i. xxvii. 15. C. Canticles, c. i. v. 6.

it is written, *the just shall live by his faith*. Accordingly he, to whom God's word is *yea and amen*, knows that there is a time in the secret counsels and in the unrevolved* scrolls of the Almighty's predestination, when the living Word shall be the Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe. To the true believer, indeed, distance and time suggest no difficulties, for God is every where present, and his word runneth very swiftly. If he who is the great I AM and the everlasting Now,† say, *let there be light*, those that sit in the darkness and in the shadow of death shall see it, the eyes of the unconverted heathen shall open at the brightness of His coming, who is the *spirit of prophecy*,—the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped at the *testimony of Jesus*. Even as it is written in the prophet Zephaniah, *all men shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the isles of the heathen*.

Now, on the mention of the isles of the heathen, we cannot fail to call to mind those many islands, whether in the far West or in the Southern Seas, where the Missionary is now labouring. And although *prophecy be not*, as saith St. Peter, *of any private interpretation*;—though it be not, that is, for people, as they list, to explain prophecy, but rather to wait faithfully for its completion, and to look to the end,—still, when we read of the *isles of the heathen*, and connect the expression with others which speak of the general diffusion and propagation of the Gospel, we can hardly help concluding that *the end is not yet*. The application of prophecy is not completed, more is yet to be fulfilled. For although primarily the *isles of the heathen* might, in the prophet's eyes, look *only* to those countries washed by the Mediterranean‡ sea, yet, for all this, the Holy Ghost may have *moved* them to prophecy with a far more distant view. So that when the *isles of the Gentiles* (Gen. x. 5,) and *the isles of Elisha*, (Ezek. xxvii. 7,) had received the mantle of prophecy, and the testimony of Jesus which is the spirit of it,—that same prophecy might still go on *conquering and to conquer*;—and to each prophetic text, relative to the isles, one might apply the angel's words in the Revelation of St. John the Divine, *thou must prophesy again before many*

* This expression, we believe, is from Jeremy Taylor.

† Cowley's couplet is—

“ Nothing there is to come, and nothing past,
But an eternal NOW does ever last.”

“ It is remarkable,” (they are the words of the late Rev. W. Mills, of Magdalen College, Oxford,) “ that Plato makes no distinction of time in the eternal archetype of the world, as it existed in the divine mind; λέγομεν γὰρ δὴ ὡς ἦν ἔστι τε καὶ ἵσται, τῇ δὲ τὸ ἔστι μόνον κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ προσήκει.—*Timæus*, p. 36; *Mill's Sermon*, p. 119. See also the remarks of Archbishop Whately, who quotes the above couplet.—*Essays*, p. 234, First Series.

‡ For all that may be known almost relative to the Isles of the Gentiles, see Mede's Discourses, xlii. 1, book i. p. 271, &c. See also Lowth on Isai. c. xi. 11.

peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings. For what saith our Saviour?—This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a testimony unto them.

We have not space to quote at large those prophecies which relate to the isles, but we would refer to Ps. lxxii. 10, and xcvi. 1; to Isai. xlii. 1—4, 9, 10; xlix. 1; li. 5; lxvi. 19; as explanatory of our remarks. And we cannot but think, that if we look on these prophecies of Scripture with a glad and a humble faith, charity must needs be kindled and hope increased. And if so, he that hath received the gift of heavenly things which the Gospel confers,—he who has been made “a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,” if he continue a Christian in *deed* and not in *name* only—will endeavour, as much as in him lies, whenever occasion offers, to extend the limits of Christ's kingdom. In a word, this becomes no longer a thing to be done or to be left undone *at will*, but it is a Christian duty. The command of our Saviour to the Apostles was, *Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.* This was the command to the *regularly ordained ministry* of the Gospel; and, without entering into any discussion on the subject of *ordination* here, let it suffice to say, that it is a command laid upon each man's shoulders *in his proper capacity*. None, it is true, *ought* to preach, without being regularly sent, (the exception proves the rule,) but then it is the bounden duty of those who are *hearers* of the Word to maintain those who preach it after God's ordinance. *For the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, And, The labourer is worthy of his hire.* Every man, therefore, as we said, should be, as it were, a Missionary *in his proper capacity*, and a preacher too, and this he will be by ministering to those sent out on so holy a charge. But, over and above this, now that it *has* pleased God to be worshipped in temples made with hands, we are to see that such temples be reared for all faithful worshippers, as well in our own land as in our Colonies. In short, a dispensation is committed to every man who *has tasted that the Lord is gracious*, to tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is also King,—that his Christ is the Saviour of the world, and that the Holy Ghost is the Sanctifier of our corrupt and sinful hearts, as well as the Comforter of those into whose soul the iron of slavery has entered. Nothing on earth can cancel the obligation which binds all those who are set on the higher seats of this world to look to the religious instruction of

those below them,—first, of those nearest to them, and then of those of the dispersion in all the habitable parts of the globe. And

“ O ! 'tis a spectacle for angels bound
On embassies of mercy to this earth,
To gaze on with compassion and delight.”*

We have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but for the sins of the WHOLE WORLD,—and if so, is it not a Christian duty to be thankful!—is it not a Christian duty to extend the knowledge of God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself? Amongst the rest of our merchandise and bales of goods, should we not add to *our* freight of gain that which shall be gain to *others*? Is it not our duty to spread the *truth as it is in Jesus*, and that the oracles of God may be known, and that men may be holy, just and good; and that they may leave those dumb idols by which they have been led captive of the Devil; for *this*, is it not our duty to encourage the Missionary, to encourage the religion of holy places, and the building of those Churches and Chapels which are the glory of all lands,—and, even if some *do* err, the repositories of truth?† Assuredly so! As we value the hope of our calling it is a Christian duty, and blessed is that widow's mite which forwards so good a work. For, if it be written, as it is, that *whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved*,—how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how *shall* they preach, except they be sent?

We are verily persuaded that the call was never louder for our assistance than in the case of the emancipated Negroes,—an act of mercy, which, even if it have been done too hastily‡ and without sufficient forethought for the bettering of their estate, still shall be received as an act of mercy. Nay, should these Colonies be wrested from our hands, and our former iniquities towards them be so visited, even then the act of mercy, suggested of heaven, has gone forth, and it needeth not to be repented of. And, therefore, the Christian, whose only hope is in the *strength* of his *salvation*, may say with Nehemiah, *think upon me, my God, for good, ac-*

* Montgomery's Pelican Island.

† See Bishop Butler's Sermons, pp. 284, 285, and 291. He well observes, that “ Christianity is very particularly to be considered as a trust, deposited with us on behalf of others, in behalf of mankind, as well as for our own instruction.”

‡ “ A cry against slavery was raised in Cowper's days; his voice was heard in it; in our own days it has prevailed, and brought about a consummation devoutly to be wished; though it was to be wished also, that the emancipation had been graduated and the Negroes better prepared for it.”—*Southey's Life of Cowper*, vol. ii. p. 52.

according to all that I have done for this people Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy.—(c. v. 19, xiii. 22.) Yes! fully are we persuaded that the call was never louder, though the cry from across the Atlantic was caught upon the Irish shore, and was mingled with the cry of those who, by an unhallowed combination, though ministers of the sanctuary, were perishing for lack of bread!

Our help is called for, our charities are solicited, and the object of these remarks (which may be considered as supplementary to the paper in our last number) is to call the attention of our readers, so as that they may press the subject in their different neighbourhoods. Let those who have freely received, give as freely; and let the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things to our West Indian brethren, be exceedingly beautiful! But if any shall think that they need not be an object of such extreme solicitude, because divided from us "*Oceano dissociabili*,"—or, as others vainly and uncharitably, not to say impiously, think, by colour,—let them know that *God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.* Our cry, therefore, should be, when we think of each and every unconverted heathen, *Alas! my brother!*—and with our cry should be coupled a prayer* for their growth in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For, if the sun *has* burnt the Æthiopian's brow, and if his swarthy hue has been given him of heaven, *he* needs not be ashamed that the sun in the perfect day has marked him as "a child of the sun;" neither need *we* blush to call him brother,—yea, rather, if we do not, if we do not assist our West Indian Colonies in their spiritual need, we have little of Christianity but the name. And then, for our lack of charity, God may do to us, and more also, than he did to Israel of old, who were cast off because they were not *true* Israelites. But, blessed be God, he hath put it into the hearts of his people to give ear to their king's letter, and in this case, as well as in the case of the Irish clergy, an appeal to the charities of the nation has not been in vain! However men may understand it, *charity* (in some sense or other) *shall cover the multitude of sins!* And, as it has been beautifully said by Cudworth,† "*The golden beams of truth, and the silken*

* Jeremy Taylor's Prayer, (on Ps. xlv.,) "For the Conversion of the Heathen, and Prosperity of the Church," occurred to our minds.—*Works*, vol. xv. pp. 133, 134.

† Many are but acquainted with this great man by his "*Intellectual System*." This extract is from his *truly Evangelical* Sermon on 1 John, ii. 3, 4. It has been reprinted, and may be procured separately. Those who know it not will thank us for

cords of love, will draw men on a with a sweet violence, whether they will or no." Again let us express our joy that the appeal has not been unheeded; for, as says our great poet of Avon,

————— " if our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not."

We have dwelt long on this subject, but it was one on which we were most anxious that our opinions should be before the world. We proceed now to the consideration of the next book at the head of this article—the Memoir of Mrs. Stallybrass.

And here at starting we must say that we were much delighted with it, and much disappointed with it also. But probably our disappointment is what we have to thank ourselves for: we looked for many, and various, and interesting accounts of the Mission, and those we did not find. We were sorry, and looked again to the title-page, and the title was, what the book simply is, "*Memoir of Mrs. Stallybrass*"—one of those "*devout*" and "*honourable women not a few*," with whom this country abounds, and who are ever ready to share the missionary's labours here, in hopes of the glory that is to be revealed:—women these who probably would have been in the number of those recorded in the Acts of the Apostles—*τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας καὶ τὰς εὐσχήμονας*. We do not mean to say that the book is to be judged by syllables, for there are many expressions in it (e. g. such as that of *setting up an Ebenezer*,* and others) which evidently belong to a certain school, and which remind us of the old *puritanical diction*, on which many are fast verging. Again, there are some *points of doctrine*, or rather, some *Scriptural doctrines, carried beyond their proper bounds*, which, as Churchmen, we are unable to approve of, but which are likely enough to be found amongst those who are called the Independent Missionaries, as they are amongst all the Dissenters, and amongst all those who are an *unordained ministry*. But upon these points we are not called upon to animadvert, and they are mentioned only by way of caution. When we say, therefore, that the Memoir is not to be judged by syllables, and when we assert it as our opinion that it is written in what has been

the reference. We are not sorry to confess that it was first mentioned to the writer in a foreign land.

* Our readers will recollect that it is adopted from that passage in the First Book of Samuel which relates the discomfiture of the Philistines at Ebenezer, on that day when the Lord thundered with a great thunder upon them. "*Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.*"—vii. 12.

As some may be in doubt on the matter, we may add that the expression in p. 5, "*admitted a member of the Church*," is a common one amongst the Dissenters for being *admitted to the Communion*. So true is the saying of Jeremy Taylor, that "*the indiscretions of religion swell to vanity, when we think they grow towards perfection.*"

called *the morbid style*, we trust we shall not be misunderstood. On the whole, we are much obliged to Mr. Stallybrass for what scattered information the book contains.

It will be our object now just to give our readers an insight into this distant Mission, under the direction of the London Missionary Society,—to show them on what distant spot it is situated, what difficulties it has had to contend with, and how much it is needed that the work of the Lord should prosper in its hands. But the Word has travelled far, and so has that Name, which is above all names. To use the words of the Bæotian bard,

“ Πέταται δ' ἐπὶ τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θα-
λάσσης τηλόθεν γ' ὄνομ' αυ-
τῆ.”

And here the Memoir may speak for itself.

“ In the year 1816, the attention of the Directors of the London Missionary Society was directed to the Mongol-Tartars, who inhabit the extensive country on either side of the Lake Baikal, in consequence of the representations of the Rev. Messrs. Paterson, Pinkerton, and Henderson, who were zealously and actively employed in promoting the objects of the Bible Society in Russia.”—p. 26.

Many of our readers will probably be well acquainted with Mr. Henderson's “ Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia,” which, as well as his “ Iceland,” contains a vast deal of information. The result of his journey was the book alluded to, and, we may add, the appointment of the Siberian Mission now before us. The person appointed to this post was the compiler of the Memoir which we are considering—then a student at the old College, Homerton, under the auspices of the Society; and he was to proceed to his *labour of love* “ in conjunction with a companion, or companions, afterwards to be nominated.” Within nine months after his appointment he was united in marriage to Miss Sarah Robinson, the daughter of Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Sarah Robinson, of Stepney; the time for his departure was fixed, but again changed, and finally decided on for Friday, (Good Friday,) May 16, 1817, when Mr. and Mrs. Stallybrass “ left London, in the Gravesend packet boat, to join the vessel Oscar, which was destined to bear them to St. Petersburg.” On the 2d of June they arrived at Elsineur, and were hospitably received at the house of T. Ellah, Esq., an English merchant—an occurrence which we mention because Mr. Stallybrass has since married for his second * wife, Charlotte Ellah, one of the daughters of the late

* If any should wonder at a second marriage after the loss of one so valued as the late Mrs. Stallybrass, we would refer them to what Jeremy Taylor says on this subject, vol. vi. pp. 461, 462; and we would add, that we know personally how he is “ strictly performing the will of the dead,” by providing for, and tenderly and wisely educating the children.

Mr. T. Ellah—a woman, as we think from personal knowledge, of all others fitted to be the wife of a missionary,—ready to spend and to be spent,—blessed with a spirit of cheerfulness and natural vivacity which (under God's blessing) will help her over many a difficulty, making her a solace to her husband in his manifold cares; whilst at the same time the spirit of devotional piety, which is as a robe and a garland to her, will, if tempered with discretion and godly sincerity, prove an infinite blessing to the benighted heathens around her. Hers it was to know, (in the *better* words of Madame de Staël,) that “*toutes les qualités de ce monde disparaissent à côté des vertus vraiment religieuses;*” and so she has left the land of her birth, parent, kinsfolk and acquaintance,—sisters whom she loved as her own heart's blood,—friends who were as her own soul,—the “Sabbath bell's* harmonious chime—the heavenliest of all sounds, that hill or vale prolongs or multiplies,”—all these she has left, and is now on the Lake Baikal, and in the midst of the Buriats, where, for the Christian's worship, she is surrounded with abominable idolatry, and the heathenish rites of the Dalai-Lama.†

But we left them at Helsingör, (or, as it is commonly written, Elsinour): from thence they departed for St. Petersburg, where they arrived on the 10th of June, and remained there till the 2d of January, 1818, “as well to await the arrival of companions in their contemplated journey, as to acquire some knowledge of the Russian language, and to obtain the patronage of the authorities here to their mission.” On the evening of the 2d they departed on their long journey to Irkutsk, and here we cannot avoid transcribing the following favourable testimony to the benevolent intentions of the Emperor Alexander:—

“Through the singular and almost unprecedented favour of the late excellent Emperor Alexander, who manifested great interest in this mission to a tribe of his heathen subjects, all that could possibly tend to

* Wordsworth. Cowper's lines are equally beautiful.

“How soft the music of those village bells,
Falling at intervals upon the ear
In cadence sweet, now dying all away,
Now pealing loud again, and louder still,
Clear and sonorous, as the gale comes on!
With easy force it opens all the cells
Where memory slept!”—*Task*, b. vi.

† We have now no space to enter into any account of these idolatries. The following is from Levesque's “*Histoire de Russie, et des Principales Nations de l'Empire Russe.*” “La religion des Kalmouks est le Lamisme, ainsi nommé parce que les principaux membres du clergé s'appellent *lamas*. Le mot *dalai*, qui signifie la mer, et qu'on emploie aussi pour marquer une grande étendue, étant joint à celui de *lame*, forme le titre du premier pontife de cette religion, et signifie prêtre ou pontife universel.”—vol. viii. p. 129, ed. 1812, Paris. See the whole of Chapitre xviii. “Du Lamisme.” Also the “*Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*,” c. iii. § 3, p. 133, Helmstadii.

facilitate their (i. e. the missionaries') journey was effected. Letters were written to the governors of provinces through which they had to pass, and to the directors and masters of the post, under whose jurisdiction horses for travelling are placed in Russia; and a post-courier was ordered to accompany them, in order to render every assistance and prevent delay."

Those who have been used to travel in northern countries will duly appreciate this mark of attention. In Sweden nothing can surpass the regularity of the *Förbud*, or the attention paid to the *Förbuds-sedel*.

The journey of the missionaries to Irkutsk, where they first purposed to settle, was performed in less than three months, and they arrived there on the 26th of March, having travelled upwards of 6000 versts.* The incidents of the journey we have little space to dilate on. We, however, have noted the following:

"A Tartar burying-ground lately pleased me much. It was at the distance of about a verst and a half from the village, in a beautiful spot, remote from public view. A little simple mound of earth, with a perpendicular pillar of wood, and here and there a birch-tree, was all that bespoke it to be the resting-place of the dead. With the exception of a cross instead of a pillar, there is scarcely any difference in their simplicity between this and a Russian church-yard."

However tame the concluding remark may be, it is most true:—

"*They form a great contrast to an English burying-place.*"—p. 104.

There is something so simple in the account which follows that we give it at length.

"Dined at Achinsk,† a very considerable village on the banks of the Chalin. Here we met, for the first time, travellers from Irkutsk, consisting of a large family, who occupied three kibitkas, the neatest we have seen on the road. After dinner I rambled into the church-yard, with the courier as my attendant, while Mr. Stallybrass was engaged in looking to our kibitka, which wanted repair. On drawing near the portal of the consecrated edifice, the courier persuaded me to go in, and led me forward through the outer porch, where stood a number of worshippers, into the inner temple. While making some observations on the splendour of the ornaments, &c., the priest entered, and bowing gracefully, inquired whence I came, and whether I spoke the Russian language. To the latter I replied that I spoke very little, but that my husband, who was at the neighbouring inn, spoke it. He said he should much like to see my companions, but having service to perform, respectfully withdrew. I hastened out of the church, returned to the inn, and

* The Russian verst is about three-quarters of an English mile. In page 80 (note) the verst is said to contain 3500 English feet.

† The reader who may possess "Stieler's Hand Atlas," with the Supplementary Maps, will be enabled to track the missionaries throughout. In the *Polar Karte* the Lake Baikal, together with the rivers running in and out of it, and the position of Selenginsk, are all accurately engraved.

persuaded my companions to gratify themselves as I had done. We all proceeded thither, and on entering the place where I had before seen the people, found they were all ranged in a circle round the corpse of an infant of twenty-two days old. The priest was standing in the centre, with a censer in his hand; and an under-priest, or clerk, at a desk, was repeating in a loud tone of voice, after the former, the burial service, to which the people responded at intervals, bowing down to the ground, and crossing themselves. The priest then repeatedly walked round the dead body, chanting a funeral dirge, and at the same time waving the censer, which contained a burning incense, over the corpse; after which he took from a bystander a shovel of earth, which he sprinkled on the body; and then, from a vase different from the former, he waved a perfume in the face of the mourners. At this instant the father of the child, kneeling down, and taking the tapers from the coffin, kissed the napkin which covered the head of the infant, and, the lid of the coffin being put on, all withdrew."—pp. 109, 110.

At first it was determined that Irkutsk should be the seat of the mission. "The town is pleasantly situated on the north east bank of the Angarà,* into which the small river Irkut—whence the town takes its name—empties itself." But here they remained little more than a year, and before they quitted it had to sorrow for the departure of their fellow missionary, Mr. Rahm, owing to the ill-health of his wife. The cause of the change of residence may be given in the words of the memoir.

"Very shortly after the departure of their friends, the remaining missionaries proceeded to act upon a plan which had been before formed, for removing the seat of the mission to a more favourable spot. It was soon found that the city of Irkutsk did not appear at all a favourable situation for carrying into effect the designs of the society. As the Buriats do not reside in the Russian towns—except a few for the sake of employment—but, on account of their flocks and herds, dwell in the wilderness,—the missionaries found themselves cut off from all intercourse with them. And, although the year, spent in this retired way, was by no means lost, as it gave them the desired opportunities for studying the language, yet a situation in the midst of the people, in which they would be brought into immediate contact with them, seemed absolutely necessary in order to attempt imparting to them the knowledge of God and eternal life. In addition to this, the circumstances of the Buriats near Irkutsk, did not offer so many facilities for the *commencement*, at least, of a mission, as another tribe did. They had no books,

* For the account of this river, see Malte Brun. In his *Traité Élémentaire*, he says, "à sortie du lac Baïkal, cette rivière est tellement resserrée entre les rochers, que les plus petits bateaux ne peuvent y passer qu'avec précaution,"—and yet it is "généralement 600 à 1200 toises de largeur," tom. ii. p. 94. Ed. 1851. Captain Cochrane, in his *Narrative of a Pedestrian Journey through Russia and Siberian Tartary*, says, "its banks present some pleasing views, and numerous populous villages are scattered on either side," vol. ii. p. 124. What this traveller says of the Angarà on its flowing out of the lake is hardly to be reconciled with the account of Malte Brun.

and spoke a very corrupted dialect of the Mongolian language. The missionaries were already furnished with gospels and tracts, printed at St. Petersburg, for distribution: but here, of course, there were none to whom they could be useful. Whereas a considerable proportion of the Buriats on the south-east side of the lake Baikal have books, are able to read, and use a much purer dialect. With the view to a removal thither, Messrs. Rahm and Stallybrass had taken a journey in the preceding year, and had nearly fixed upon a spot for the site of the mission,—the spot upon which the mission houses were afterwards built. It is in the vicinity of Selenginsk, formerly a town of some importance, but now sunk into a state of insignificance.* Thither Mr. and Mrs. Stallybrass directed their course; and leaving Irkutsk on the 5th of July, and crossing the lake in a trading vessel, they arrived, with their effects, safely on the 16th.”—pp. 133, 134.

The site of the mission, then, is to the east of the lake Baikal, and the subjects of the mission are the Buriats. Of the lake, which is in that part of Siberian Tartary which is comprised within the province of Irkutsk, the Tartars may well be proud, and Captain Cochrane says, that “the approach to the unfathomable Baikal lake may be considered one of the grandest sights in the world.” In such estimation do the Tartars hold it, that they call it the Holy, and the Charmed Sea. But we must content our readers with the account following from Malte Brun, who, in speaking of the lakes of Siberia, says,

“Le plus important de tous est le lac Baikal; son nom signifie en langue iakoute *mer riche*. Les Bouriats l'appellent *Dalai*, et les Toun-gouses, *Lam*, c'est à dire mer. Son étendue excuse l'inexactitude de cette denomination: il a 150 lieues de longueur, 15 à 25 de largeur, et 468 de circonférence. Il est alimenté par un grand nombre de petites rivières qui descendent des montagnes qui l'entourent. Sa masse d'eau présente plusieurs phénomènes jusqu'à présent inexpliqués; souvent on remarque à sa surface une violente agitation qui n'est occasionnée par aucune cause sensible; quelquefois le moindre vent suffit pour la soulever, tandis qu'elle reste calme pendant les plus grandes tempêtes. Ses eaux sont douces, légères et limpides: on y peut distinguer les plus petits objets à une profondeur de 30 à 40 pieds.”—*Traité Élémentaire*, vol. ii. p. 95.

Thus much for the lake. The people to be converted (when it shall please God to say, *Let there be light*,)—the Buriats that is,—occupy the whole of the mountainous region to the east of it, and, for the most part, are sunk in the grossest idolatry. They say of themselves that they formed originally one of the Kalmuck

* Verchney Udinsk has risen upon the ruins of Selenginsk, about seventy miles apart from it, according to Captain Cochrane.

† This would appear similar to what is called the “Bottom Wind” in Keswick Lake or the Derwent Water. Captain Cochrane simply remarks, “The winds are most violent, and subject to instant changes, resembling hurricanes. The sea is said to run mountains high.”—vol. ii. p. 125. What he has noted after this seems incredible. Indeed it is a strange book altogether!

tribes, and are therefore Mongolian, which their language agrees to.* The account given by Levesque, is, “ Ils vinnent, au temps de Tchingis-Khan, chercher un asile dans les pays montueux qui se trouvent au nord du Baikal;” . . . and shortly after, “ Ils errent sur les côtes du Baikal, sur les bords de l’Angara et de la Léna, et ils s’étendent du levant au couchant depuis l’Ostrog d’Oudinsk jusqu’à la ville de Nertchinsk.” Their population, (according to Malte Brun,) is estimated at 80,000† souls.

Such is the spot, and such the people to whom these missionaries were sent forth. And he who shall consider how (to use the words of Jeremy Taylor,) “ weak man knows first by elements, and after long study learns a syllable, and in good time gets a word,” will easily see the difficulties they had first of all to contend with in learning the Russian, the Mongolian, and the Mantshur languages, that so they might speak in “ a tongue understood by the people.” Even Captain Cochrane, whose remarks on the mission were invidious and uncharitable,‡ though he was received with open hands, is obliged to do them justice on this point. His words are,—

“ While learning the Mongolian language, they have also become acquainted with the Mantshur, owing to the circumstance of there being no dictionary of the Mongolian, except with that of the Mantshur. Thus the missionaries had to learn the Russian, Mantshur, and Mongolian languages at the same time, and to form their own dictionaries and grammars, which have the advantage of alphabetical arrangement over those in former use, in which the words were only classed under their different subjects. They now speak and read the Mongolian with facility.”

What he says on the subject of missions is just what all those are apt to say, who think the work is of man, and not of God. But he is no more, and we would therefore say as little on the subject as possible. For the mission’s sake we extract part of the note of Mr. Stallybrass on the subject: “ His book survives; and for its sake I observe, that there is scarcely a sentence, respecting the mission, but what abounds with either error or misrepresentation.”—p. 219, note.

As concerns the mission itself and its success since the time

* See a German Work by Isaac Jacob Smidt, entitled “ *Forschungen im Gebiete der ältern Religiösen, Politischen und Literarischen Bildungsgeschichte der Völker Mittel-Asiens, vorzüglich der Mongolen und Tibeter.*” We much fear the labours of the lamented Professor Rask, of Copenhagen, on the Caucasian dialects, were not in a sufficient state of forwardness at his death to be published.

† See Levesque’s *Histoire*, ut *suprà*, vol. viii. pp. 167—176.

‡ See vol. ii. pp. 130—132. He should have remembered that,—*τράπεζα μὲν ἱερὸν χεῖμα*,—and have thought with the German bard,

“ Des schönen Lorbeers frisch gebrochen Zweig
Sind wir bereit, mit unsern Freund zu theilen.”

Captain Cochrane was there,—which was just at its onset,—we are sorry we are not enabled to give further particulars than such as are derived from the memoir before us, and from a private letter which has not long ago come to hand.* From the both of these, and from the return of Mr. Stallybrass to the scene of his former labours at the close of 1835, we have a good hope that the Bible has not been translated into Mongolian in vain. For this it is well that the missionaries kept together at the first, and did not relinquish, neither give up what the traveller was pleased to call “their too comfortable a berth.” It was not for nothing that the seventy were sent out *two by two*, and the preacher saith not in vain; *Two are better than one; because they have a good reward for their labour. For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow: but woe to him that is alone when he falleth; for he hath not another to help him up.*† Yes! we have a good hope that the Scriptures are not put into the hands of the Buriats for nothing,—and even if they *did* (as the traveller reports,) bring their “religious books, thirty waggon loads, from Thibet, at an expense of twelve thousand head of cattle,”—yet *now* there may be that leaven amongst them which shall leaven the whole lump, and their images which *must needs be borne, because they cannot go*,‡ may be ready to fall like Dagon before the Ark. And if it be not so,—still a thousand years is with the Lord as one day, and the seed sown will not be lost. So that the missionary may rejoice to say in the face of evil report and of good report.

“D'un cœur qui t'aime
 Mon Dieu, qui peut troubler la paix?
 Il cherche en tout la volonté suprême,
 Et ne se cherche jamais.
 Sur la terre, dans le ciel même,
 Est-il d'autre honneur que la tranquille paix
 D'un cœur qui t'aime?”§

The missionaries who afterwards joined them were Messrs. Swan and Guille, the former of whom drew up the sketch of Mrs. Stallybrass' character which will be found at the end of the memoir. It will be seen from the memoir itself how much pains she took to instruct the Buriat children,|| and though, owing to

* We have waited three weeks for a set of the London Missionary Reports from the year 1821 to 1836,—but unluckily we were unable to procure them complete. Had they arrived we should have given a brief statement of the growth and progress of the mission.

† Ecclesiastes, iv. 9, 10.

‡ Jer. x. 5.

§ Racine, *Athalie*, act iii. sc. viii.

|| Tillotson says well, that “childhood and youth are choice seasons for planting of religion and virtue, and if parents and teachers sleep in this seed-time, they are ill-husbandmen; for this is the time of ploughing and sowing.”—vol. iv. p. 529.

their indifference, as well as to their scattered state and migratory habits of life, her little school never exceeded ten or twelve at a time," we may yet hope that her instructions have not fallen on a rock which shall yield no produce. To her school she devoted herself till they left Selenginsk in 1828, and for the purpose of extending the mission, settled themselves on the river Khodon, about 200 miles to the north-east of the former town,—where Messrs. Swan and Guille now remained to pursue the work they had in hand. At Khodon she was the faithful helpmate of her husband in his missionary labours for more than four years—till February, 1833—on the 11th of which month, exhausted by incessant toil, "she breathed out her soul into the hands of Him, to whom she had dedicated her life and her all."

Such is the substance of the memoir before us, and the fruits of the mission, we doubt not, will some time or other be perceived. We would now note down one or two passages which we have marked for extraction.

"July 2nd. A visit to-day from the principal Lama in this neighbourhood, in return for one paid him by Mr. Stallybrass yesterday. It is observable how much influence such men seem to command over the lower orders of the priesthood, as well as laity—not excepting little children. It was affecting to see with what order a little boy, four years of age, came in, bowed three times to the ground before the Lama, and then approached to receive his blessing. In this respect a great Lama is placed on a level with the Supreme Being, or, according to their ideas—*beings*."—p. 160.

The account which follows of a feast amongst the Buriats cannot fail to interest, though the interest be accompanied with painful sensations. If *one sentence* appear to court attention, it must be recollected that the whole is an extract from a private journal, never, most probably, intended so see the light.

"17th. On one of the distant hills a feast has been held to-day. Having never witnessed these annual amusements, I felt a desire to go, which Mr. Stallybrass gratified. The road soon became known to us by the company, who were all mounted on horseback. The women were richly dressed, and their horses handsomely caparisoned. They would not be distinguished from men at a little distance (as they ride astride, and wear broad hats like the men,) but for their costly beads, of which an immense number are suspended in long rows from a *tiara* worn on the head; these, together with the hair, which is plaited on each side, reach to the elbows. The saddle cloths, &c. of their horses are mounted with ornaments of metal and small shells in a very tasty manner, and when several are in company together, make a great noise like a number of little bells. From this scene of gaiety my thoughts reverted to that day, when 'there shall be upon the bells of the horses, holiness unto the Lord.' With these cheerful travellers we joined com-

pany, till we arrived at the spot appropriated to the opening of the feast. On a hill, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, a sort of booth is formed of trees, called by the Buriats, Oboga, or Obo,* and in front a large circle of Lamas seated themselves upon their mats, leaving a space in front for the offerings to the gods. These consist of flesh, corn, &c. The head Lama, dressed in costly array, seated first in the circle, began the service, giving signals by a little sceptre which he held in his hand, and by various motions of his fingers. These were observed by the others, who stood in the centre, scattering, by a dexterous motion of the fingers, these different offerings: while the whole circle, consisting of about fifty other Lamas, were reading prayers in the Thebitan language, wholly unintelligible to the common people, and nearly so to the Lamas themselves. Around this group were seated all the spectators, the men taking the right, and the women the left side, no one taking his seat till he has been in the circle to obtain a blessing from the chief Lama. Before the service closed, some water, esteemed holy, was handed round to the company, each one receiving a little in his hand, and drinking it. The last part of the ceremony was shooting with bows and arrows, and a gun, into the air; and this was explained to us as expressive of the desire that all their enemies might be kept far from them.† All now remounted their horses, descended the hill, and rode to the opposite side of the extensive plain below. There they again dismounted, seated themselves in ranks on the grass, and commenced their feasting, of which boiled mutton and asiki‡ form the principal materials. Horse racing and wrestling closed the festival.”—p. 162—164.

In conversing with a Geloon on the subject of transmigration, and on Mr. Stallybrass's asking him how these things could be?

“He appeared to be ashamed to avow, as many more ignorant do, that transmigration can exist; and when asked if he thought the doctrine admissible, why an infant, as the Dalia Lama had frequently *seen* (*quære been*,) did not immediately exercise the understanding of an adult: he replied, it was possible for him to do it at *seven* years of age. Like many others, when pressed for a defence of this system, he urged that our religion was good enough for us, and they were satisfied with theirs.”

In the same page there is made mention of a *prayer machine*,—an instrument somewhat like a small mill, such as is used in gardens to frighten birds, round the barrel of which a prayer is

* “Signifying a heap; and this is a heap of branches of trees, which is augmented every year.”—*Note*. Φρυγάνων φάκελοι συνενέεται, says Herodotus of the *quasi-temple* of Mars amongst the Scythians, lib. iv. 42. Levesque says “Les Bouriates, au lieu de temples, ont des kéréments comme les peuples de race fennique. Ils donnent à ces lieux sacrés le nom de Tailga.”—vol. viii. p. 173.

† Thus the Scythians spoke enigmatically in their gifts to Darius.—Lib. iv. c. 131. ἔπειμπον κήρυκα, δῶρα Δαρείῳ φέροντα ὄρνιθά τε, καὶ μῦν, καὶ βάτραχον, καὶ ὀϊστοὺς πέντε.

‡ Spirits distilled from milk. See p. 156. When Levesque speaks of “une tasse pleine de lait et d'eau de vie” at their “sacrifice solennel,” he probably alludes to the same.

rolled, and agitated by the wind,—“which placed on the top of the hill in front of the distant tents, spared the inhabitants the trouble of raising their voices—not to say their hearts—in prayer to God.” How many a Romanist,—how many a Protestant,—patters prayer no better than this machine! In p. 203, the following melancholy instance of its use is recorded.

“An old man called a few days since, on his way to the temple, whither he was travelling sixty versts on foot, though not destitute of a horse, for the purpose of turning the *prayer machine* for a week, which he designed performing on his arrival, in order to atone for past misconduct and drunkenness. He pleaded hard that we should give him some spirituous liquor to drink. Mr. Stallybrass took an opportunity of showing him the absurdity of relying upon his own performances to atone for sin, when, for even a day, he had not strength to resist.”

It is most distressing to read of the continual and repeated cases of drunkenness which the memoir relates as abounding amongst all the Buriats.*

Levesque in his chapter on the *Religion des Bouriates*, has this remark, “Comme les Bouriates se sont séparés des Mongols et des Kalmouks avant que ceux-ci eussent embrassé la religion du Dalai Lama, ils ont continué de vivre dans le chamanisme.” To this we are glad to subjoin the following statement from the memoir before us. Mrs. Stallybrass is speaking of a cottage which has been purchased by Mr. Swan for the use of the mission.

“Its situation on the banks of the Ona, in a fertile plain, sheltered by the north-west hills, render it healthy and agreeable; and accessible, as it is, by a large number of the Chorinsky Buriats, who, once wholly the dupes of Shamaism, are now gradually embracing the Dalai Lama system, seems to make it, in all respects, an eligible spot for Christian missionaries to plant the standard of the cross.”—p. 200.

With this extract we must conclude, and we have given thus many, because the existence of this mission is little known, and the *labour of love*, therefore, little appreciated. Much it has had to struggle with, and little hitherto has been the prospect of success,—but the hearts of people, as well as of kings, are in God’s rule and governance, and he disposes and turns them as it seemeth best to his godly wisdom,—therefore (though we cannot hope to see it,) we believe that the time will come when even the benighted Buriats will be fetched home to the Lord’s flock, and “saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made

* See a striking passage in Jeremy Taylor concerning the vices of rude and uncivilized nations as compared with the greater sins of polished and civilized ones. The latter, “*distill wickedness as through a limbeck;*” the former, “*make themselves drunk with the lees and cheaper instances of sin.*”—vol. ii. p. 107.

one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord."* And so the missionary may rejoice to say with Habbakuk the Prophet; "*Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation. The Lord God is my strength, and he will make my feet like hinds' feet, and he will make me to walk upon mine high places.*"†

Of the next memoir at the head of this article we have only room to say a few words, and we have set it there only, because it is a fit companion to the one now noticed. Its faults of composition and peculiarity of diction are the same,—but these are nothing when we are called to think upon two such exemplary Christians as Mrs. Stallybrass and Mrs. Ellis. They were not of double heart—and though their sun has gone down while it was yet day,—blessed are the dead that die in the Lord!

Wohl dem, der frei von Schuld und Fehle
Bewahrt die kindlich reine Seele!

Suffice it to say of this exemplary woman that for nearly eight years she laboured with Mr. Ellis to spread the knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the South Sea Islands. The flesh, however, was weaker than the spirit, and she was obliged at last to seek again the home that she had left, for the love of God and man. Here she lingered for more than nine years, having never regained her former health, though at times the appearances were flattering. Let the memoir tell her death.

"It was near the hour of midnight, on the 11th of January, 1835, when, amidst the sobs and tears wrung from the hearts of those around, the watchman was heard pursuing his beat under the windows, and calling the hour (past eleven o'clock), but no one attempted to speak till her youngest daughter, in hurried and stifled accents, seeking relief from her own anguish of soul, exclaimed 'She's happy now.'"‡

The reason why we have given this brief notice only is, because we suppose there are few of our readers who have not seen the *Polynesian Researches*, and gathered from thence the interesting and deeply affecting accounts of the South Sea missions;—or at least we suppose there are few who have not read that masterly

* Third Collect for Good Friday.

† Habak. iii. 17—19.

‡ The following extract from p. 18 will remind our readers of Hooker's latter hours. It occurred at an earlier stage of her sickness, (Nov. 22, 1826.) "The greater part of the following day was passed in great pain. In the evening she said, 'I am greatly comforted by meditating on the ministry of angels;' repeating, as the ground of her belief in their presence, the last verse of the first chapter of Hebrews."

article (attributed to Mr. Southey) in the Quarterly for May, 1830, on the mission in the Georgian and Society Islands. Consequently there needed not that particularity of detail which we have given on the Siberian mission. As to the Polynesian Researches themselves they will well repay any one's perusal, and the account of Pomare the Second* is, perhaps, for interest, unrivalled in the whole of missionary documents. We conclude these notices by wishing that the several missionary societies, divided from the Church, were united to her. A wish, vain perhaps, but one, could it be verified, which would, under God's blessing, be of incalculable benefit. 'That all knew the practical truth contained in the Patriarch's charge, *See that ye fall not out by the way!*

We have now arrived at the last book named at the head of this article,—the Journal of the exemplary Archdeacon Wix, from February to August, 1835, kept during his missionary visitation along the southern and western shores of Newfoundland. This is a book which none can take up without being painfully and deeply moved,—and few there are who can know the missionaries' manifold toils. The only parallel instance to the present is that of the Moravian missionaries in Greenland and in Labrador,† of whom Cowper beautifully says,—

“ Fired with a zeal peculiar, they defy
The rage and rigour of a polar sky,
And plant successfully sweet Sharon's rose
On icy plains, and in eternal snows.”

Those who would have any idea of the labours of Archdeacon

* We have, by the way, in our possession a part of the xvth chapter of St. John's gospel, written with Pomare's own hand in his native tongue. Who will be bold enough to say that the labour of translating the Bible into distant and foreign tongues is labour in vain? Shame! that it ever should be said in a Christian land!

— “ What is man,
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? A beast, no more!
Sure, He, that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before, and after, gave us not,
That capability, and godlike reason,
To fast unused.”—HAMLET.

† See Crantz, History of Greenland, English Ed, 1820; or the German *Geschichte von neu Herrnhut*, Leipzig, 1765. This copy has the original plates, but the most curious ones are Hans Egedes, in *Det gamle Grönlands nye Perustration*, Kjöbenhavn, 1741, 4to.

“ Doch wär es eine Schande
Im kalten Lande
Von Jesu Liebes-Brande
Nicht mehr zu seh'n!”

Wix must read his book. How little do we imagine the cold and almost the nakedness he had to endure! How little can we picture to ourselves the frost, and the snow, and "the thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice," which he had to pass through on his journey of glad tidings! How little do we know of sleeping in the woods and in the open air, where each "vagabond wind" is only tempered by His mercy who sendeth it out of his treasures! And when wearied by the length of the way,—lost, perhaps, more than once, and only found again by "observing the inclination of the topmost branches of the juniper or larch-trees" to the east—who would expect, when about to record the journal of his hardships, and his thankfulness withal, to find his ink frozen? And where should the missionary find paper to write on when his knapsack was restricted in weight to fourteen pounds? Alas! for record of human loss and gain,—"had it not been for some boxes of paper, which had been dispersed along the shore in different wrecks,"—this journal had not reached us, neither should we have known what we now know,—the missionary's joy to *fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh for his body's sake, which is the Church*, dispersed abroad in the bleak and cold regions of Newfoundland.

But we have no space to dwell more on generals; we will, therefore, briefly state the object of the publication before us, and then make such extracts as may inform, and excite those who have it in their power to contribute to the good work in which the Archdeacon is engaged.

In the close of the year 1833, ill health compelled Archdeacon Wix to visit England, and it was then his wish to have called the attention of the charitable and benevolent to the want of a second church at St. John's. It did not, however, at that time seem expedient to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts that this appeal should be made publicly and from the pulpit, lest, being a particular and specific one, "it might operate prejudicially against some grand appeal which that society at that time meditated making for its general objects." The Archdeacon, therefore, (like a faithful and true servant of his mother-church,) submitted to their judgment and was silent. Nevertheless, he returned to the seat of his labours, as might be supposed, with a heavy heart,—and the more so because he found the Lord's people led captive, as well by the spirit of dissent, as by the wiles of the Roman Catholic Church, which never lacks means, or spares pains, to accomplish her objects. Upon his return he found matters worse than he left them, and seeing the good man's cares, his wife (truly a *κυδνή*

παράχοιτις, with a noble spirit) offered to be the bearer of this journal, and of the appeal which it contains,

“for aid” (to use the archdeacon’s own words) “in the erection of the new church, which, after having painfully witnessed the want of it for more than five years, I feel it at length my imperative duty to undertake, in faith, for the Protestants of St. John’s, who, to a greater number than 3000, are without any means whatever of assembling to worship God, after the manner of their fathers.”*

Two thousand pounds are needed for the accomplishment of the object,—and the publishers of this journal are authorized to receive subscriptions for it,—

“and most anxiously will the writer look for the next arrivals from Europe, which may announce to him the degree of success which has attended the present appeal.”—(p. 239.) “His primary object is, indeed, that of exciting the liberality of those who have the means of helping him in his attempt to afford this necessary church accommodation to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Communion in St. John’s. But he would wish, also, to excite a feeling of Christian sympathy for the entire population of the island, which is upwards of 70,000. He has recently visited several portions of it, which had never before been visited by any minister of any name. The same cannot be said of several other portions which he lately visited, only because, five years since, he had himself paid them, before, the first visit which they had ever received. Those who desire the spread of the Redeemer’s kingdom, and are anxious to hear the state of their less favoured brethren abroad, will, doubtless, have been interested in the report which has been submitted to their notice, of the religious state of a portion of the Christian family with which they were not previously acquainted, or but imperfectly acquainted.”—pp. 239, 240.

Having presented our readers with the object of this journal, we now subjoin a few extracts which will give some faint idea of what a Newfoundland missionary has to do, and to go through. The first will show the difficulties of communication between one spot and another.

“It may give some idea of the difficulty of communication in the winter, even in the neighbourhood of St. John’s, if I state here that gentlemen at Port de Grave had not seen a St. John’s newspaper for a month, when I arrived amongst them; and that, in Trinity Bay, I found that the sum of forty shillings had been on a late occasion demanded, and twenty-five shillings actually paid, for the casual conveyance of a single letter, overland, by one of the cross-country guides.”—p. 17.

“*Friday*, 13.—Went off on a bitter cold morning, in a bait-skiff, two hours’ sail to ‘Clatter’s Harbour,’ at the back of the Isle of Valen. The

* It will be seen by the Society’s Report, that they have contributed £100 towards the building of the church.

slob and swish ice becoming thicker, prevented our getting up the arm; walked, in consequence, to the head of the north-east passage, by thickly wooded 'gulshes,' three miles or more; thence across a neck of land to Chandler's Harbour, in Paradise Sound, about one mile; thence I went along the hills by the shore, towards the south-east bight, which I had hoped to reach by night. We got benighted, however; the moon became obscured, and as a drift came on, with a drizzling snow and rain, we made a night-fire. For feeding this we felled, in the course of the night, a sufficient quantity of spruce and birch to have made a most shady retreat in a space equal to Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there we waited for the dawn. This is a more accurate account of such a night, than it would be to record that we had slept in the woods; for the traveller, lying on a few fir branches upon the snow, freezes on one side, while the blazing flame scorches him on the other. I did not, at this early period of my cruise, understand so well as I afterwards did, the plan of making a fire in the woods; and in my hurry to greet the welcome sight of a cheerful fire, by which I might break the fast which I had kept since seven in the morning, I had neglected the necessary preliminary of digging out a hole in the eight feet of snow which were on the ground. The immense fire which we kindled, for want of this precaution, continued to melt down the snow, lower and lower by degrees, till, before the dawn of morning, I was left to the action of the piercing winds, on the top of a bank of snow, the fire being in a hole much below my level, and only benefiting me by its smoke, which threatened to blind, as well as to stifle me."—p. 55—57.

Not having room for so long an extract, we must refer our readers to p. 195—198 for, perhaps, the greatest peril this excellent man underwent. Speaking of the previous cold, he says, "it was so intense as to make the trees to crack, in the silence of the night, as though struck with an axe; my watch, also, under the same influence, became of little use, a most serious inconvenience when traversing the country in a season when the days are so short, and a little miscalculation may occasion the traveller's being benighted before he is prepared." *

Having been put down at a place called Middle Point, Mr. Wix gives us another account of toils such as we are not apt to think of. The spot will be seen in the chart.

"*Wednesday, 13.*—Proceeded down the eastern shore. In several places I was up to my arms in the salt water, in getting round points of rock, which it was impossible to climb. In some places I had to leap from rock to rock, over such chasms as alarmed my dog, from my frequent falls—now upon the icy crag, and at another time upon the

* On another occasion, Archdeacon Wix says, "I myself have seen the fish as soon as they have been taken out of the water, turn up from the cold and die immediately, stiff frozen, and could not but pity the poor men who were subject to such exposure in rough weather."—p. 71. Shall we have no fellow feeling for the missionary, who, without having been inured to it, braves such cold for the Gospel's sake?

slimy beach rock, on which my seal-skin boots, saturated with wet, gave me a most insecure tread. I was several days afterwards unable to rest my elbow on a table, and was, in other respects, very stiff, and, what was a greater inconvenience than all, as it only admits of reparation in England, I ruined my watch from getting it wet in the salt water, which immediately rusted it. I had kept it, too, in a side pocket of my coat, above my waist. The snow was so deep in the wood, and the tangled brush of the forest so harassing, where I did succeed in climbing the cliffs, to avoid the deep water round any of the projecting points of rock, that I was frequently near fainting from fatigue. At length, however, I thank God, I reached a house at the isthmus. I was quite as glad to see it, I am convinced, as the crew of a vessel wrecked last year, near Red Island, to the westward, off the mouth of St. George's Bay, could have been when they reached it. It was a walk, indeed, in which it would have been a tempting of God to have engaged knowingly."—pp. 160, 161.

Such are one or two of the perils by land and water which the missionary had to undergo,—taken almost at random from the journal. With the like we might fill many pages,—but we would rather give our readers an insight into the joy with which the Archdeacon was almost every where received. This, however, is not an easy matter, as it is to be collected from every page. Never were the footsteps *shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace* more gladly welcomed in modern days! In one passage we hear an aged Churchman breaking forth, and saying, "It is bad enough now, Sir; but then (that is, when he first became a settler from Chard, in Somersetshire,) twelve months and twelve months would pass without our hearing a word of a book, or any talk about a church." This man lived within a reasonable distance of St. John's, and in a part of the island which is not *in darkness*. At another more distant place, in the house of one where the missionary had officiated, we hear the exclamation, "Ah! Sir; if any of us be sick or sore, there is no one near to visit us, or to care for our souls!" Again, as the good man was departing from a certain place, "a young woman, who had waded, with difficulty, through the deep snow, which had been falling all night, arrived, to request me to baptize her *infant child*, and to church herself." An aged woman also puts to shame the *lettered ignorance* of many in our own land, by begging of the missionary some books, observing, "I am fond of church books; a neighbour of mine 'faults' the church catechism in his talk, Sir; but to my belief, though I am no scholar, there is not like to be a better." Aged woman! go on and prosper,—our prayer is put up for thee! We have a better hope of thy faith than of them who would do down with that Liturgy which has been the admiration of the wisest and best of men! In another place we hear of an old man from

Sturminster, in Dorset, dropping tears on a Sunday "to think of the church at home, which I thought too little of when I was there; and often I have felt, that I would have given the heart out of my body, Sir, to hear the Church prayers on the Lord's day." Reader! has the tear never started as thou hast read the cxxxvii. Psalm? Turn to it, and pray for a blessing on this aged man,—on the dispersion in Newfoundland! one of which many thousands told the missionary "with tears, that next to the death of her father, she had felt it the greatest calamity in her life, that, on removing at marriage to her present place of residence, she had not been permitted, so great was the scarcity of books in her native settlement, to take with her her prayer-book and some other works of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." Shame, shame upon you, ye that malign this national blessing by speech or in a newspaper! *Why should this dead dog curse my lord the king?*

But we have space for no more particulars. We conclude therefore with the following touching extract,—remarking, by the way, that the journal is replete with other observations besides those which relate to the labours of the missionary.*

"*Friday, 29.* The next morning early I parted with my worthy friend M. J. who was obliged to return, as he was in hourly expectation of a brig in the bay of Islands, direct from Jersey, in which the owners, who were his employers, wished him to proceed to the Labradore fishery. The superior demeanor of this person, compared with that of the people by whom he is surrounded, and his superior religious intelligence, were most gratifying. It may stimulate the exertions of those engaged in Sunday Schools, to know, that he attributes it himself to the attention which he received, when a cabin boy, from a worthy clergyman in England. He was a native of Newfoundland, and received as fair an education as his highly respectable parents could themselves give him in a little out-harbour. He went home, however, when young, and while waiting for the sailing of his vessel, he was seen at church regularly on Sundays, and weekly prayer days, in his sailor's clothes in the pew of some English relatives in the port: the clergyman on observing this, noticed him, and took pains to give him instruction in his Sunday School, and on other occasions. He is now able to assemble a congregation, or to read by a sick bed, and has taught several of his nephews and nieces, and other neighbours to read, and he has told me, that he knew he never could forget the kindness of that clergyman,—he trusted he should never forget the advice which he had given him. How many grateful testimonies of this nature has it been my happiness to have had mentioned to me at different times in the last nine years, by the settlers in these distant colonies! The parish boy, or giddy girl, the impression, or improvement of whose heart, the village pastor has thought hopeless, as he presented the

* There are numerous interesting remarks on natural history,—upon people and upon things, which cannot but make it an agreeable book even to a cursory reader.

case in his private addresses to the throne of grace, has returned in a foreign land some portion of the obligation under which the kindness of the pastor of their youth has laid them to the Church, by entertaining and introducing into their neighbourhood one of that missionary church's missionary clergy; and, as after the dismissal of the settlement from his more public ministrations, confidence has been encouraged, and reserve has been removed; tales have been told of the village school and of the catechising in the aisle of the church, and of the pastor's affectionate stroke upon the head of my host,—rugged and weather-beaten now,—but then a sleek curly-headed youth, and the reward-book, with the pastor's valued autograph, has been brought forth, and the clasped bible and the torn prayer-book, which he would not by any means part with, but would wish for another,—till—O! the missionary and the man of rugged features, have both become children! and on the thought of home, and of the church-yard stile, and the village spire, and the intervening sea! and the present sad, sad wilderness in which they are wandering, or wearing away life, far from the privileges of which such fondly recollected scenes remind them, they are both in tears, and both upon their knees praying for a blessing upon the dear church of their fathers, that God would keep it with His perpetual mercy, cleanse it and defend it with his continual pity, and, because it cannot continue in safety without His succour, preserve it for evermore by His help and goodness through JESUS CHRIST, our Lord!"—pp. 178—181.

ART. VI.—*The Theological Library. Vol. XIII.—The Life of Archbishop Laud.* By Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A. Professor in the East India College, Herts, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons. 1836.

IN this volume Mr. Le Bas has added to those claims upon the gratitude of Churchmen, which he has successively made of late years, by stimulating at once and supplying the thirst for ecclesiastical history, ignorance of which may safely be accounted one of the most deplorable evils of this time. No one can judge of the exact measure of evil in a deficiency, who is not aware that there is any deficiency at all. Those, then, who know nothing whatever of the history of Christianity in past times, whose insight into the course of Providence for 1800 years is confined to some slight acquaintance with chronology, or with the names of such sects and parties as prevail *de facto* in this day, will remain contented with the present platform of things, and will take every event in the ecclesiastical world as it comes, without capacity or anxiety to form any definite judgment about it. To them one opinion about existing matters is as good as another, and none good for much, except it be to afford subject for conversation, or lead to this or that immediate secular result. Ecclesiastical changes or movements are regarded merely as they affect local or personal interests or political parties. But let a man know ever so little of the his-

tory of former times, and he will at once discern, if he has any portion of a serious and thoughtful mind, that he is under a course or dispensation of things, as truly though not as visibly divine, as the Jewish; that no event which happens to the Church stands by itself, but arises from the past, influences the future, and bears upon the eternal destinies of thousands upon thousands. Under these circumstances the real condition both of himself and of his generation is brought home to him; he and they are like travellers on a desert without sun or landmark, chart or compass; they do not know how they came there, or whither they are tending, so that every step is fearful lest it should be in the wrong direction. For instance, at present we are evidently working out principles and events of three centuries old, elements of good and evil, which have to be sifted, separated, repressed, fostered, as the case may be, and have employed in this very work our great Divines and Churchmen ever since. Popery and Puritanism are still alive and struggling for the ascendancy, and must be resisted by the same measures, or at least on the same principles, on which Whitgift or Hooker resisted them in their day; and, if we do not know their faces when we fall in with them, and are surprised and overreached in consequence, it will assuredly not be for want of opportunities of information, if we would employ them.

A curious and almost incredible instance of this exceeding ignorance as regards *facts*, is afforded by certain strange and not unfrequent mistakes in our treatment of standard authors, viz. in citing, as their own, not their own text, but the positions which they have undertaken to refute, and building an argument thence as if on the vantage-ground of their authority. It has been confessed by the representatives of the late respected Mr. Scott, of Aston Sandford, that for years and years his "Force of Truth" contained as Hooker's a passage of Cartwright's which Hooker had undertaken to refute; and another modern writer might be named who is open to the charge of having, in all innocence, taken a similar liberty with the same great divine. Again, it is said that the popular duodecimo editions of Pascal's Thoughts contain passages which he had quoted, we believe from some French author, for the sake of refuting. Now it is no great crime to mistake Bull for Pearson, or Cave for Bingham, or Basil for Chrysostom, but to mistake Augustine for Pelagius, or Hooker for Cartwright, certainly does require an explanation, and total and self-satisfied ignorance is the kindest explanation we can suggest. Writers now-a-days open the volumes of our old divinity, not to know their contents or gain instruction from them, but to see if there be any thing there which will tell in favour of their own views. They turn over the pages, and, if any passage strike them as apposite,

down it goes in their note-book, and is forthwith published without any solicitude about its why or whereabout, its history, its parentage, its occasion, or its context.

Mistakes about the Middle Ages afford another pregnant evidence both of our ignorance of history and of our resignation under it. A Turkish Minister, on the news of a battle between Russians and Persians, is said to have asked his informant, "what it was to the Sublime Porte whether the dog beat the hog or the hog the dog?" And like his is the indolent superciliousness with which a pseudo-protestantism regards the dealings of God with his Church through a whole decade of centuries. Were it not that we cannot help dating our letters 1836, it might be suspected that we thought Christianity a few hundred years old, or that, like the Persian monarch, by dipping our head into water and lifting it out again, we had annihilated long periods which once had an existence. Or, as the other alternative, we seem to deny, that the Gospel had ever really a beginning, or Christianity founders; as if it had existed as an opinion, or rather as a hundred discordant opinions, from time immemorial, derived from a volume written in English, and set up in types, and sold in Earl Street, Blackfriars, from time immemorial. The fact that it has existed and been dispensed in divers times and places is above the reach of our present religionists. Certainly they would feel indignant at being confused with their ancestors of four centuries since, nay with the witch-finders and astrologists of a more recent date; yet they feel no conscience at throwing together in one the eras, persons, and exploits of more extended and not less eventful periods. The respective characteristics of this or that series of Popes, the varying relations of Church and State in this or that country, the differences of ecclesiastical policy between an Henry and an Edward, are subjects quite beyond the range of their sensibilities; and they are satisfied that Popery being one and the same in all times, what happened in one century may be fairly fastened in condemnation upon the character of the next.

Another serious indication and result of the same ignorance is the flippancy with which even religious writers speak of the established forms of orthodoxy, and the labours of the early Fathers to whom we owe their public adoption. Every word in the Creeds is the issue of a long history of controversy and trouble; and till we know that history, we cannot possibly know the value of such expressions, nor the expediency or lawfulness of altering or dispensing with them. Every error, now produced, is the same or all but the same as former errors; and though the fact that an opinion has been anticipated long since, is no argument to its present upholders that it is an error, yet it is a reason

why they should not be so very well pleased with themselves, and so very confident that they have wherewith to demolish received doctrines. Every rite and ceremony is expressive, with more or less accuracy, of one certain character of mind, in distinction to others. The times of which Mr. Le Bas treats in the present volume furnish abundant illustrations of this last remark. What could apparently be so futile as a contest about a vestment or a posture, on which continually the controversy turned with the Puritans? But in fact, as that contest when viewed in the history shows, such differences were but the external indications of ecclesiastical views radically distinct from one another.

But it is time to turn to the consideration of Mr. Le Bas' present volume. The author seems to feel the delicacy and difficulty of portraying a character which at this day labours under the odium and unpopularity attaching to Archbishop Laud; but we feel no apprehension, whatever anxiety the work has cost him, that it will be not repaid with a more than counterbalancing success. Not a step, indeed, can be taken in the account of this great Prelate's life, but some or other charge has to be refuted, or mistake rectified; and the difficulty of course is very considerable, to do what mere justice requires, and yet to avoid the appearance of being a mere partizan or panegyrist, instead of an historian. Yet we feel confident that Mr. Le Bas has so conducted his narrative as to secure its extensive popularity even in this anti-Laudian age, and that many will be the family and the solitary student whom he will disabuse of those prejudices which education has engendered.

However, the chief and truly characteristic point of view in which he represents the Archbishop is one of which perhaps he is hardly himself aware, viz. that of a Reformer. In good truth, Laud in all respects merited that now popular title, and seems to have had the virtues and defects which are commonly supposed to attach to it. We do not for an instant intend to *limit* his character to such a view of it; but we speak of its external development, and with reference to the active functions which he was specially allotted. Nor, again, must it be supposed that he was a Reformer on any principles or no principles, according to the fashion of this day, but upon definite and fixed principles, those ancient and Catholic lines of truth and sanctity which Apostles laid down once for all, and on which the Scriptures are based. Still, whatever his real inward qualities of mind, which were great, generous, and bold, philosophical and devotional, and whatever the strength and truth of the principles on which he governed the Church whose interests were committed to him, after all he was, all through his life, and is conspicuous in history as being, a *Re-*

former, amid as unchristian abuses, and with as tough a struggle, and with as hard an issue, and as true claim to the praise of Martyrdom, as the worthies of the preceding century.

His early years at Oxford were devoted to a noble and almost chivalrous effort (as it appeared) to reclaim the University from Calvinism to the pure and primitive faith which was unjustly stigmatized at the time as Popery. And in thus resisting the "traditions of men," and appealing to "the Law and the Testimony," he incurred in full measure the enmity of those who, without having the grosser vices, had all the conceit and affectation, the formality, narrowness, and obstinacy of the Pharisees. Yet he threw himself into the contest with a high-minded spirit, and showed no signs of wincing, in spite of the false and cruel suspicions to which he was in consequence exposed. Mr. Le Bas' interesting and picturesque narrative will afford us some specimens of this contest.

"When Laud commenced his academic residence, Oxford bore a greater resemblance, in many respects, to a colony from Geneva, than to a seminary of Anglo-Catholic Divinity. The genius of Calvin presided in the schools. The dark theory of predestination was maintained as an essential ingredient in the faith of a Christian man. The Apostolic succession of Bishops was treated as little better than a fable. The authority of the Church was scornfully disregarded. The very existence of a visible Church during the long period of Papal predominance, was gravely questioned by some distinguished divines, while others maintained that it was to be sought for only in the scattered Conventicles of Berengarians, or among the Albigenses, or the mountaineers of Piedmont, or perhaps, among the Wiclifites of England, or the Hussites of Bohemia. In short, the whole life and virtue of religion appeared to be well nigh concentrated into one thing,—an abrupt and impetuous departure from the Church of Rome.

"Now the theological studies of Laud had taught him a very different lesson. They had been prosecuted in the spirit of the Canon of 1571; which enjoined that the interpretation of Scripture should be regulated, not by a licentious exercise of private judgment, but by a strict regard to the doctrines which had been collected from Scripture, by the primitive fathers of the Church. It was remarked by Dr. Young, by whom Laud had been ordained, that his studies had not been confined to the narrow and partial systems of Geneva; but that his scheme of divinity had been raised 'upon the noble foundations of the Fathers, the Councils, and the Ecclesiastical Historians.' And, hence, he pronounced that, if the young man's life should be spared, he would become a fit instrument for the Church's deliverance from the trammels of every modern school, and for her restoration to the more free and comprehensive principles of the first and purest ages. The whole plan and elevation of doctrine which this course of inquiry had set before him, he found to be in strict conformity with the original scheme of the Anglican

Reformation ; but, in many essential respects, at mortal variance with the theory and the practice which then had got possession of the schools. And he was seized with a vehement desire to bring the Church of England from this state of defection, back to her native principles.

“ It was not long before an opportunity was afforded for the manifestation of his *zeal*, his *forwardness*, and his *confidence*, in the cause of pure and primitive Christianity. Such was the estimation in which he was held, as a scholar and a divine, that, in 1602, he was admitted to read the Lecture of Mrs. May's foundation, with the full consent and approbation of his College. And it was either in this, or some other academical exercise performed about the same time, that he resolved to stand forward in vindication of the Articles and Constitution of the Church. The adventure was one which, in times like those, demanded an intrepid resolution. But Laud had, doubtless, counted the cost of his warfare : and he, accordingly, maintained, in opposition to the predominant theology of the day, ‘ the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that Church, as in others of the East and South, until the Reformation.’ By this exploit he marked himself out as an object of hatred to the Puritans, and, more especially to their patron and champion Dr. George Abbot, Master of University College, Dean of Winchester ; and, in 1603, Vice Chancellor of the University. This divine (who was afterwards elevated to the Primacy of all England) was the foremost man among those who affirmed that it was impossible to discern the visibility of the Church, otherwise than by tracing it, through a straggling series of sects, from the days of Berengarius to those of Luther and of Calvin. These opinions he did not embody in writing till the year 1624 ; but they were notoriously entertained, and urgently contended for by him, at the time when the contrary position was taken up by Laud. There is too much reason to believe that Abbot never forgave this act of open resistance to the authority of his name. And it is most certain that, from that moment to the end of his days, Laud was detested and pursued by the party of Abbot, as a confederate of Popery, and a sworn enemy to the Gospel of Christ.”—p. 5—8.

At the time of this first protest against the errors of his day, he was about 30 years old, an age which seems marked out by nature as that when the principles are at length finally settled, and the silent meditation and study of former years begin to display themselves for the good of the destined objects of their influence. Shortly after we find him engaged in a similar controversy.

“ In July, 1604, he became Bachelor of Divinity. From the propositions which he undertook to defend, in his exercises for that degree, it is evident that his spirit was wholly undaunted by the resentment which his first theological essay had so recently called forth. He maintained, first, the necessity of Baptism ; and, secondly, that there could be no true Church without Diocesan Bishops. Two subjects more distasteful to the Puritans could not easily have been selected. They did not suffer the occasion to pass without reminding Laud that their eye was constantly

upon him. His arguments for the necessity of Baptism were treated with contempt, on the ground that they were borrowed from the writings of Bellarmine; as if all reasoning *must* inevitably be vicious, which had been resorted to by a Papist. For his vindication of Episcopacy, he was severely assailed by Dr. Holland, Rector of Exeter College, who had succeeded Laurence Humphrey in the divinity chair. The mantle of his predecessor, as well as his office, appears to have fallen upon Holland; for he now complained loudly that the disputant was casting the torch of discord between the Church of England and the Reformed Churches beyond the seas. The result was a general conviction that Laud was becoming, every day, more thoroughly steeped in Romish superstition."—pp. 9, 10.

In consequence a violent effort was made by the ascendant party to preclude him from the headship of his College, (St. John's,) to which, on a vacancy in 1610, his merits justified his aspiring. Abbot, his inveterate enemy, being at this time Archbishop of Canterbury elect, addressed himself through Lord Ellesmere, the Chancellor, to the King, alleging the so-called Popery of Laud; and, when this attempt failed, recourse was had to a most unusual measure,—unusual, that is, in our own quiet times,—to hinder the election.

"It appears that among the competitors was one Rawlinson, formerly a fellow of St. John's, and at that time Principal of St. Edmund's Hall. When the scrutiny was completed, and the election on the point to be declared, one of Rawlinson's supporters, perceiving that the result would certainly be favourable to Laud, suddenly snatched the scrutiny-paper, and, in a moment, tore it to pieces. By this outrage, some doubt was thrown upon the regularity of his election, and the matter was referred, by appeal, to the decision of the King."—p. 19.

The King confirmed the election, and the dispute ended, though time of course was required to cool the heats which such dissensions involved. Mr. Le Bas here furnishes us with two remarkable facts. The first is, that, bigot and firebrand as Laud is represented, he succeeded, in the course of a few months, in restoring peace to his society, which was never afterwards interrupted. He was able to boast that, during the eleven years of his Presidentship, nothing happened to disturb it; and for the truth of this he publicly appealed in his adversity to the knowledge of individuals of consideration in the Church, who were in a condition to give evidence on the subject. The other instance shall be set before the reader in Mr. Le Bas' own words.

"There was one part of his conduct, more especially, which could scarcely fail to disarm the hatred even of those who had been most forward to injure him. For the sake of example, it was necessary that some punishment should be inflicted on Bayley, the individual who had torn the scrutiny-paper. Laud, however, perceiving him to be a young man

of promising talent, steady application, and intrepid temper, thought it wiser, as well as more charitable, to win him by kindness, than to confirm him in his alienation by severity. He accordingly released him from the censure inflicted upon him, as soon as was consistent with propriety; and, not content with this, he bestowed upon the man his favour and his confidence; and, at length, made him his Chaplain, advanced him in the Church, married him to his brother's daughter, and, eventually, obtained his promotion to that very Presidentship which he had endeavoured to snatch from Laud, and with it, to one of the best Deaneries in the kingdom."—pp. 20, 21.

His next dispute, and under more painful circumstances than any of the former, was with Robert Abbot, the Archbishop's brother.

"It chanced that, in the course of a sermon preached by him (Laud) before the University on Shrove Tuesday, 1614, he had ventured on some expressions bitterly offensive to the Presbyterians. On the Easter day which followed, he (Abbott) preached at St. Peter's in the afternoon, and his Sermon was so obviously directed against the Preacher of Shrove Tuesday, that it was impossible for any one of the congregation to mistake the individual at whom he aimed. At this exhibition, Laud himself was not present. His friends, however, thought it due to his reputation that he should boldly make his appearance at St. Mary's, on the following Sunday; on which day, conformably to the ancient custom of the University, the same Sermon would be repeated. Laud, though not without some reluctance, consented; and the consequence was that, according to his own account of the matter to Bishop Neile, 'he was fain to sit patiently, and hear himself abused, almost an hour together; being pointed at as he sat.'

This circumstance is well worthy of attention, not only because it illustrates the spirit which never ceased to persecute him, till it brought him to the scaffold, but, also, because it shows what were some of the opinions, then stigmatized as treasonable to the Protestant faith. The following is a specimen of the language of the assailant:—

'Some,' said the preacher, 'are partly Romish and partly English, as occasion serves them; that a man may say unto them, *Noster es, an adversariorum?* who, under pretence of truth, and preaching against the *Puritan*, strike at the heart and root of the Faith and Religion now established among us. They cannot plead that they are accounted Papists, because they speak against the Puritan; but, because, being indeed Papists, they speak nothing against them. If they do, at any time, speak any thing against the Papists, they do but beat a little about the bush, and that but softly, too, for fear of waking and disquieting the birds that are in it. They speak nothing but that, wherein one Papist will speak against another; as against Equivocation, and the Pope's temporal authority, and the like; and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches. But, in the points of *Free Will, Justification, Concupiscence being a sin after Baptism, Inherent Righteousness, and certainty of Salvation*, the Papists beyond the sea can say they are wholly theirs, and the Recusants

at home make their brags of them. And, in all things, they keep so near the brink, that, upon any occasion, they may step over to them. Now, for this speech, that the Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists, there is a sting in the speech which I wish had been left out; for there are many Churches beyond the seas which contend for the Religion established among us, and yet have approved and admitted the Presbytery.' Then, after some sentences in vindication of the Presbyterian Discipline, the preacher proceeded thus: 'Might not Christ say, what art thou? *Romish* or *English*? *Papist* or *Protestant*? Or what art thou? A mongrel, or compound of both? A *Protestant* by ordination? a *Papist* in point of *Free Will*, *Inherent Righteousness*, and the like? A *Protestant* in receiving the Sacrament? a *Papist* in the doctrine of the Sacrament? What, do you think there are two heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place yourselves there. For into this, where I am, ye shall never come!'

This passage is extremely important and memorable. The invective of Abbott very plainly discloses to us certain of those ingredients which entered into the composition of what has been sometimes complained of by the vindicators of Puritanism, as the *Semi-Protestant* Divinity of those days. And this disclosure must be kept steadily in mind, if we would duly estimate the justice of the charge, that, among the theologians of James and Charles, several were guilty of a perfidious approximation to the Romish scheme of doctrine. To exalt the Eucharist above a mere act of commemoration, to maintain the freedom of the human will, to doubt whether or not the elect are favoured with a full and perfect assurance of salvation, all these were infallible symptoms of a relapse into superstition and corruption! Every step *from* Calvinism was held to be *towards* Popery. All who were not fixed and stationary at Geneva, were denounced as meditating a desertion to Rome. By artifices like these, it was that the character of *Papist* was made to adhere to Laud so closely, that he could no more shake it off, than he could escape from his own shadow. Let him say or do what he would, he was still, manifestly, no other than a servant of Anti-Christ!"—pp. 23—26.

These extracts afford a specimen of his "good warfare" at the University, and justify our giving him the title of Reformer. His promotions, which followed successively, introduced him into fresh spheres of usefulness, and of trouble thence resulting. His first dignity was the deanery of Gloucester, and here, while it was Laud's fate to impinge at once upon abuses, which required a remedy, it was not his character tamely to acquiesce in them.

"There was not a Church in the kingdom which exhibited in more ample measure the *peculiarities* of the Calvinistic discipline. Every thing was in a state of scandalous disorder. The cathedral was falling to decay: the worship was assimilated, as nearly as might be, to the service of a Conventicle. So notorious, in short, were the irregularities which had long prevailed, that they had excited the attention and the displeasure of the King: and Laud departed for Gloucester, armed, not only with his own zeal and resolution, but with the strongest injunctions

of his Majesty to effect a searching reformation. The first measure of Laud was to assemble the Chapter, to lay before them his Majesty's instructions, and to procure their consent to two acts,—the one, for a speedy reparation of the fabric; the other, for removing the communion table to the east of the choir, and placing it against the wall, conformably to the usage of other Cathedral Churches. He further recommended to the Clergy, and to the subordinate officers of the Church, the practice of a reverent obeisance on entering the choir; a custom which, at that period, was generally observed, in the chapels of the King, and of many among the first nobility in the land."—pp. 27, 28.

However, he had to encounter the opposition, first of the Bishop, then of the populace, who at the cry of Popery created a tumult, and rendered it necessary for the Magistracy to interfere. Yet here, as in the case of his College, success attended his exertions. In the course of less than a twelvemonth the mob was quieted, and the disorders were reformed, at no price but that which the author of reformations must ever expect from the community, a loss of name and credit to himself, in proportion to his good deeds. Laud set right the Cathedral of Gloucester; and he gained once for all the indelible title of Papist.

This achievement was a specimen of one of the more prominent labours of Laud's life, the restoring sanctity and a permanent form to the externals of religion. He had directed his exertions this way from the first.

"Of the life and habits of Laud, as a parochial clergyman," says Mr. Le Bas, "scarcely any notice has been preserved, except, that as one of his first acts, after taking possession of a living, was to assign an annual pension to twelve poor persons, that he laid aside one fifth part of his income for charitable and pious uses; and *that it was his invariable practice to put the Glebe-house into a state of substantial repair, and to see the Church supplied with becoming furniture.*"

The zeal which animated himself in private, and in matters of personal expense, in the first years of his ministry, showed itself on a noble scale and with most beneficial and enduring results, when he was Archbishop. Let us hear Mr. Le Bas' account of his proceedings in a later period of his life.

First as to the state of Parish Churches.

"The Archbishop resolved upon a Metropolitan Visitation of the whole province of Canterbury; in other words, upon a course of warfare against the manifold indecencies and abominations which, for a long period, had disfigured the Church. One of his first cares was, for the due position of the Sacramental Table, and for its protection from irreverence and desecration. It has already appeared, that, from the moment of his first promotion, this had always held a foremost place in his thoughts: and it has been conceived by many that it occupied a disproportionate share of his attention. In order to estimate his conduct rightly, it will be

proper to take into consideration the consequences which had resulted from a neglect of this department of ecclesiastical discipline. In the Cathedral Churches, then, and in the Chapels of the Nobility, that which we now scruple not to call the *Altar*, was usually placed, *where we now uniformly see it*, close to the Eastern wall of the Church; guarded by a decent railing from defilement and profanation. In many of the Parochial Churches the case was widely different. It was dragged, by Puritanical scruple or caprice, into the body of the Church, and treated as if no peculiar sanctity belonged to it. It often served the Churchwardens for a parish-table, the school-boys for a desk, and the carpenters for a working-board. In one place, we are told, a dog had run away with the bread set apart for the Holy Communion; and in many instances the wine had been brought to the *table* in pint-pots, and bottles, and so was distributed to the people. Such were the effects of an indiscriminate aversion for the practices of Rome! It can hardly be thought surprising that any man, whose mind was rich in the knowledge of Christian antiquity, and whose heart was warm with zeal for the glory of God, should look upon these base and slovenly usages with loathing and indignation; more especially when it was found that, by such practices, the Reformed profession was identified with positive impiety, in the estimation of the most sincere and sober-minded Romanists.

The Archbishop felt it to be his duty to attempt a reform of these unseemly abuses. And when he was finally called upon to answer for his proceedings, he solemnly averred that his motive was not a stupid attachment to Popish mummeries, but solely a desire for the restoration of external and visible Religion."—pp. 183—185.

In the above extract Mr. Le Bas exempts Cathedral Churches and private Chapels from the indignities which had been allowed in country places; however, from a subsequent passage of his work, it would appear that this is but a comparative approbation of them, and that the best that could be said of any class of sacred buildings is that they might have been worse.

"Another most important care which fell upon the Archbishop, was the restoration of the Cathedrals to a fit condition for the due and becoming celebration of Divine Worship. They were, most of them, in a state which indicated a long period of irreverent neglect. The Archbishop resolved to begin the work of reformation in his own glorious Cathedral. His first injunction was, that appropriate furniture should be provided for the solemnity of the Eucharist. And in order that this might be no transient regulation, he compiled a complete body of statutes for the government of the Church, with his own hand signed to every separate leaf, and despatched it to the Chapter under the authority of the Great Seal; and one of the enactments was, that every Prebendary, at his entrance into the Choir, and departure from it, should bow towards the Altar, and so make due reverence to Almighty God. A similar code was prepared by him for the Cathedrals of Winchester and Hereford. In various other Cathedrals, he found that the Chapters had been more careful of their own emoluments than of the repair and decoration of the

fabric. And, with the aid of Bishops Davenant and Morton, such effectual measures were taken for the correction of these abuses, that the Cathedral Churches began to recover something of their ancient dignity and splendour, and to serve for an example to the Churches connected with them. That many of the parochial edifices had long been in need of some such influence to preserve them from ruin, is undeniable. Of this, one instance may be mentioned, as illustrating the feelings with which such profanation was contemplated by Laud. At a visitation held by him, when he was Bishop of London, the preacher at St. Peter's, Cornhill, derived the word *Diaconus* from *κόνις* (*dust*); as if the title were significant of the *dust* and heat of a laborious life. 'I am sorry,' said the Bishop, afterwards, in his charge, 'to find here so true an etymology. Here is *dust*, and dirt too, enough for a Deacon, or a Priest, to work in; dust of the worst kind, from the ruins of this ancient House of God!' But of all the monuments of neglect which Abbott had left behind him, the Chapel of his own palace at Lambeth was, perhaps, the most disgraceful. When first Laud came to reside there, he could never enter it without disgust. It was a scene of filth, disorder, and decay. Among other deformities, the painted windows were in some places broken to pieces; and, in many, they were miserably patched with the most ordinary glass; so that, as Laud avers, they had the appearance of a beggar's coat. This state of things was not suffered by him to continue long. The whole Chapel was properly repaired. The windows were restored and beautified, as nearly as might be, according to the original design. The Communion-table was removed from the middle of the Chapel, fenced with a costly railing, and decorated with a suitable canopy. Plate and other furniture were provided for the Sacramental Service. Copes (which at that time were not wholly disused) were supplied for the use of the officiating Chaplains. The broken and tuneless organ was fitted up: till at length the whole place wore an aspect no longer dishonourable to the worship of God. The example of the Archbishop was not lost upon his own University; and the College chapels at Oxford gradually shook themselves from the dust.

In the principles which dictated these improvements there is surely nothing for intelligent and sober-minded men to reprove. In these days, it is difficult for us to imagine the perverseness which then revolted against the spectacle of decent solemnity—nay, of common cleanliness,—in the public services of Christian devotion. If Laud's proceedings, relative to such matters, were Popish, then are we, of the Reformed establishment of England, now living in the midst of an almost complete apparatus of Popery; for our Cathedrals and our Churches are, for the most part, in a condition which Laud himself might have looked upon with complacency. In those times, however, a reverence towards the Altar was often thought to indicate a firm belief that Christ was corporally present in the Sacrament of the Altar: and, in every painted window, was read no less than a design to subvert the true religion, and to set up Romish, or even semi-pagan, idolatry in its stead."—pp. 205—207.

This frenzy of the day will account for the charge of superstition brought against Laud, in the well-known instance of his con-

secration of St. Catherine's church. We should not have noticed here what we believe to be a mere exaggeration, as far as it is open to remark, except that silence might have looked as if we were ashamed of it. Mr. Hume's account of it is as follows:—

“ On the bishop's approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, ‘ Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may enter in!’ Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the bishop entered. Falling upon his knees, with eyes elevated and arms expanded, he uttered these words: ‘ This place is holy; the ground is holy; in the name, &c. I pronounce it holy.’ Going towards the chancel, he several times took up from the floor some of the dust and threw it into the air. When he approached, along with his attendants, near to the communion table, he bowed frequently towards it; and, on their return, they went round the church, repeating as they marched along, some of the Psalms; and then said a form of prayer, which concluded with these words—‘ We consecrate this church, and separate it unto Thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses.’ After this the bishop, standing near the communion table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, &c. &c. On the conclusion of each curse he bowed towards the east, &c. The imprecations being all so piously finished, there were poured out a number of blessings on such as had any hand in forming and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, &c. At every benediction he in like manner bowed towards the east, &c. The sermon succeeded; after which the bishop consecrated and administered the Sacrament in the following manner. As he approached the communion table he made many lowly reverences, and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the Sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was laid. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times toward the bread; then he drew near again, and opened the napkin, and bowed as before. Next he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was full of wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed thrice towards it. He approached again, and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament, and gave it to others; and many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended. The walls, and floor, and roof of the fabric were then supposed to be sufficiently holy.”

Here Mr. Hume leaves the matter, but we will add our present author's remarks.

“ His answer to this despicable charge may be seen in his own history of his trial; and the statements of his enemies, when compared with his, are almost enough to make one ashamed of human nature. It turned out that the *pompous retinue* consisted only of the officials, who always attend at consecrations; that the throwing up of dust, and the

uttering of curses, were pure fictions; and that the Pontifical supplied no more to the consecration service, than the Missal is known to have done to our Liturgy. He confesses that he approached the church door with the words, *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in*—a passage which had been used at consecrations from time immemorial. He further allows that he pronounced the ground to be holy, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And he contends that there is a *derivative* and *relative* holiness in places, as well as vessels, and other things, dedicated to the service and honour of God. He avers that he used no bowings (or *cringings*, as they were called,) but such as were demanded by the solemnity of the place and the occasion. And he added, 'are we, who have separated the chaff, to cast away the corn too? If it come to that, let us take heed that we fall not upon the *devil's winnowing*, who labours to beat down the corn. It is not the chaff that troubles him!'" —pp. 144, 145.

"But, even admitting for a moment, the representation of his enemies, respecting this fact, to be correct, the very worst which, in that case, could justly be urged against him, amounts to no more than this,—that he was betrayed into some transgression of the rigid letter of the ritual, partly by the fervour of his own devotional feelings, and partly by his disgust at that sordid slovenliness, which, of late years, had rendered the Protestant worship contemptible, and which, be it always remembered, was driving multitudes back within the attraction of Romanism. The fanatics swaggered into the church with their hats on, and frequently so remained during the whole of the divine service. Laud, in his anxiety to correct their almost brutal irreverence, was desirous that they who entered a church, should testify, by an obeisance directed towards its most hallowed spot, that they were conscious of treading within a precinct dedicated to the majesty of Heaven. The same feeling prompted him to give peculiar solemnity to the rite of consecration, the Puritans having maintained that the sanctity of the place walked in, and walked out again, together with the congregation! In short, like many other wise and holy men, he apprehended that 'religion would grow strangely wild, if it were left to the boisterous clowneries and unmannerly liberties' of those who, in the pride of their humility, trampled on the decorous appointments and ordinances of the Church." —pp. 146, 147.

In addition to these apposite observations, we would ask, is there any opportunity for exaggeration more ready than when testimony is to be given concerning manner, gesture, tone of voice, and the like; any circumstances which admit of so much unconscious colouring from the prejudices and feelings of the witnesses? The evidence given every day in police courts, of quarrels or riots, is sufficient to verify this remark. Whether this man or that spoke civilly or insolently,—what were the very words used by each,—who struck first,—whether the party struck, or shoved, or passively repelled, or submitted,—all such questions have two solutions, equally true and equally false, depending on

the side in the dispute taken by the deponents under examination. And in like manner, to a rude and scornful mind, to bow is to cringe; and to feel, and involuntarily show we feel, the presence of God, is either hypocrisy or superstition, as the case may be. Much more might this so appear on the occasion in question, were Laud flurried, or conscious he was making a protest, or that he was being looked at, or were he wanting in ease and dignity; nay, even his disadvantage of person might disparage what in another might have been accounted a seemly and reverential bearing. It should be added, too, that Mr. Hume's account is evidently from one who was unacquainted with the English ritual, and that the ordinary course of our Communion Service, as all clergymen perform it, might be made by the dexterous and profane, very much the same *in kind* as the ceremonial above attributed to Laud.

Laud is generally considered to have failed in his projects for the Church's welfare. His violent death, the immediate downfall of religion, and the unpopularity of his name and principles since, have created this impression. Yet, on a more accurate consideration, we may be led to a different conclusion. Two specimens have already been given of his exertions and his consequent successes. He made our churches decent, and restored their altars, and they remain so restored, so embellished, to this day. He encountered the Genevese spirit when ascendant both in Oxford and in the Church; and never since has it recovered its place, whether in the hierarchy or in the university. He has gained a number of hard names as an inheritance; but to him we owe the suppression of puritanical rationalism and profaneness for two hundred years. A third ever-enduring benefit has been his patronage of sacred learning. By far the greater number of our celebrated divines may be referred, directly or indirectly, to his influence or favour. Usher, Pococke, Hall, Bramhall, Sanderson and Taylor, owed their advancement to him. His principles in their main respects were adopted and propagated, in addition to some of the above, by Hammond, Pearson, Bull, Stillingfleet, and Beveridge. It is true there are two divines of his promoting from whom the Church has reaped no great benefit, able and accomplished as they were—Hales and Chillingworth; but when the circumstances are carefully considered, the censure which has thence attached to him will be found undeserved. These celebrated men were Arminians and Latitudinarians, and hence it is common to consider the archbishop as the follower of Arminius; and sometimes, too, his theological system as of ultra-Protestant tendency. Really, however, he had no more, or rather much less, to do with the principles of the Arminians than

the Puritans themselves. Arminianism, or, as it soon became, Latitudinarianism, was the *reaction* from Calvinism in Holland. The public mind could not long remain contentedly in the trammels of a human system, and, not having the refuge of true Catholicism open to it, it recoiled into an apathetic liberalism. The English Church, though tinctured with Calvinism, under Elizabeth, was saved from this melancholy reverse by the interposition of the more enlarged yet reverent principles of Christian antiquity,—by the rise of Laud's school, among whom there is but slight trace of Latitudinarian indifference. But our reunion with foreign Protestantism introduced that plague. Hales, who accompanied Sir Dudley Carleton to the Synod of Dordt, made acquaintance there with Episcopius, the disciple of Arminius, brought back his doctrines to England, and communicated them to Chillingworth. We have evidence in history of the great disquiet which this importation gave to Laud, who prevailed on one of these two divines to abandon or conceal his opinions. However, the contagion ran its course; in the next reign it gave rise to a school in Cambridge, under Tillotson and others, diffused itself through the nation in the writings of the celebrated Mr. Locke, which drew upon him the condemnation of Laud's own university, and evinced its inbred hatred to the Church, by co-operating in the separation of the Nonjurors, in the erection of the Presbyterian kirk, and in the ascendancy of Hoadly and his party.

But to return to Laud. Mr. Le Bas notices some specimens of his encouragement of letters in the following passages:—

“ The distracting responsibilities which came upon him daily, could never, for a moment, divert him from his course of enlightened munificence. He continued to enrich the University which bred him with a profusion of literary treasure, chiefly manuscripts in various languages, ancient and modern, European and Oriental, which he spared no pains in seeking or cost in procuring. Equally admirable was his care for the cultivation of those Eastern tongues which were most eminently subservient to the study of Theology. It has already been noticed that, by his intercession, a Canonry of Christ Church was permanently annexed to the royal professorship of Hebrew. His good offices were now extended to the Arabic language; a lectureship in which, was established, and afterwards endowed by him, in perpetuity, with a revenue of £40 per annum, and of which the first occupant was the illustrious Pocock. He further obtained the annexation of another Canonry to the office of public orator; a benefit which, however, was subsequently lost to literature, during the period of successful rebellion and usurpation. By these and various other instances of noble and generous patronage, his ascendancy at Oxford became almost supreme.”—pp. 213, 214.

Again, three years later :—

“ In the midst of all this care and toil, while his energies were tasked to the uttermost for the honour and stability of the Church, and his name was torn to pieces by ingratitude and calumny, the Archbishop was unwearied in devising liberal and glorious things for the cause of literature and charity. He erected, at his own cost, a stately pile at the west end of the Divinity School, at Oxford; the lower part for the assembling of Convocations, the upper as a repository for learned writings. ‘ And,’ as Heylyn quaintly remarks, ‘ that he might not be said to have given them nothing but an empty box,’ he furnished it with no less than 576 manuscripts, in addition to 700 which he had sent before; of which 100 were Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian. His munificence was, likewise, extended to his native town of Reading; upon which he bestowed a revenue of £200 per annum, to be employed in apprenticing young men, in assisting meritorious beginners in trade, in furnishing marriage-portions to deserving female servants, and, lastly, in augmenting the stipend of the minister of the parish church of St. Laurence. He also purchased the perpetual advowson of the same church, and annexed it to the patronage of St. John’s College. Certain other noble designs, of a more public nature, were entertained by him; some of which were executed, and others interrupted by the calamitous vicissitudes which fell upon him. Among those which he was not spared to accomplish, may be mentioned, his projects for increasing the poorer vicarages, for the settlement of the London tithes, for the establishment of a Greek press at Oxford, and for obtaining a grant from his Majesty, for the purchase of impropriations. He, further, intended to procure, at his own charge, a copy, on vellum, of all the Records in the Tower, relating to the Clergy, from the 20th of Edward I. to the end of Henry VIII. : but the troubles of the time prevented the completion of this work to a later period than the 14th of Edward IV. In order that the learned men of Europe might be enabled to judge between that Church and the faction which assailed it, he caused the Liturgy which had been rejected by the Scots to be translated into Latin: but the publication of it was prevented by the same unhappy cause which stifled several of his other undertakings.”—p. 249—251.

At an earlier date he had prevailed on the Earl of Pembroke to purchase no less than 240 Greek manuscripts as a present to the University, and gained twenty-eight more for the same destination from Sir Thomas Roe, King James’s ambassador to the Mogul. A benefit of a different and more important nature was his undertaking the task of forming the University Statutes, which had fallen into a state of almost inextricable confusion, into one intelligible digest, accommodated to existing circumstances. To this service was added the further benefaction of obtaining from the Crown the celebrated *Caroline Charter*, which contained not only a confirmation of all the ancient privileges of the University, but a grant of new ones, as ample and honourable as those enjoyed by the University of Cambridge. Here again Laud occu-

pies the position which we have already ascribed to him, the author of great and permanent deeds. Under his constitution the University is still conducted.

Another strenuous act, of which posterity has reaped the fruits, was his resistance of the Puritan scheme of purchasing impropriations for the establishment of lectureships in towns. This took place in the year 1631, under the following circumstances. Some years before, one Dr. Preston, a person of great influence among the Puritans, had recommended to the Duke of Buckingham the destruction of the Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches. The reasons produced by him for this confiscation were, as Mr. Le Bas informs us, first, "the promotion of God's glory," next, as subsidiary, the payment of James's debts, and the creation of patronage for the favourite himself. The plan failed; but the projector, untired, exerted himself in the discovery of some other means of effecting his end, the weakening of the Church established, and this was the plan above-mentioned. A sort of corporation was formed for the purchase of impropriations, though without authority either from King or Parliament, and very considerable sums were subscribed. The impropriations therewith purchased, instead of being employed in benefiting the livings to which they originally belonged, were used in the hiring of stipendiary lecturers, altogether dependent on their employers, and notoriously disaffected to the discipline, if not the doctrine, of the Church. The support of schoolmasters, of students at the University, of silenced ministers, and of their widows and children, were additional objects to which the fund was applied. Such a project, introducing into the heart of the Church a body of ministers dependent solely on a self-constituted board, was plainly intolerable, and Laud succeeded in overthrowing it by means of the law.

After surveying for a while the above and similar instances of Laud's services to the Church, the question suddenly comes across the mind, "What it is after all that has made such a man so unpopular?" and no wonder, if for a moment it remains in doubt. But the question is of no difficult solution: he was a Reformer and Restorer; and the labours of such men, when most beneficial, really are least pleasant to the objects benefited. It is easy indeed to gain these popular titles by popular acts, by flattering the waywardness of the populace or the cupidity of kings; but when most is done, fewest understand it, though their praise is a sufficient return. Besides, as was above noticed, Laud had the faults which commonly belong to reformers, though they have been most indulgently regarded in the case of others. He was rough and hasty in manner, violent in temper, and inconsiderate, nay it may be said even cruel, in occasional words or deeds. We have evidence of

his own consciousness and distress at these failings; and of his deep and habitual humility. The more we inspect his character, the more we shall acquit him of spiritual pride and self-esteem; an enemy might indeed accuse him of a superstitious and slavish temper, (to speak the language of this day,) but scarcely of the haughty, self-exalting spirit of a Wolsey. Yet, lowly as might be his own thoughts about himself, he was undeniably intemperate in his words and manner. On the examination of Felton before the Council, he threatened him with the rack;—an excess which not even the atrocity of the assassin's crime and his own strong attachment to Buckingham can excuse. When Richardson, the Chief Justice, was brought before the Council for giving orders to the Clergy in disobedience to the Royal injunction, Laud took upon himself to administer the censure upon him. It is sad work noticing the failings of men to whom we are indebted, and it does good to no one. Who is surprised at reading of Knox's violence and extravagances, his exulting approval of Cardinal Beautoun's assassination, and his violence towards Mary? He was not simply betrayed into excesses, but committed them on principle; yet we are accustomed to take them as part of his whole character, we take him for what he is, as a fact in history, and we bear to mention his name without reviling it. We call him magnanimous, and so in charity veil his pride and insolence. In like manner we endure in Luther great liberties of language, because he was a great man; liberties which we should be shocked even in imagination to impute to Laud. Calvin, again, in burning Servetus, went very far beyond Laud; as did the mild and cautious Cranmer himself, when, not from warmth of temper, but actuated by the spirit of the age, he kindled the flames of Smithfield in behalf of the Anabaptists. Charges, then, of ill-temper, peevishness and the like, are unfair and invidious when urged against so considerable a man as Laud; they were failings certainly, and are not to be explained away; but we may fairly ask for such persons as are not, in some respect or other, as faulty as he was, to cast the stone at him, and may allow his infirmities to pass *sub silentio* till we find a ruler or reformer of these last degenerate times less open to serious charges in life or manners. The real difference between him and the Reformers who preceded him seems to be this, that he was intemperate *against* his age, and they *with* their age; and, as treason never prospers, so strong measures, when unsuccessful, pass for rashness and tyranny. It is not a question between them of truth, but of good policy.

The other chief ground of exception against him is his supposed inclinations towards Popery; but these will always be attributed to the most moderate of men who unhappily live in the

midst of Puritanism or Latitudinarianism. Bishop Butler has not escaped a whit more successfully than Laud; as if to show us that not the greatest sobriety of mind or philosophical abstraction from the excitements and struggles of life will suffice for the exculpation of those who scruple to run the full race of vulgarities and profanities miscalled Protestantism. Laud bowed to the altar, Butler put up a cross; this was *enough* in the eyes of the multitude to asperse the fame of the former as well as of the latter; and it cannot be *more* than aspersed in consequence of those opportunities which he had and used above Butler for diffusing his principles. Till, then, something more in point is brought than that he offended the Puritans of his day or of this day, we may be content to let him bear so far an ill fame, which, as it never can be removed, while Puritanism lasts, so it need inspire his admirers with little uneasiness, as if it led to the suspicion of some lurking defect in him who endured it.

The imperfections of true Christians are but as light clouds, and a warm charity will easily dissipate them; their excellences and works, their trials, sufferings and teaching, remain as substantial comforts for those who inherit their principles. For such readers, and we hope and believe that our readers are in the number of them, whatever judgment they may form about particular actions of the illustrious man under review, we will select from Mr. Le Bas's interesting narrative some account of the sufferings of his last years, and the final combat he underwent, as a good soldier of Christ, on the scaffold.

When he was in the Tower he received a message from Grotius, urgently beseeching him to seek safety in flight until the troubles should have abated, as the Lord-Keeper (Finch) and Secretary Windebank had already done.

"But Laud inflexibly refused this counsel. 'An escape,' he said, 'is feasible enough. Yea, it is, I believe, the very thing my enemies desire. For, every day, an opportunity for it is presented; a passage being left free, in all likelihood for this purpose, that I should endeavour to take advantage of it. But they shall not be gratified by me. I am almost seventy years old. Shall I now go about to prolong a miserable life, by the trouble and the shame of flying? Should I go to France, or any other Popish country, it would give some seeming grounds for that charge of Popery, which they have endeavoured, with so much industry, and so little reason, to fasten upon me. But if I should get into Holland, I should expose myself to the insults of those sectaries there, to whom my character is odious, and have every Anabaptist come and pluck me by the beard. No: I am resolved not to think of flight, but patiently to expect and bear what a good and wise Providence hath provided for me, of what kind soever it shall be.'"—p. 290.

After a time he was consigned to the keeping of Prynne, who

had suffered from the severities of the Star-Chamber, and, as he himself asserted, especially through the influence of the archbishop.

“That worthy minister of revolutionary vengeance repaired to the Tower on the 31st of May, armed with full powers to search and seize. That he should carry with him to the execution of this office, some feelings of bitterness against the man whom he regarded as the principal author of his mutilation, might, reasonably enough, have been expected. But, on this occasion, he demeaned himself, not only like an enemy, but like a shameless villain. He found the archbishop in his bed, and immediately began to ransack his pockets. He then laid hands on a mass of papers, which Laud had prepared for his defence; on two letters from the king, relative to Chartham and his other benefices; on his Scottish Service Book, with such directions as were attached to it; on his Diary, in which he had briefly noted all the occurrences of his life; and he did not even spare the archbishop's Book of Private Devotions. All the money that he discovered was about £40, and this he was graciously pleased to leave untouched; for revenge, and not gold, was his object: and speedily afterwards it was proclaimed from the pulpit, that great and fearful things had been discovered in this search, which would soon be brought to light.”—p. 301.

Omitting the history of the vexations and indignities which Laud suffered, we come to Mr. Le Bas' account of his trial.

“The trial, which commenced on the 12th of March, continued, with some intervals of cessation, until the end of July. The archbishop vindicated himself against every charge with such consummate ability, such intrepid bearing, and such evident consciousness of innocence and high desert, as won for him the admiration of all; and extorted expressions of splenetic wonder, and bitter praise, even from William Prynne himself. ‘To give him his due,’ says that worthy, ‘he made as full, as gallant, and as pithy a defence of so bad a cause, and spake so much for himself, as it was possible for the wit of man to invent, and that, with so much art, sophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity and confidence, without the least blush or acknowledgment of guilt in anything, as argued him rather obstinate than innocent, impudent than penitent, a far better orator and sophister, than Protestant or Christian; yea, a truer son of the Church of Rome than of the Church of England.’ We may fully rely on the truth of the reluctant commendation here pronounced. The value of the censure will be duly estimated, when we remember that it came from one who proclaimed Archbishop Laud to be the most execrable traitor and apostate that our English soil, or the whole Christian world, had ever bred! Once, and only once, in the course of this persecution, did the spirit of Laud break forth into open and vehement indignation. One of the managers, a foul-mouthed ruffian, by the name of Nicolas, among other disgusting abuse, repeatedly reviled him as a *pander to the whore of Babylon*. ‘I was much moved,’ says Laud, ‘and humbly desired the Lords, that if my crimes were such that I might not be used like an archbishop, yet I might be used like a Christian; and

that, were it not for the duty I owed to God and my own innocence, I would desert my defence, before I would endure such language in such an honourable presence.' Their lordships were sufficiently touched by this appeal, to desire that the speaker would lay aside his slanderous rhetoric, and proceed with the evidence.

"The trial being finished, all appeared ripe for a sentence. But still there was more impediment than was anticipated. To use his own expression, 'he had been sifted to the bran.' Nevertheless, after all this sifting, whatever else was discovered, no *residuum* of treason could be found. On the 2d of September he was allowed to deliver a recapitulation of his impeachment and defence, before the Lords. The instant he came to the bar, he perceived that every peer in the House was provided with a thin folio, in a blue cover. This turned out to be the handywork of William Prynne, who had printed an infamously garbled *Breviate* of his Diary, embellished with his own commentaries, and had placed it in the hands of his judges, in order that the sight of that secret record might strike a damp upon his spirit, and chain up his tongue. His wickedness, however, was herein signally defeated. The archbishop 'gathered up himself, and looked to God,' and pronounced his recapitulation. His address produced such aggravated confusion among his enemies, that, two days afterwards, the Commons began to talk of having him sentenced by an *ordinance*. An impeachment of high treason, they found, would hardly reach him. But an attainder, by the 'barefaced power' of the two Houses, would be irresistible.

"After some further proceedings, and much clamour on the part of Nicolas, (who loudly demanded that the archbishop should be hanged,) on the 11th of October, his counsel were heard at the bar of the Lords, on two points; *first*, whether his imputed offences amounted to treason; *secondly*, whether there were sufficient legal certainty and particularity in the articles of impeachment. With regard to the former of these points, the archbishop had already appealed, unanswerably, to the Lords, in his recapitulation. 'If no particular,' he said, 'which is charged upon me, be treason, the result from them cannot. For the result must be of the same nature and species, as the particulars from which it rises; and this holds in nature, in morality, and in law. So, this imaginary result is a monster in nature, in morality, and in law; and if it be nourished, will devour all the safety of the subject, in England, which now stands so well fenced by the known law of the land.' Yet was it now contended, with shameless effrontery, by Sergeant Wilde, in answer to the archbishop's counsel, that, although no single crime of his amounted to treason, or to felony, yet did all his misdemeanors, when put together, form many grand treasons, by way of accumulation. But 'nature, morality and law,' were, by this time, set at nought by them that were assembled to administer *justice*. The appeal was now to a very different authority. The passions of a delirious populace were called in to quicken the tardy proceedings of the judges. Towards the end of October, petitions were got up by the most disgraceful and inhuman artifices, for the speedy punishment of all *delinquents*. And, on the 1st of November, the archbishop was summoned to appear at the bar of the House of

Commons, who, in utter contempt of law or right, were pleased to treat their prisoner as if he were already degraded from the dignity of a Lord of Parliament. Well knowing that resistance would be useless, he obeyed the order. He was then apprised by the Speaker, that the ordinance for his attainder was actually drawn up, but was suspended till he should hear, and answer, a summary of the charge. On the 11th of November he pronounced his last defence. He began by acknowledging the comparatively moderate and civil manner in which the proceedings against him had been recapitulated by Mr. Browne, the Clerk of the House. 'For this,' he said, 'I render him my humble thanks, having, from other hands, pledged my Saviour in gall and vinegar, and drunk the cup of the scornings of the people, to the very bottom. I shall follow everything in the same order he proceeded in; so far forth, at least, as an old slow hand could take them, a heavy heart observe them, and an old decayed memory retain them.' Having accomplished this, he reminded the House that they had before them, not the evidence itself, but merely a report of it, furnished by the individual who attended the House of Lords for that purpose; and, further, that this person was not always present, and was, consequently, able to supply them, as to some particulars, only with a statement of what had been reported to him by others. And he conjured them to pause before they delivered a verdict upon such grounds as these. He next desired them to consider his calling, his age, his former life, his long and rigorous imprisonment. And, lastly, he made a solemn protestation, that, whatever might have been his infirmities or errors, 'he never intended, much less endeavoured, the subversion of the laws of the kingdom, nor the bringing in of Popish superstition upon the true Protestant religion, established by law in this kingdom.' These words, however, might as well have been addressed to the bare walls as to the men who sat within them. The mystery of iniquity was now drawing towards its consummation. On the 16th, the ordinance for his attainder was passed, and instantly transmitted to the House of Lords; and there it found an impatient and most flagitious advocate, in the Chancellor of Oxford, the Earl of Pembroke. He disgraced himself and his order by the coarsest scurrility. He denounced the archbishop as a rascal and a villain. And he had even the insolence and the turpitude to warn the Lords against the rashness of delaying their consent, till the rabble should be collected at their doors to force it from them. He demanded of the Lords what they stuck at? and asked them whether they imagined that the Commons had no conscience when they framed and passed the ordinance? So outrageous was his demeanor, that it was remarked, that, if ever there should be a parliament in Bedlam, his lordship ought by all means to be chosen Speaker of it. In spite of this, the business lingered till the 17th of December. It was then voted that the archbishop was, *in fact*, guilty of three things; *first*, of endeavouring to subvert the laws; *secondly*, of an attempt to overthrow the Protestant religion; and, *thirdly*, of being an enemy to parliaments. The question was then put to the Judges, whether, or not, all this amounted to treason. Their unanimous answer was, that nothing with which he was charged by the impeachment, even if fully proved, would amount to treason, by any known and established law of the land.

“ The Lords had sufficiently degraded themselves by consenting to the attainder of Strafford. Nevertheless, the above response of the sages of the law arrested them, only for a moment, in their descent to still lower depths of infamy. At a conference, held on the 24th of December, they ventured to represent to their masters, the Commons, that, after the most diligent search, they were able to find no treason in the acts of which the archbishop was accused. Another conference, however, took place on the 2d of January, 1645, by which their consciences were so effectually enlightened, that, on the 4th of the same month, the ordinance of attainder was passed by the voice of six peers, the rest of that assembly having absented themselves, through fear or shame. On the 7th, a third conference was solemnized, at which the Lords informed the Commons, that the archbishop had pleaded a pardon from the king, in arrest of judgment. This pardon had been granted by his majesty at the suggestion of Hyde, then Chancellor of the Exchequer; and had been secretly conveyed to Laud before he was brought to trial. It was received by him with great joy, as a testimony of his sovereign's affection and esteem. But he never imagined, for a moment, that it would protect him against the fury of men, who were levying war against the king himself. In fact, he might almost as well have pleaded a pardon from the Pope! The royal act of grace was, of course, pronounced to be of none effect against a judgment of the *Parliament*. The only favour vouchsafed to the prisoner, was, that the gibbet should be exchanged for the axe; and even this boon was extorted with extreme difficulty. His first application for it was brutally rejected. A second petition to the Lords was more successful. It was felt, at last, that an Archbishop of Canterbury, a Privy Counsellor, and a member of their own House, could not be hanged up like a common felon, without indelible disgrace to all concerned in his destruction. And the Commons, after some debate, reluctantly consented to the commutation.”—p. 311—317.

Ample as have been our extracts from Mr. Le Bas' work, we should be wanting to the memorable narrative before us, if we omitted the concluding scene.

“ We must hasten to the close of the tragedy. The intelligence of his doom was received by Laud, in the temper which became a Christian Bishop. It had long been manifest that he was neither ashamed to live, nor afraid to die. And, when death was once before him, he instantly broke off the history of his sufferings, and calmly prepared himself for his departure. On the evening of January the 9th, the day before his execution, he refreshed himself with a moderate meal, retired to rest, and slept so soundly, that his attendants had to wake him when the hour was come. He then continued in prayer, until the officers arrived to conduct him to the scaffold. He had requested that three of his own chaplains might be with him in the Tower, and at the place of execution. But even this comfort was inhumanly denied him. One chaplain, indeed, his persecutors allowed to attend him, at his death; but, with him, they sent two of their own incendiaries and fanatics. On his way, he was occasionally assailed by the revilings of the lowest of the populace,

who were unwilling that he should pass even to the grave in peace. But his composure was unruffled by these insults ; and when he reached the spot, he ascended the platform ' with so brave a courage, and a countenance so cheerful, as if he mounted rather to behold a triumph, than to be made a sacrifice.' It was remarked, that four years of imprisonment and affliction had left the natural floridness of his complexion wholly unimpaired. Being permitted to speak to the people, he read to them a paper of considerable length, which he had drawn up for that purpose. In this address he acknowledged that, although he felt the infirmities of flesh and blood, and might have been glad that the cup which was given him should pass from him, yet he was now ready to drink it. . . . He then proceeded to speak of himself : ' I was born and baptized'—he says—' in the Church of England : in that profession I have ever since lived ; and, in that, I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God ; least of all in matters of religion. What clamours and slanders I have endured, for labouring to keep an uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of that Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt. And now,' he added, ' I am accused of high treason ; a crime which my soul abhors. I am charged with an endeavour to subvert the laws, and to overthrow the Protestant religion. In vain I protested my innocence of these crimes. The protestations of prisoners, it was said, could never be received at the bar of justice. I can bring no witness of my heart ! I now, therefore, make my protest, in the presence of God, and his holy angels, that I never did attempt the subversion either of religion or of law. I, further, have been maligned, as an enemy to Parliaments. I know their uses too well to be their enemy. But I, likewise, know that parliaments have been sometimes guilty of misgovernment and abuse ; and that no corruption is so bad, as the corruption of that which, in itself, is excellent. From the power of parliaments there is no appeal. If, therefore, they should be guilty of oppression, the subject is left without all remedy. But I have done ;' he said in conclusion, ' I forgive all the world ; all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me. And I humbly desire to be forgiven—of God first ; and then, of every man, whether I have offended him or not ; if he do but conceive that I have, Lord do thou forgive me, and I do beg forgiveness of him. And so, I heartily bid you join in prayer with me.' He then fell on his knees, and uttered the following memorable supplication, no word of which should be suffered to perish from the annals of martyrdom :

“ ‘ O eternal God and merciful Father ! look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulness of all thy mercies, look down upon me ; but not till Thou hast nailed my sins to the cross of Christ, not till Thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ ; not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ, that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since Thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I humbly beseech Thee, give me now in this great instant, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine honour, the King's happiness, and the Church's preservation. And my zeal to this, (far from arrogancy be it spoken !) is all the sin, (human frailty excepted, and

all the incidents thereunto,) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer; I say, in this particular of treason. But otherwise my sins are many and great; Lord, pardon them all; and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawn down this present judgment upon me! And when Thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own eyes; and carry me through death, that I may look upon it, in what visage soever it shall appear to me. Amen! And that there may be a stop of this issue of blood in this more than miserable kingdom, (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for myself;) O Lord, I beseech Thee, give grace of repentance to all blood-thirsty people. But if they will not repent, O Lord, confound all their devices, defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavours, upon them, which are or shall be contrary to the glory of thy great name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and his posterity after him in their just rights and privileges, the honour and conservation of Parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their ancient laws, and in their native liberty. And when Thou hast done all this in mere mercy to them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulness, and with religious, dutiful obedience to Thee and thy commandments all their days. Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen. And receive my soul into thy bosom! Amen. Our Father which art in heaven, &c."

After narrating a number of painfully interesting details, which our space will not admit, Mr. Le Bas proceeds—

"Having put some money into the man's [the executioner's] hand, he said to him, with unruffled countenance, 'Honest friend, God forgive thee, as I do. Do thine office upon me with mercy.' He then sunk, again, upon his knees, and prayed shortly in these words: 'I am coming, O Lord, as quickly as I can. I know I must pass through death, before I can come to see thee. But, it is only the mere shadow of death; a little darkness upon nature. Thou, by thy merits, hast broken through the jaws of death. The Lord receive my soul, and have mercy upon me; and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood among them; for Jesus Christ's sake, if it be thy will.' Having laid his head upon the block, after a few moments of silent supplication, he said aloud, *Lord receive my soul.* This was the death-signal agreed upon. The axe fell: and a single blow of it delivered the Archbishop, for ever, from his persecutors."

Here then we must close our account of Mr. Le Bas' volume. Were we reviewing the writing of any one else, it might be necessary to have employed ourselves more directly in a critique upon the work itself. But our author's name is too well known to need any officious panegyric from us. Praise is fitly bestowed on rising merit only, and we should be seriously pained at the necessity, were there one, of bestowing it on Mr. Le Bas. We believe that for honest and manly pursuit of truth, no living

writer has a greater claim on our reverence; and a writer thus endowed will not fail to draw readers after him on to the truth, and not merely to himself,—to the attainment of truth, not to the contemplation of his own talents;—and will gain a far higher reward than the mere popularity could be, in successfully forming their views and principles, and in giving them objects for their nobler feelings to rest on, and take comfort in, during evil times.

ART. VI.—*Parochial Sermons.* By John Henry Newman, M. A. Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College. Rivingtons, London. Parker, Oxford. 1836.

THE author of this volume has been occasionally stigmatized, in various quarters, in the Church and out of the Church, as a bigot,—an ascetic,—a high Church fanatic,—and, worse than all, as little better than a champion of Popery. We are tempted, by these current imputations, to seize on the advertisement which he has prefixed to the volume before us; and, in which, he has thought fit to make some allusion to the charges in question. This he does with much brevity and simplicity, and with marvellous composure of spirit. It is quite evident that the arraignment has failed to inflict the slightest disturbance on his temper or his self-possession. His words are few;—but we suspect that they will be found extremely incommodious to his accusers. Speaking of the pamphlet, recently published by Mr. Stanley, he says—

“As to the remarks in the same pamphlet on the resemblance of the author's opinions to Romanism, it is quite enough to observe in reply, that if Popery be a perversion or corruption of the Truth, as we believe, it must, by the mere force of the terms, be like that Truth which it counterfeits; and therefore, that the fact of a resemblance, as far as it is borne out, is no proof of any essential approximation in his opinions to Popery, as such. Rather, it would be a serious argument against their primitive character, if, to superficial observers, they bore no likeness to it. Ultra-Protestantism could never have been silently corrupted into Popery.”
—Adv. pp. vii. viii.

Now we earnestly beg to recommend these calm but pithy sentences to the attentive consideration of all good *Ultra-Protestants*! We feel almost, if not altogether, certain, that the view of the matter here suggested—plain as it appears when offered—can never have once occurred to numbers among them that have the cry of *Popery* eternally in their mouths. They have never thought of asking themselves how it is possible that a counterfeit religion,—or a counterfeit system of any kind whatever,—should fail to bear some resemblance to the truth which it professes to exhibit. From the very nature of the case, there must

be a resemblance;—unless, indeed, the counterfeit were finished with a most surpassing infelicity of execution! What should we say of any one who refused to believe that a faithful portrait could possibly be a correct representation of the original, because it reminded every beholder that he had seen the same features, under the exaggeration and distortion of a skilful caricature? Yet this is, precisely, the absurdity incurred by those, who will see no resemblance to primitive Christianity, in any doctrinal statement, which recalls the errors of Romanism to their recollection; forgetting that if such statements bore no resemblance whatever to Romanism, neither could they bear any resemblance to that original truth, of which Romanism is but the perversion.

“Ultra-Protestantism”—says Mr. Newman—“could never have been silently corrupted into Popery.” And says he not true? Let us suppose, for instance, that primitive Christianity had been, in all respects, that very thing which was contended for by the School of Geneva, as the truth of God, in doctrine, and the sceptre of Christ’s kingdom, in discipline. Is it, in that case, credible—is it even conceivable—that a phenomenon such as Romanism should ever have arisen in the world? That such an original system of belief, and of government, might have undergone a corruption—and probably would have undergone it—cannot reasonably be doubted. But the question is, whether it could possibly have undergone a form and manner of corruption, which should have ended in results essentially similar to those which constitute the distinguishing deformities of Popery at the present day? What peculiar deformities of its own such a perversion might have exhibited, is, of course, a matter which no mortal sagacity can venture to determine. Thus much, however, we may confidently presume to affirm,—that the process of deterioration must have terminated in something widely different from what is now called Popery. We do not mean to aver that it must have been free from every element which may now be found to enter into the Romish system. For that system contains some ingredients with which human depravity and folly are almost sure, in the course of ages, to contaminate the purity of revelation. All we maintain is this,—that the whole Popish scheme, such as we now see it, and such as the world has seen it for centuries, could never have grown out of the truth,—if the truth had originally been what has often been contended for by the Ultra-Protestant party, from the time of the Reformation to the present hour. This, it may be said, is incapable of demonstration: and even so it may be. But, at all events, it is a matter which deserves the closest enquiry, and the most patient meditation; and, for this

reason, we implore of our readers not to dismiss it hastily or contemptuously from their thoughts.*

But to come to the Discourses themselves. There are probably many persons who will discover a fearful resemblance to Romanism in the sixth Sermon, on Faith and Obedience. The text is from Matth. xix. 17 :—*If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.* From which words, a plain unlettered man, who had never heard of such a thing as theological controversy, would doubtless conclude, without a moment's hesitation, that he could not well do wrong, in attempting to enter into life, by keeping the commandments,—or in attempting to keep the commandments, in order to enter into life. This, however, according to a certain school, would be an exceedingly dangerous mode of proceeding. All such attempts are held by that school to be nearly as much in opposition to the scheme of man's redemption, as the error of the Judaizing Galatians. Has not St. Paul told us that we are accepted and saved by faith? And did not St. Paul speak under the guidance of the Spirit? How, then, are we to have a right understanding of the words of Christ himself, unless we take St. Paul for his interpreter? Mr. Newman, of course, abstains from leading his parishioners into the worse than Cretan labyrinth of controversy, which has been hewn out by the labour of the polemics, in this region of theology. He contents himself with showing that faith, and obedience, are but different *phases*, or aspects, of one and the same principle. And this he has done in a manner which, in our humble estimation, is admirably fitted to make plain the way of the Lord before the face of them who are seeking to enter into his rest. Nevertheless, we have very little doubt that there are some extremely zealous and well-meaning persons, who would almost as readily circulate the theology of Peter Dens among their people, as this simple parochial Sermon of Mr. Newman's! We have neither time nor space for any detailed examination of his statements. We must confine ourselves to one passage, which ought to quiet the alarms of any reasonable or reasoning man.

“Before closing the subject, however, it may be necessary, in a few words, to explain *why* it is that, in some parts of St. Paul's Epistles, a

* It is proper to notice here, that (probably by some error of transcription, or typography) Mr. Stanley has given an erroneous representation of Mr. Newman's opinions relative to one point. An extract from Mr. Newman's Second Volume of Sermons, stands thus, in p. 22, of the Second Edition of Mr. Stanley's pamphlet: “By a Priest, in a Christian sense, is meant an appointed channel, by which the peculiar Gospel blessings are conveyed to mankind; one, who has authority to apply to individuals those gifts, which Christ has promised to us, generally, as *Priests of mediation.*” Whereas, in the Sermon itself, the concluding words stand as follows: “which Christ has promised us, generally, as *the fruit of His mediation.*” See *Advertisement*, p. vii.

certain stress is laid upon faith over and above the other parts of a religious character, in our justification. The reason seems to be as follows: the Gospel being preeminently a covenant of grace, faith is of more excellence than other virtues, because it confesses this beyond all others. Works of obedience witness to God's just claims upon us, not to His mercy; but faith comes empty-handed, hides even its own worth, and does but point at that precious scheme of redemption which God's love has devised for sinners. Hence, it is the frame of mind especially suitable to us, and is said, in a special way, to justify us, because it glorifies God, witnessing that *He accepts those, and those only, who confess that they are not worthy to be accepted.*"—p. 93.

To sum up the whole, therefore, in Mr. Newman's own words—

"To have a habit of faith, and to be obedient, are one and the same general character of mind. Viewed as sitting at Jesus's feet, it is called *Faith*. Viewed as running to do His will, it is called *Obedience*."—p. 88.

The eighth is a very interesting and instructive Sermon, on contracted views in religion, from Luke, xv. 29. We do not know whether anything resembling Papistry is to be found in this discourse; unless it be in the passage which speaks of the Church Catholic as our *divinely* intended guide. But we are quite sure that it is full of moderation, and of charity, and of the meekness of wisdom. For example,—

"God works wondrously in the world: and, at certain periods, His providence puts on a new aspect. Religion seems to be failing when it is merely changing its form. God seems, for an instant, to desert His own appointed instruments, and to be putting honour upon such as have been framed in express disobedience to His commands. For instance,—sometimes He brings about good by means of wicked men, or seems to bless the efforts of those who have separated from His Holy Church more than those of His true labourers. Here is the trial of the Christian's faith; who, if the fact be clearly proved, must not resist it; lest haply he be found fighting against God; nor must he quarrel with it after the manner of the elder brother (in the parable). But he must take every thing as God's gift; hold fast his *principles*; not give *them* up because appearances are, for the moment, against them; but believe that all things will come round at length."—pp. 118, 119.

Now, to be sure, there may be persons who can smell Popery, in every syllable which relates to God's "appointed instruments;" or, on the other hand, to instruments which "have been framed in express disobedience to his commands,"—or, to persons "who have separated from his *Holy Church*,"—or, to the necessity of "holding fast the principles," which recognize such things, in spite of all appearances which may, for a season, combine to pour contempt upon them. But then it must, at all events, be acknowledged that this uncompromising adhesion to certain unpo-

pular notions, is here very palatably qualified by the candid admission, that the unauthorized *instruments* may, sometimes, be honoured by more signal usefulness than the legitimate ones; and that not only is it uncharitable, but may be positively impious, to shut our eyes against the fact, whenever the fact can be sufficiently established by proofs. It is something, surely, for a *bigotted* Churchman to acknowledge, that it may be the purpose of God, occasionally to provoke the Church herself to jealousy, by the more successful labours of those who have abandoned her communion. It would not be no easy matter to find a Papist who would make any such admission. No Romish *Priest*, at any rate, would dare to put such a concession in print, any more than he would dare to question the decrees of Trent. Will it not, then, be allowed, that this *Anglican Romanist* has still enough of the Protestant savour about him, if not to please, at least to pacify, the nostril even of Ultra-Protestant theology? And, if there be any who have been taught to connect with his name the notions of narrowness, and bigotry, and "all uncharitableness,"—let those persons seriously incline to hear the following words; which sound, in our ears, not like the trumpet-note of persecution and intolerance, but rather like the silvery tones of the charity which *vaunteth not itself, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth.*

"As we cannot help hearing what goes on in the world, let us guard, on hearing it, against all intemperate, uncharitable feelings towards those who differ from us, or oppose us. Let us pray for our enemies; let us try to make out men to be as good as they can fairly and safely be considered; let us rejoice at any symptoms of repentance, or any marks of good principle in those who are on the side of error. Let us be forgiving. Let us try to be very humble, to know our ignorance, and to rely constantly on the enlightening grace of our Great Teacher. Let us be "slow to speak, slow to wrath;"—not abandoning our principles, or shrinking from the avowal of them when seasonable, or going over to the cause of error, or fearing consequences, but acting ever from a sense of duty, not from passion, pride, jealousy, or an unbelieving dread of the future; feeling gently, even when we have reason to act severely. "Son, thou art ever with Me, and all that I have is thine." What a gracious announcement if we could realize it, and how consolatory, so far as we have reason to hope that we are following on to know God's will, and living in His faith and fear! What should alarm those who have Christ's *power*, or make them envious who have Christ's *fulness*? How ought we calmly to regard, and resolutely endure, the petty workings of an evil world, thinking seriously of nothing but of the souls that are perishing in it!"—pp. 119, 120.

The twelfth Sermon is on "the Humiliation of the Eternal Son." The object of it is to set forth, as plainly as human lan-

guage can set forth, the *great mystery* of Godliness; namely, that, in the person of our Lord, there was combined "a double assemblage of attributes, divine and human." Among the paradoxes involved in that *great mystery*, there is none, perhaps, more astounding, than the union of partial ignorance with perfect and unlimited knowledge. The following is the manner in which Mr. N. addresses himself to this stupendous difficulty:

"If any one stumble at this, as not a mere mystery, but in the very form of language a contradiction of terms, I would have him reflect on those peculiarities of human nature itself, which were just now hinted at. Let him consider the condition of his own mind, and see how like a contradiction it is. Let him reflect upon the faculty of memory, and try to determine whether he does or does not know a thing which he cannot recollect, or rather, whether it may not be said of him, that one selfsame person, that in one sense he knows it, in another he does not know it. This may serve to appease his imagination, if it startles at the mystery. Or let him consider the state of an infant, which seems, indeed, to be without a soul for many months, which seems to have only the senses and functions of animal life, yet has, we know, a soul which may even be regenerated. What, indeed, can be more mysterious than the Baptism of an infant? How strange is it, yet how transporting a sight, what a source of meditation is opened on us, while we look upon what seems so helpless, so reasonless, and know that at that moment it has a soul so fully formed, as on the one hand, indeed, to be a child of wrath; and on the other (blessed be God) to be capable of a new birth through the Spirit! Who can say, if we had eyes to see, in what state that infant soul is? Who can say it has not its energies of reason and of will in some unknown sphere, quite consistently with the reality of its insensibility to the external world? Who can say that all of us, or at least all who are living in the faith of Christ, have not some strange but unconscious life in God's presence all the while we are here,—knowing, yet not knowing we know,—and this without therefore having a double self, and with an increase to us, not a diminution, of the practical reality of our earthly sojourn and probation? Are there not men before now who, like Elisha when his spirit followed Gehazi, or St. Peter, when he announced the coming of Sapphira's bearers, or St. Paul when his presence went before him to Corinth, seem to range beyond themselves, even while in the flesh? Who knows where he is 'in visions of the night?' And this being so, how can we pronounce it to be any contradiction that, while the word of God was upon earth, in our flesh, compassed within and without with human virtues and feelings, with faith and patience, fear and joy, doubt, misgivings, infirmities, temptations, still He was, according to His Divine Nature, as from the first, passing in thought from one end of Heaven even to the other, reading all hearts, foreseeing all events, and receiving all worship as in the bosom of the Father? This, indeed, is what He suggests to us Himself in those surprising words addressed to Nicodemus, which imply that even His human

nature was at that very time in heaven while He spoke to him. 'No man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man *which is in heaven.*'—pp. 182—184.

There is much, in this passage, to call forth the loftiest powers of meditation, and, at the same time, to demand the most exalted exercise of faith. With regard to the peculiar difficulty of *partial ignorance in combination with Omniscience*,—we cannot suppress some feeling of gratification, on finding that the opinions of Mr. Newman appear to be in perfect harmony with certain statements offered in this Journal on a former occasion. And we possibly may stand excused, if we venture, once more, to solicit the attention of our readers to the following words then used by us, with reference to the same mysterious subject.

"The difficulty will be much reduced by the recollection that various perplexing phenomena might be expected to result from the assumption of humanity by a superior nature, whether supremely divine or not. A man is a person compounded of a body and a reasonable soul: and we all know what a multitude of inexplicable results arise out of that coalition. 'The Son of Man' was a person formed by the combination of the divine Logos, a human soul, and a human body. It might be concluded beforehand, that such a coalition must be productive of appearances still more profoundly mysterious and inexplicable. We are familiar with the ebbs and flows of memory, with the occasional eclipses of mind, to which mere human beings are liable. They are such as would hardly have been anticipated, and cannot be explained; and yet they lead very few to question the real combination of two dissimilar principles in the human individual. Why then should we be staggered at the want of a constant and equable manifestation of the highest principle in the Person of Christ? If any superhuman intellect or spirit were to take the human nature into coalition with itself, it would not follow, surely, that the superior nature *must* inform the lower with perpetual and equal intensity. Why then should we be overpowered on finding that the stores of divine knowledge and wisdom were manifested in the Person, Jesus Christ, in such measures, and on such occasions, as might be conformable to the designs of the Godhead?"—*British Critic for July 1826*, pp. 290, 291.

This twelfth Sermon closes with some sentences, which, we greatly apprehend, will wear something of a hard ungracious aspect, in the eyes of certain incautious adventurers in religious speculation. Mr. Newman is speaking of those, who, influenced by the prevalent theology of late centuries, "have well nigh ceased to regard " Christ, after the pattern of the Nicene creed, as God from God, " and Light from Light, ever one with Him, yet ever separate from " Him." Of such he feels himself compelled to say, in the language of ancient theology, that " they begin by being Sabellians; that " they go on to be Nestorians; and that they tend to be Ebionites,

“and deny Christ's Divinity altogether. Meanwhile,” he adds, “the religious world little thinks whither its opinions are leading; and will not discover that it is adoring a mere abstract name or a vague creation of the mind for the Ever-living Son, till the defection of its members from the faith startle it, and teach it that the so-called religion of the heart, without orthodoxy of doctrine, is but the warmth of a corpse, real for a time, but sure to fail.

“How long will that complicated Error last under which our Church now labours? How long are human traditions of modern date, to obscure, in so many ways, the majestic interpretations of Holy Writ which the Church Catholic has inherited from the age of the Apostles? When shall we be content to enjoy the wisdom and the pureness which Christ has bequeathed to His Church as a perpetual gift, instead of attempting to draw our creed, each for himself, as he best may, from the deep wells of truth? Surely in vain have we escaped from the errors of Rome, if the worse, because the more subtle, corruptions of a rash and self-trusting philosophy spread over our faith.”—pp. 186, 187.

We know not how these words will be endured by those, who seem to have no capacity for the perception of any dangers, either to Church or State, except those which are rushing in from Rome! And yet we have the hardihood to confess, that we are very much of Mr. Newman's mind. Rome, it is true, is, at this moment, assuming a very formidable attitude. Her theology is not content with prowling about, in cautious secrecy, seeking whom it may devour. It is putting on the guise of an armed Doctrine. It is menacing the integrity of the Empire, and maddening its disciples with a thirst for Protestant blood. These, doubtless, are tremendous evils. But these evils will be aggravated, beyond all computation, if the fear of them shall inflict upon us a judicial blindness to all other perils; if they shall leave us neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, when sober-minded and self-collected men are warning us against the mischiefs which will be lying in ambush for us, if we rush insanely to opposite extremities of error. The corruptions of Rome are hideously bad: but the unbridled exercise of private judgment may likewise bring with it a “rank infection,”—a festering plague,—which shall permanently undermine our health and strength. The wrath of Rome is cruel, and her hatred bitter. But the very spirit of anarchy and havoc lies hid beneath the form of that licentious Philosophy, which is now holding her own cup of enchantment to the lips of all sorts and conditions of men. And, as the crown and consummation of the terrors which beset us, there seems to be an unnatural, and most unhallowed League and Covenant struck up, for the time, between

these two formerly belligerent Powers, which reminds us of the agreement between Pilate and Herod. How awful, then, must be the infatuation which sees in the abominations of Romanism the only *mystery of iniquity* from which either the Church or the Constitution has any thing to dread.

We now pass on to a very different topic. The men of heathen antiquity held that, in critical times, neutrality was infamous. Mr. Newman, as a Christian teacher, maintains that, in similar circumstances, neutrality is sinful. And if any should be led to conclude from this statement that the Christian teacher is a *political parson*, let him listen to Mr. Newman himself:

“My brethren, I must not venture to keep silence in respect to a province of Christian duty, in which men are especially tried at this day, and in which they especially fail.

“It is sometimes said that religion is not (what is called) political. Now there is a bad sense of the word “political,” and religion is nothing that is bad. But there is also a good sense of the word, and in this sense whoever says that religion is not political, speaks as erringly, and (whether ignorantly or not,) offends with his tongue as certainly, as if in St. Paul’s time a man had said it mattered not whether he was Christian or heathen; for what the question of Christian or no Christian was in the Apostle’s day, such are questions of politics now. It is as right to take one side and as wrong to take the other, now, in that multitude of matters which comes before us of a social nature, as it was right to become a Christian in St. Paul’s day, and wrong to remain a heathen.

“I am not saying *which* side is right and which is wrong, in the ever-varying course of social duty, much less am I saying all religious people are on one side, and all irreligious on the other; (for then would that division between good and evil take place, which the text and other parables assure us is not to be till the day of judgment,) I only say there is a right and a wrong, that it is not a matter of indifference which side a man takes, that a man will be judged hereafter for the side he takes.

“When a man (for instance) says that he takes part against the King or against the Church, because he thinks kingly power or established Churches contrary to Scripture, I think him as far from the truth as light is from darkness; but I understand him. He takes a religious ground, and, whatever I may think of his doctrine, I honour him for that. I had rather he should take a religious ground (if in sincerity) and be against the Church, than a worldly selfish ground, and be for it; that is, if done in earnest, not in pretence, I think it speaks more hopefully for his soul. I had rather the Church were levelled to the ground by a nation, really, honestly, and seriously thinking they did God service in doing so, (great as the sin would be,) than that it should be upheld by a nation on the *mere* ground of maintaining property; for I think this a much greater sin. I think that the worshipper of mammon will be in worse case before Christ’s judgment-seat than the mistaken zealot. If a man must be one or the other (though he ought to be neither), but if I must choose for him, I had rather he should be Saul raging like a

wild beast against the Church, than Gallio caring for none of these things, or Demas loving the present world, or Simon trafficking with sacred gifts, or Ananias grudging Christ his substance, and seeking to be saved as cheaply as possible. There would be more chance of such a man's conversion to the truth; and, if not converted, less punishment reserved for him at the last day."—pp. 231—233.

These, at least, are not the words of bigotry or enthusiasm. They are words of soberness, and truth, and magnanimous integrity. That they are, also, the words of candour and of charity, will be further manifest from the sentences which follow:

"Men, however, generally act from mixed motives; so I do not mean that they are at once in a fearful peril for having some regard to the security of property, while they defend what is called the Church established;—far from it, though I still think it would be better if the thought of religion absorbed all other considerations:—but I am speaking against an avowed doctrine maintained in this day, that religion has nothing to do with political matters; which will not be true till it is true that God does not govern the world: for as God rules in human affairs, so must his servants obey in them. And what we have to fear more than any thing else at this time is, that persons who are sound on this point, and do believe that the concerns of the nation ought to be carried on upon religious principles, should be afraid to avow it, and should ally themselves, *without protesting*, with those who deny it; lest they should keep their own opinion to themselves, and act with the kindred of Gallio, Demas, Simon, and Ananias, on some mere secular basis, the mere defence of property, the security of our institutions, considered merely as secular, the maintenance of our national greatness;—forgetting that, as no man can serve two masters, God and Mammon, so no man can at once be in the counsels of the servants of the two;—forgetting that the Church, in which they and others are, is a net gathering of *every* kind; that it is no proof that others are to be followed and supported in all things, because they happen to be in it, and profess attachment to it; and that though we are bound to associate in a general way with all, (except, indeed, such as openly break the rules of the Church, heretics, drunkards, evil livers, and the like, who ought, of course, to be put out of it,) yet we are not bound to countenance all in all they do, and are ever bound to oppose bad principles,—bound to attempt to raise the standard of faith and obedience in that multitude of men whom, though we disapprove in many respects, we dare not affirm to be entirely destitute of the life of the Holy Ghost, and not to suffer friend or stranger to take part against the truth, without warning him of it according to our opportunities."—pp. 233, 234.

We have here the truly Christian doctrine that men are bound to lift up a courageous testimony in behalf of what is right: but we have nothing that tends to the encouragement of a turbulent and factious spirit; nothing that can help to convert the minister of the pulpit himself, or any one of his flock, into the orator of

the hustings. And O ! what a glorious accumulation of strength would accrue to the cause of righteousness and holiness among us, if every man, in his own position, would but quietly testify against the ungodliness which is threatening to undo us ! Of all the odious and disgusting phenomena in the creation, nothing can be much more revolting, than the apparition of a shovel-hatted man, loud and noisy in places of public concourse and debate. But, on the other hand, of all the symptoms of a sound and healthy state of the public mind, few can be more animating, than the spectacle of a sedate, saint-like, patriarchal Christian, never ambitiously stirring beyond his own sphere,—but, within that sphere, ready at all times to protest against every thought or word that lifts itself up in opposition to the truth of God,—and, consequently, in opposition to the peace, and the prosperity, and the stability of his country !

The sixteenth sermon deserves to be attentively studied. It relates to a subject which has been much perplexed by injudicious phraseology. We often hear much of the *invisible* Church, as distinguished from the *visible*. Now this we hold to be a *distinction* which tends to nothing but *confusion*. There is no warrant in Scripture for any such discrimination. The terms *visible* and *invisible* are, indeed, legitimate enough, if used for no other purpose, but to exhibit the one Catholic Church, under different aspects. But it is well known that they are frequently used for a purpose very different from this. They are misapplied in a manner which, most presumptuously, anticipates the result of the general judgment. We have, ourselves, occasionally protested against this unwarranted separation of Christendom into two manner of people,—those who are Christians, and those who are no more entitled to the name than so many “ Salvages, or men of Ind.” And we now, very gladly, refer our readers to Mr. Newman's exposition of the matter ; albeit it contains some sayings which, peradventure, certain of the brethren may find hard to be received. Even the following words of solemn admonition, for aught we know, will appear to many like counsellors to superstition, and, perhaps, to priestcraft.

“ But if these things be so, if the Church visible really has invisible privileges, what must we think, my brethren, of the general spirit of this day, which looks upon the Church as but a civil institution, a creation and a portion of the state ? What shall be thought of the notion that it depends upon the breath of princes, or upon the enactments of human law ? What, again, shall be thought of those who fiercely and rancorously oppose and revile what is really an ordinance of God, and the place where his honour dwelleth ? Even to the Jewish priesthood after the blood of the Redeemer was upon it, even to it St. Paul deferred,

signifying that God's high priest was not to be reviled ; and if so, surely much less the rulers of a branch of the Church, which, whatever have been its sins in time past, yet is surely innocent (as we humbly and fervently trust) of any inextinguishable crime. Moreover, what an unworthy part they act, who, knowing and confessing the real claims of the Church, yet allow them to be lightly treated and forgotten, without uttering a word in their behalf ; who, from secular policy, or other insufficient reason, bear to bear our spiritual rulers treated as mere civil functionaries, without instructing or protesting against or foregoing intimacy with those who despise them, nay, even co-operating with them cordially, as if they could serve two masters, Christ and the world ! And how melancholy is the general spectacle in this day of ignorance, doubt, perplexity, misbelief, perverseness, on the subject of this great doctrine, to say nothing of the jealousy, hatred, and unbelieving spirit with which the Church is regarded. Surely, thus much we are forced to grant, that, be the privileges vested in the Church what they may, yet, at present, they are, as to their full fruits, suspended in our branch of it by our present want of faith ; nor can we expect that the glories of Christ's Kingdom will again be manifested in it, till we repent, confess ' our offences and the offences of our forefathers ; ' and, instead of trusting to an arm of flesh, claim for the Church what God has given it, for Christ's sake, ' whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear. ' "—pp. 255, 256.

The seventeenth is a sequel to the former, on the same subject : and a glorious sermon it is ! We know not well how to describe its effect upon us, but by asking the reader whether, when travelling, in weariness, and painfulness, and solitude,—the light fading away, and the night thickening drearily upon him,—he has ever heard the deep and solemn music of the cathedral bell, and has felt his spirit soothed, and his strength renewed, by those heart-stirring intonations ? If he has, he may form some notion of the power of this sublime discourse, over a heart which is *wearied in the greatness of its way*, through the wilderness of this world ! It speaks of the *cloud of witnesses* which *encompass* the Christian pilgrim. It tells us of the invisible Church in Heaven, whose voice, to say the very least, should always be as audible, and clear, and full of comfort, to the way-faring believer on earth, as the voice of his tutelary goddess was to the much-enduring heathen. To that unseen Church we surely may exclaim, as he did to his protecting deity,—

Ω φθέγμ' Ἀθάνας, φιλτάτης ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
ὥς ἐυμαθὲς σου, καὶν ΑΠΟΠΤΟΣ ἦς ὁμως,
φώνημ' ἀκούω, καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενὶ,
χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς.

Mr. Newman's volume closes with a very interesting and impressive Discourse on the *Intermediate State*. He is decidedly opposed to the belief that the departed souls literally *fall asleep*,

and so remain until the day of judgment. He conceives, indeed, that they are in an incomplete state; but, nevertheless, in a state of *rest*. They are incomplete, inasmuch as their bodies are in the dust, awaiting the Resurrection. They are incomplete, as being neither wholly asleep, nor wholly awake. But still they are in security and peace,—in a condition which excludes suffering, and even admits of positive comfort. And he, further, imagines it to be by no means impossible that the intermediate period may be the appointed season for bringing to maturity and mellowness, the fruits of holiness, imperfectly ripened in the ungenial and wintry climate of this world. “Who can tell,” he asks, “but, in God’s mercy, the time of waiting between death and Christ’s coming, may be profitable to those who have been his true servants here, as a time of maturing that fruit of grace, but partly formed in them in this life; a school-time of contemplation,—as this world is of discipline, of active service? Such, surely, is the force of the Apostle’s words, that He that hath begun a good work in us, will perform it, *until* the day of Christ,—*until*, not *at*,—not stopping at death, but carrying it on to the Resurrection.”

We cannot take upon ourselves to contend for these views as irresistibly conclusive. Thus much, however, we can say,—that they appear to us to offer nothing at all at variance with the scheme of our salvation. By those, indeed, who maintain Christian perfection as a thing of *necessary*, or at least of *possible*, attainment, “in the time of this mortal life,”—these notions will, of course, be indignantly rejected. To others, who entertain no such doctrine, the reverent conjectures of Mr. Newman must appear, at least, to be soothing and consolatory. If we all, without exception, die with our work unfinished,—if there be much of untamed evil still cleaving even unto them who, all their lives long, have chastened themselves, and have been striving after perfect holiness, in the fear of God,—then must it be pleasing to think of a season of repose; in which, whatever yet remains of imperfection shall be,—not violently driven off by the action of penal fires,—but, rather, gently disengaged by a process of hallowed and peaceful meditation,—by a course of holy thought, and heaven-ward desire, no longer interrupted by the “solicitations” of the flesh.

“And all this,”—adds Mr. Newman,—“accounts for what else may surprise us,—the especial stress the Apostles lay on the coming of Christ, as the object to which our hope must be directed. We are used in this day to look upon death as the point of victory and triumph for the Saints;—we leave the thought of them when life is over, as if then there was nothing more to be anxious about; nor in one sense is there. Then

they are secure from trial, from falling; as they die, so they remain. Still, it will be found, on the whole, that death is not *the* object put forward in Scripture for hope to rest upon, but the *coming of Christ*, as if the interval between death and His coming was by no means to be omitted in the process of our preparation for heaven. Now, if the sacred writers uniformly hold out Christ's coming, but we consider death as the close of all things, is it not plain that, in spite of our apparent agreement with them in formal statements of doctrine, there must be some hidden and undetected difference between them and ourselves, some unfounded notion on our part which we have inherited, some assumed premises, some lurking prejudice, some earthly temper, or some mere human principle."—p. 411, 412.

It certainly is a most remarkable circumstance, that our hortatory theology should so long have lost sight of the scriptural peculiarity here adverted to by Mr. Newman. Death seems to have been, in the estimation of the sacred writers, a crisis scarcely of sufficient importance to arrest their serious attention. It does not appear as if their thoughts paused, for a moment, at that point. To them, the grave was not a halting place in their journey. It was merely an open portal—a sort of triumphal arch—raised as it were in the suburbs of the heavenly city; through which they were to march on, towards its towers and battlements; and which scarcely intercepted its glories from their view. And the vision to which their eye was constantly directed, was,—not the cloud which hovered over some distant quarter in the path before them,—but the brightness which shone through it, from the throne of God. With us, on the contrary, the hour of death, and not the coming of Christ, is the rallying point for the solemn meditation of Christian men. We are perpetually reminded of the time, when "we must shuffle off this mortal coil;" as if the preparation for that one change were the grand object of our earthly probation. This stands in the foreground of the picture: while *the glorious appearing of our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ*, is removed into the dim and shadowy distance. There must, therefore, be something, if not positively wrong, yet strangely defective and unworthy, in our teaching, if it collects and concentrates our thoughts upon that crisis, which, in the reckoning of Apostles, and of Apostolic men, was of little more account, than the transition from childhood to youth,—from youth to manhood,—from manhood to old age. Doubtless, it is good that we should be reminded of the time when all our worldly thoughts and purposes must perish. But O! how much better would it be if our spirits sprung forward,—without stopping at that point,—at once into the presence of God, the judge of all, and of Christ, the mediator of the New Covenant, and of the general Assembly and Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven! For thus would the Prince

of this world be most effectually stripped of his dominion, and death be rifled of his sting, and the grave be divested of its victory.

We have sufficiently shown that, in our judgment, the charge of a propensity to Romanism, with which Mr. Newman has been assailed, is nothing more or less than the result of a chimerical and panic terror. It would be just about as reasonable, to suspect him of secret and traitorous collusion with the Jesuits! Nevertheless, we trust that he will freely forgive us, if we venture to point out one or two expressions, in this volume, which, although he means not so, will probably help to give currency to this surmise. For instance—in Sermon xxi. in speaking of those who are hindered, by infirmity or age, from joining in the Daily Service of public prayer, he asks—“Shall they not, though absent in the body, yet be with their minister in spirit. Shall not their prayers unite in one before the Mercy Seat, sprinkled with the atoning blood, as a pure offering of incense unto the Father, and a *propitiation* both for the world of sinners, and for his purchased Church.” Now, we have very little doubt, that there are persons, who, on hearing these words, will be ready almost to stop their ears, and to rend their garments, and to cast dust into the air. In us, these words produce no such commotion: because we know that they are capable of an innocent and blameless construction; and that nothing is more distant from the mind of Mr. Newman than the thought of investing human intercession with a propitiatory virtue, such as belongs to none but to the Redeemer himself. Still, we would respectfully submit to him, whether it would not be better to avoid expressions, so likely to invite perversion, and to inflict offence and pain.

If any alarm should be excited by the passage above produced, it will hardly be much mitigated by the following; in which, after exhibiting, with fervid eloquence, the privileges of the Christian,—not considered, personally, as he is in himself, but as a member of Christ, and a child of God,—he affirms, that “he is, plainly, in his fitting place, where he intercedes. He is made after the pattern of Christ. *He is what Christ is. Christ intercedes above, and he intercedes below.*” It must be needless to point out the effect which words like these may produce on minds which are agitated by feverish apprehension, lest the life and spirit of the Reformation should perish from among us.

Once more,—“In some unknown way, that place of rest,—(the abode of the spirits of the Just in the intermediate state),—has a communication with this world; so that disembodied souls know what is going on below.” Here, again, may be some occasion for restless and angry *searchings of heart!* The

Romish doctrine of the intercession of the Saints involves, of course, the belief of a *communication*, and a *knowledge*, similar to what is here insisted on by Mr. Newman. And, in controversy with the Romanists, it has frequently been asked, how the sainted spirits are to be cognizant of the thoughts, and words, and deeds, of their brethren of the Church militant here in earth. The reply given to that question, by many of the Romish Divines, is familiar to all. They conceive that things which pass in this world may be made known to disembodied souls by reflection from the face of God; or, to use their own language, from the Mirror of the Trinity (*Speculum Trinitatis*). Mr. Newman, we find, is prepared with a much more modest answer, in case he should be interrogated as to what manner of intercourse there can be between the inhabitants of the "place of rest," and them that are still in the flesh. He will be content to repeat, that "the way is unknown." But still, we doubt whether all this caution and reserve will be sufficient to pacify the keen and jealous vigilance which has posted its sentinels, at every point, against the assaults of the ancient superstition; or to protect the preacher against the suspicion of a dangerous sympathy with the corruptions, or the reveries, of the Romish Church.

It is not without the most unfeigned diffidence that we presume to offer these suggestions. The most advanced Christian, as Mr. Newman observes, is but a learner to the end of his days. And never do we feel the truth of that remark more deeply, than when our spirits are in conference with minds like his.

ART. VII.—*Letters on the Philosophy of Unbelief.* By the Rev. James Wills. London: Fellowes. 1835. 8vo. pp. 232.

"THE Philosophy of Unbelief," and "Philosophical Unbelief," in revealed religion, are not convertible terms. The former is the science of those causes, of which scepticism,—inclusive of all its multiform varieties, is the result—the latter is only one of those varieties.

We do not say that the author of these Letters was either unaware or lost sight of this distinction, during his preliminary analysis of unbelief in general; but from precipitancy in composition, or mental inaptitude for clear synthetical arrangement, he has failed to present it with sufficient prominence to his readers. This is deeply to be regretted; for this volume is written by a man of considerable originality and mental independence; and he will be wanting in the discharge of his duty to society if he does not re-address himself to the subject, throw it into a more logical and lucid order, and condescend to use a simplicity of style, which,

while essential to the perspicuous, is perfectly compatible with the profound.

During the remarks which we would submit upon the inquiry in this volume, we beg our readers to bear in mind the above distinction. We propose to arrange and canvass the author's views upon the Philosophy of Unbelief in general, and then (if we may be allowed the reiteration) upon the Philosophy of Philosophical Unbelief in particular.

It is evident that the process by which this investigation must be pursued is purely *analytical*. Scepticism, upon revealed religion, is to be found more or less in *all* minds, from the most confirmed infidel to the most satisfied believer. It may vary as the moral and mental peculiarities of mankind vary, but in its elementary essence it shows itself in the mind whose faith debates, hesitates, to accept only some one specific guarantee of Christianity, as well as in that which abjures them *all*. It is not the consequence of any singular intellectual conformation; it is universal. It may almost be classed among the instincts of human nature: men, all men, are as much predisposed, without reasoning on the claims of Scripture, to reject them, as they are predisposed, without reasoning, to gratify their physical propensions.

If for the proof of this we descended to detail, and classified men by their relative feelings towards the Gospel, we should refer not so much to its impugnors as to those who profess to be its friends: we should ask, Whence is it that the verities of the Christian Faith possess, over those who accredit them, an influence so little analogous with that which other truths are sure in a like case to exert? Whence is it that in general its objects—though so sublime and beautiful—awaken such disproportioned emotion, and that its principles—confessedly of unparalleled importance—command such disproportioned obedience? This is a phenomenon in human nature, from which we may justly draw an universal conclusion; for if minds the *best* disposed to Christianity nevertheless betray an original indisposition, how much more may that original indisposition be charged on those who totally reject her!

With this moral fact before us we commence our analysis, and we ask, What are the qualities of these two objects that are thus in opposition? What the elements of repulsion? What is there in revealed religion so uncongenial, so alien from man's tendencies, as to make him naturally shrink from contact with its truths? as certain animals instinctively project their feelers, and on coming in contact with an unfriendly object, as instinctively retract them. And if it can be detected that Revelation does disclose grounds for the human heart to fear; if it does attribute beauty and loveliness to forms whose moral colours and proportions, if esteemed, must

entail disgust upon the old objects of the heart's attachments; if it enjoins any efforts of self-conflict, such as self-denial,—such as spiritual toil,—then, since the heart does instinctively shrink from alarm, and from the cultivation of new tastes, and from self-denial, is there not ascertained the cause of which this predisposition to unbelief is the effect?

Now no one will deny that the Gospel advances the most solemn, humiliating, accusations upon *all* men, without exception; thereby charging them with enmity and ingratitude to a Being whom it clothes with attributes the most attractive and beneficent, and so places them at the antipodes to the “first good, first fair;” that it enforces these accusations with threats of evil, which it defies our limited powers to conceive either in extent or in duration; and that its advice, and offers, and proposed means of escape, require all man's dearest prejudices of pride, of present gratification, of indolence, to be *wholly* abjured. Is it not, then, obvious, *à priori*, that its proposal to man's notice must be followed by his revulsion? All its most distinguishing features are such as to preclude its being welcomed. And if we regard the universality of unbelief as a moral problem, is not this a solution?

It is possible that our position may be disputed by the objection—does not Christianity share this obnoxiousness to dislike in common with every other system of virtue, and, therefore, has she any right to arrogate to herself this preliminary guard against the consequences of her subsequent rejection? We answer confidently in the negative. No ethical system—not the most stern, rigid, unpleasing in its requisitions—not even Stoicism warring with the love of luxury and ease—ever proclaimed such severe and uncompromising hostility to those moral evils which it proposed to uproot. Even *she* could ally on her side the self-praise and the superiority above the slaves around that would follow upon her discipline. But the Gospel repudiates any such alliance; it demands humiliation and lowliness. The only original principle of which it avails itself is man's dread of danger; but every one knows that unless the danger be proximate, how fear,—the soul's storm,—is dashed, and broken, and spent, upon the objects that intervene.

We cannot too fully insist upon this noble disdain, shown by Revelation, to use any of man's false moral tendencies as her auxiliaries when she came among us. Even his love of happiness could not be her ally; for the bliss she promises is utterly barren of those sources in which he finds his corrupt gratification. No more can it be alleged that natural religion, (whose primitive truths obtain so universally that they may be ranked among innate principles,) nor that superstition, (that misty atmosphere of semi-

religion to which men at all times have been addicted,) assisted her; for the divinity of the natural religionist merely, is not the divinity of the Scriptures; the imaginary being of the former may have some of the attributes assigned by Revelation to the only living and true God, such as his power and his wisdom; but these are not so much regarded by the moral affections as are the additional attributes of holiness, and truth, and equity. The mind that might possibly indulge in sublime fancy respecting the one, would recoil from communion with the idea of the other. The soul that would suffer, nay, that would prefer, the object of his worship to be omnipotent and all-wise, so as proportionably to reflect dignity upon his service of adoration, would be very far from acquiescing in what on the contrary would reflect upon it fear, and shame, and penitence. And likewise with the superstitious;—all his feelings are vapid, impalpable, “melted into thin air;” but the feelings demanded by Revelation are clear in their outline and intelligible in their source.

It has been necessary thus largely to enter upon this first fact, ascertained in an analysis of unbelief in general, because our author has not given it sufficient attention. He has done but little more than appeal to our consciousness that there is such a contrariety between the original human affections and the moral appliances of the Gospel. He has not shown the *principle* of that contrariety. We deem it, however, of indispensable moment in the investigation. Christianity comes not to be a beautiful speculation, to harmonize, to be dovetailed with our previous moral theories; it is *sui generis*. And further, it comes as a remedy, a spiritual medicine. Immediately that it is applied it must either awaken morbid sensibility, the first shootings of which will be exquisitely painful, just as the first feelings of resuscitation are said even to surpass the agonies that preceded torpor; or it will cauterize. And as any observer would predict that the patient (unless persuaded of the ulterior benefit) would reject with abhorrence the remedies, may we predict that the diseased soul (who is always sceptical as to its ulterior benefit) would reject with abhorrence the Gospel.

The author has dwelt more upon a second peculiarity which he conceives to exist in man's original constitution. He says—

“From this predisposition of the affections, it would not be difficult to infer a proportionable predisposition of the understanding. But it is now my purpose to show that there is a predisposing cause in the constitution of the understanding itself, which, while it retards the assent of the mind to all facts which are merely to be deduced as inferences from reasoning, most peculiarly affects the understanding in its assent to spiritual truths.”

To this passage we ask our reader's particular attention, because, on account of it, we have to allege two grave charges against our author. The first is of injudicious *omission*; the second is of *error*.

As to *omission*: In a work professedly analytical of unbelief in general, as a *fact*,—he is no more justified in being comparatively indifferent to any important sequence, than he would be in neglecting it altogether. “It would not be difficult to *infer* a proportional predisposition of the understanding from this predisposition of the affections.” We perfectly agree with him, but why did he not prove this connection? It was essential to his drawing *any* inference whatever as it regards his general doctrine. For “unbelief” is merely a *sentiment* if it is solely the consequence of a certain state of the affections: but in order to its having the semblance of a *reason*, there must be a certain state of the understanding. In this relation we cannot with sufficient pertinacity contend for the reciprocal influences always existing between the intellect and the heart,—between man's passions and between man's creed. In the first place it is a *fact*—a *fact* proved by consciousness, by observation. In the second place it is the only argument for man's responsibility for his belief. Now man's affections are, we have already shown, enlisted against Christianity. Before he has pronounced a conclusion upon her claims to Revelation he *wishes*, *hopes* they may be “as the fabric of a vision.”—And the understanding at length discredits those claims,—whether cautiously or rashly it matters not for our purpose,—but it discredits them. In the science of the “Philosophy of Unbelief,” surely this ought to have a leading prominence. It is one of the most important links in the whole series. And should the author take our advice and recompose this—in many respects invaluable volume—let him illustrate it by examples and analogies.

But we come now to the second charge of *error*: We perfectly accord to the truth of his assertions that “there is a predisposing cause in the constitution of the understanding itself, which retards the assent of the mind to all facts which are merely to be deduced as influences from reasoning.” This no one will be disposed to canvass. The perception of the senses is a more convincing proof than the most consecutive reasoning. The impression is deeper: man's whole being both of mind and body is convinced in the one case; his intellect only is convinced in the other case. Of course, therefore, we allow that he is much more ready to assent to facts of which he has evidences in his “perception and actual experience of consequences,”—than to facts established only by demonstrative argument. He believes much

more cordially in the every day occurrences of life, than in the remoter ones of abstract science. And confessedly, Revelation shares in the same disadvantage. But we are solemnly at issue with the author when he makes her disadvantage to be greater, and says that this predisposition of the understanding "most peculiarly affects its assent to *spiritual* truths." We see nothing to be gained by this gratuitous assertion. It is not true: and if true it would give the sceptic one of his most envenomed shafts against us. It would allow him thus to argue: Your Deity has *spontaneously, directly* implanted in my mind an element that *unfits* it for belief in the system he reveals. But over the laws that regulate my understanding I have no control. For *them* I am not responsible, though I am free to concede that I am responsible for the workings of my affections. Therefore my incredulity is to be resolved into this *created* inaptitude. But we say it is not true. All the facts revealed in Scripture are within the province of reason, if not within that of comprehension. "That nothing that is repugnant to the plain dictates of reason can claim belief is readily admitted, because impossibilities are not the objects of power, even supposing it to be infinite:—but the mysteries of the Gospel are not of this nature. They include, it is true, something which we cannot fully comprehend; but they contain nothing which the legitimate exercise of reason perceives to be absurd: they surpass the limits of reason without doing violence to its dictates."* Now Christianity has—in common with the abstract sciences—facts incomprehensible. She is under no greater disadvantage than they are as a system of demonstration. Our moral relations to her forebode before an examination, that she will be discredited: but, save and except the influence of those relations upon our intellectual ones, there is nothing native in the understanding to augur such a result. We challenge any system for better evidences either inductive or demonstrative.

In debating whether Christianity is to be believed or disbelieved, the understanding primarily enquires, can she authenticate her claims to Revelation? And this enquiry regards *external* evidences. Prove to me that *the Divinity* has disclosed her facts, her doctrines; let this one point be ascertained, and *then* I can rationally believe *whatever* he has disclosed. "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth;" but the matter of the communication is not to be the mark by which to identify the speaker. We are not disparaging the value of *internal* evidence: as a proof, it is cumulative upon external evidence; but it should never be the

* Hall's Works, vol. 5, p. 294.

foundation. Now we contend that there is no predisposing cause in the *constitution* of the understanding, which retards its assent more to the demonstrative evidences of Christianity, than to other abstract demonstrations. Both are based upon the same laws of human belief: they assume nothing: their inferences are most rigidly inductive and analogical: and so the intellect considered in its constitution is equally capable of arriving at true conclusions respecting them.

But even if we change our ground from the external evidence of Revelation, to its *matter*, we still maintain our position—that her truths are in no *peculiarly* disadvantageous relation to the understanding. *They* are truths of faith, unseen, intangible;—but so are all abstract truths. *They* belong to an economy which is confined *partly* to one world and *partly* to another, and so are proportionably practical: but many abstract truths of pure demonstration are not practical at all. *They* involve mysteries: so do *all* physical sciences. But here, the former have infinitely the advantage. *They*, the mysteries of the *other* world, may be unsupported by the remotest analogies of *this* world, but for aught we know they have innumerable analogies in *their own*:—not so, the converse.

So far we have shown that in the analysis of the History of Unbelief there is a predisposition of the affections against Christianity, and their influence upon the understanding—(though the understanding is a fit, unbiassed instrument in its own constitution)—destroys its impartiality.

We are painfully compelled to adduce another instance of the author's illogical arrangements. He contends that the influences of society upon each individual mind are sadly subsidiary to unbelief.

“Whatever may be the constitution of the mind, no one can hold a reasonable doubt, that the constitution of the social state is highly unfavourable to Revealed Religion. The beauty of its precepts, with their obviously beneficial tendency; together with the irrefragable force of its evidences, which are such as to be unassailable, without rejecting all the rules of right reason and common sense; these, with many other causes, operate to enforce from the world a formal assent, which may be considered as an involuntary tribute to truth, something analogous to that which vice is said to pay to virtue. The unbelief of the world is not speculative dissent, but practical indifference; and, were it an object worth while, might be deduced as a corollary from the principle already established: the social state is but a result from its constituent elements: society is but the aggregate of individuals; with, however, these attendant circumstances; that the collected influence of the whole operates on every part, and generates customs, maxims, opinions and impulses, which affect both the conduct and feeling of every individual. But first let us see as to the fact.

"Now for this, I must appeal to your experience, and ask whether it is not sufficiently obvious to admit of no doubt: That the whole social system is organized exclusively for the purposes of this life only; to favour its desires, and to forward its concerns. While the concerns of our future state are but indistinctly manifested within the sphere of sensation, and are made perceptible only to the inward eyes of reason and faith; the objects of this transitory state occupy every sense and feeling, and crowd the fore-ground of our existence. Thus it is quite apparent, that the affairs of commerce, law, and politics possess all the main arrangements of the world, and that ambition, avarice, taste, and the love of present enjoyment, with all the varied excitements they form, have their equally sovereign prevalence in the inner recesses of domestic life. I do not enter upon the question, as to the fitness or unfitness of this order of things; but merely state it as a fact, on which to found an inference."—pp. 18, 19.

And this "*inference*" is, that it deprives religion of that universal source of "habitual influence which flows from social tendency, and the established order of things. The conviction enforced by universal consent, the impulse of communicated feeling, these, while they encourage, prompt and sway men in every earthly pursuit, are utterly lost in this." All this in itself is admirable. It is perfectly *ad rem* in a discussion on "the Philosophy of Unbelief." It shows *one* of the many mighty forces, extraneous to the human mind, that bear in full current against Christian faith. The only fault is that the author calls it one of the "primary principles," and yet, with strange inconsistency, says, "*it might be deduced as a COROLLARY from the principle already established.*" We are not noticing this as a point merely of dialectical importance. It is one of those inaccuracies of distinction which make so much of the author's invaluable statement, often pointless, always obscure. A corollary, he knows as well as we do, is not a first principle. And if it were a first principle, then there are many other facts which would deserve the same classification: such as "the general tone of the literature, morals, and philosophy" in our different social systems. If the author had arranged the causes of unbelief into those which were *innate* and those which were *extraneous* to the mind, the line of demarcation would have been always discernible.

But we most gladly desist from the language of complaint. There is very much ground for commendation. The author having stated what he conceives to be "the first principles" which are at work unfavourably to Christianity in every mind, proceeds to trace "unbelief as a consequence from these principles."

"The Christian religion—though actually resting upon the very highest evidence that our understanding can receive, consistently with

the nature of the facts—is yet, for its general reception amongst men, quite independent of what is commonly meant by the term *proof*. The Gospel is received by the civilized world on that kind of moral evidence, which results from the fact that it is itself the real basis of the morals of civilized countries. I speak not here of that peculiar spiritual testimony, which it carries home to the Christian mind. It is also received on *the understanding* that it is supported by irrefragable proofs; which, though continually assailed, have still remained unshaken through so many ages: these proofs are supposed to subsist in the repositories of all solid truth that is known to mankind—ready to be produced when called for; and it is thus supposed by all persons of practical understanding, to rest on the consent of the united wisdom of past and present times; and finally, it is fixed by education amongst the earliest lessons of childhood. Thus, although the Gospel of Christ is effectively established upon the first principles of all right reason, the belief of the world is the *immediate* result of habit and education, and not of reasoning. It is a state of mind, and not an inference.”—pp. 26, 27.

This is indisputably true. Most frequently our analysis can detect no earlier incipient stages of religious inquiry. Our educational habits throw us, as it were, “in medias res” as it respects Christianity, and most of us partially, or at best, indistinctly, believe her, without any previous examination of her proofs. The first principle of the predisposition of the affections of which we have said so much, may produce only a weakness of faith: the progress towards scepticism may stop here. This, arising from many counteracting causes, is its half-neutralized force in most minds. Hence we may account for those different exhibitions of incredulity to be seen in the most devout as well as in the most negligent professor of the Gospel. But *some* minds are additionally accelerated towards “unbelief.”

“There are many, who from the character of their minds cannot acquiesce in the neutral state of indistinct belief. They will seek relief, some in prayer and sacred study, some from forgetfulness, some from reason, and some from sophistry. The case, when once agitated, is not one of indifference; it is a trial between conscience and all the passions—between the world, which speaks with strong allurements to every outward sense, and an inbred and vague conviction which appeals to none.”

And now extraneous causes begin to operate. *Here*—(the place in which the author ought to have introduced it)—the secularizing influences of the social system show themselves. In the mental struggle there is only imperfect, unintelligent credence in Revelation,—defending itself against the corrupt tendencies of the heart, against worldly pursuits and attractions, against evil examples, against habits. Unfair fight! Driven to extremities, the mind *begins* now, in her lassitude, to examine Christianity. It will most probably *invert* the order of investigation for which we

have contended, and omitting proofs of *the authenticity* of the Scriptures, commences on debate and speculation as to her *doctrines*. The following passage is, we think, profoundly true :

“ If instead of taking refuge either in prayer and the ordinary means of divine grace, or in the serious study of the actual evidences of Christianity, (a course rarely followed,) the sceptically disposed person has recourse to those casual appeals to reason, which often characterize the progress of unbelief, it is at first sight apparent that, in the case assumed, the *true question* cannot be said to be before the mind. The true question relates to the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures; the actual question in the unbeliever's mind, to the possibility, reason, meaning, and operation of their facts and doctrines. This would, of itself, determine the result; for, whatever might be the conclusion of such speculations, no degree of fitness or sufficiency, *perceivable by the human understanding*, can of itself convey to an unwilling mind the demonstrative evidence of divine original. The unbeliever is not, however, likely to come to such sane conclusions. Such speculations, even were they conducted by the profoundest genius, must of course tend to produce but error and uncertainty. In the repetition of these fruitless questions, the sceptical sense must necessarily acquire the force of habit; and *repeated failure generate increasing doubt*, while it also excites added reluctance and dislike. The question is, therefore, at each successive trial, more cursorily dismissed and less fairly stated. The very same processes, moral, mental, and social, which lead to the question, tend effectually to unfit the mind for its discussion. For as the truth of God is opposed to the habitual tendencies of the unbeliever, the first principles of his reasonings are in themselves likely to be fallacious; and this the more, as one of the most common errors of men is a voluntary self-sophistication, for the purpose of suppressing conscience, and to promote a favourite tendency. Thus by slow degrees, perhaps, but at last, the unbeliever shall have entrenched his understanding in a set of principles, *themselves the results of unbelief*. Meanwhile the primary causes still operate with incessant force to accelerate this course. The vicious affection alienates the mind; the treacherous reason misleads it; and the noiseless yet vast force of the public mind, as it enforces discretion and sanctions indifference, still confirms it in each new stage. After some vain efforts, therefore, to bring down heavenly things to the dark level of human sight, and to look with purblind eye into the mind of Infinite Wisdom, the understanding is deprived of those actual perceptions, with which it was constituted for the purpose of true religion; the heart becomes hardened, darkened, and alienated; and unspiritual desires acquire sanction and authority until at last *doubt itself becomes a habit*, and inseparably associated with religion in the heart. The direct consequence must at last be the abandonment of all serious thoughts upon the subject. This is the last stage to which unbelief ordinarily arrives—the continued cessation of thought upon the subject; which thus, not being maintained by either feelings, sentiments, actions, reflections, or facts, loses all traces of existence in the thoughts. Such is a summary view of the operations which lead to unbelief.”—p. 33—36.

We have quoted the above paragraph because it is indeed a most satisfactory summary. It carries us to the extremes of scepticism. And thus our readers will perceive that the *general* analysis of unbelief terminates.

All inquiries as to its various forms in the sincere Christian, in the formal professor, in the superstitious, in the heretic, in the deist, in the atheist;—all inquiries into its development in the illiterate or the philosopher, in the debased slave of sense or the intellectually speculative,—are evidently *subdivisions*. But the author now insensibly passes into an investigation of “Philosophical Unbelief,” as if it included *en masse* all the others. He proceeds to consider “primary objections” to Christianity, which, he says, “have their immediate source in the natural constitution of the mind, and being, therefore, independent of the inventions of sophistry, to a great extent, common to all minds.” Now, what do our readers suppose are these primary unsophisticated, almost axiomatic objections?—objections so simple, so obvious, that *all* minds, from the nature of their constitution, intuitively urge them? Let us hear: 1. That no one believes. 2. That it is impossible to believe. 3. That there is no proof of revealed religion. 4. That there can be none. In all honesty we declare that we dislike assailing our author in this manner: because his classification of objections is so just, so perfect. But every one must instantly perceive that they are *bonâ fide*, exclusively, *philosophical* objections; they belong solely to that department of unbelief. Our author must have a much higher opinion of the generality of human intellects than we have, for him to suppose that objections, the *first* founded upon a professedly enlarged observation of mankind; the *second*, upon the laws which regulate human credence; the *third*, upon an examination and refutation of *all* the evidences of Christianity; and the *fourth*, upon the comparative merits of approximating probabilities and direct demonstrations, that objections such as these, involving all mental and physical philosophy, enter spontaneously into *all* minds, whatever their various power and attainment. If we need an example, we should like to submit to some tolerably well-educated men, the succeeding chapters of this book, in which, in so conclusive and masterly a manner, the author has explained and refuted these objections, and instead of being able to understand their texts in limine, we are sure they would not (such a tax are they upon thought and learning,) understand even their explanations.

We have said this is a most masterly classification of the objections of “Philosophical Unbelief.”—Severally taken, they form the basis of the arguments which the sceptic draws from history,

or from physics. We have seen that the author has enumerated *four*: and we fear not being thought fanciful in asserting that each in their order distinguished,—the one, Gibbon, in the poison which he drew from his historical associations; the other, Hume, in his Metaphysical Pyrrhonism; the third, Voltaire, in his unblushing deafness to conviction; and the last, Laplace, in his supreme and exclusive faith in the exact sciences. We would call these each the representative of his class. Now true analysis requires that some such particular minds as these should be examined as to their individual history;—and that the causes which entered into the formation of their characters, should, as far as possible, be ascertained;—with this point, meanwhile, being steadily proposed for discovery,—whether in those characters there were any marked *moral* affinities with unbelief.

This more microscopic dissection of some few species would still maintain an unity of design with the former analysis of mind at large,—as the genus. For again we would assert, that as science appertains to *causes*,—if our author would attribute such a name or a synonymous one to his inquiry,—his prime attention must be to the *origin* of his facts. This he has not done. The second part of this volume is rather a discussion of the above objections. We shall therefore endeavour to supply his deficiency, with the hope that, as our space limits us so much to hints, he will avail himself of them in some future and more extensive discussion.

There is but little difficulty in accounting for the scepticism of Gibbon. Neglected in his early education, he was left to his own capricious studies with a liberty most unpropitious to habits of disciplined and cautious discrimination. His family politics were rashly identified in his mind with their party's favourite religion—the Roman Catholic,—and he became an easy convert to her communion. Exiled to Switzerland by his enraged Protestant father, and teasingly beset by the arguments of the good pasteur, his preceptor,—he, with as much versatility, abjured his new creed, and purchased paternal forgiveness by apostacy. What, then, must have been the state of this young man's feelings towards Christianity in all or any shape,—who, having, as he himself says, “childishly revolted against the religion of his country,” was subjected to a process of reconversion, coûte qu'il coûte?

In one of his tutor's letters to the father—all of which ludicrously resemble the reports which a metallic refiner may be supposed to give of the progress of transmutation—he says of the recreant son:

“Monsieur—Votre fils avoit entièrement renoncé aux fausses idées qu'il avoit embrassées; mais il a fallu disputer le *terrein pied à pied*, et je

n'ai pas trouvé en lui un homme léger, et qui passe rapidement d'un sentiment à un autre. Souvent après avoir détruit toutes ses idées sur un article de manière qu'il n'avoit rien à repliquer, ce qu'il avouoit sans détour, il me disoit qu'il ne croioit pas, qu'il n'y eut rien à me répondre."

Is it to be wondered that this hourly torment induced in the pupil a disgust towards religion altogether? and that, in consequence, he was well prepared to retaliate upon a subject for which he had incurred exile and remorseless wrangling, and loss of self-respect, and the shame of a second tergiversation? It was with this predisposition he commenced his historical inquiries. They were first directed to the age when Christianity was in a transition stage from primitive simplicity and incorruptness to rapid deterioration. When he commenced, the plague-spot was scarcely discernible upon her cheek: but his studies forced his gaze upon her, while the flush deepened, and fever and lassitude, and delirium and noisomeness, succeeded. Was it to be expected that Gibbon—already so prejudiced—would do ought than gloat upon these deformities? And it was so. The worldliness, the speculation, the vices of the Christian priesthood; the hypocrisy, and worse than Pagan profligacy of many of the Christian Emperors;—confessors of the faith adjusting their varying creeds to all points of the compass, to catch the day's gale;—the rivalries, the jealousies, the cruelties of sects;—with these sad facts he was compelled to hold daily communion. And he thence inferred the Church's universal insincerity. The disagreement between the faith and practice of the Christian community made him virtually, if not avowedly, draw the first objection: "*That no one believes.*"

The author of the letters before us confines himself to the abstract value of the argument, "that professed believers of the Gospel show their insincerity by their conduct: therefore, no one believes." We have no doubt that sceptical minds of the commonest order, often justify themselves in their infidelity by the individual cases of spiritual delinquency which they see around them: but the inference combatted by Mr. Wills is drawn from an enlarged, though false estimate of the Christian community. This requires a knowledge of general and comparative history. It is therefore a philosophical objection.

To his incredulous friend he writes:

"In stating this objection, you are in the habit of dwelling with much force upon the facts and awful sanctions of revealed religion, and inferring the effect which the knowledge of such things should have upon the conduct and feelings. In this there is a complication of errors—first, as to the kind of knowledge which human beings are capable of possessing, of the ultimate ends of religion; secondly, the effect of a state of mind of which you have no experience; thirdly, a mistake as to the actual

nature of the conduct required ; and fourthly, an unfair evasion of facts which *directly* overthrow your proposition.”—p. 99.

We shall not stop here to show that a rejoinder, so unconciliatory, is very unlikely to convince. It contains a still greater deficiency.—An answer to an objection that depends upon *overt* facts for its proofs, should discuss those facts. It is perfectly futile, in reply to an Infidel who is pointing to a grave crime in a Believer, to say, ‘*He* has a state of mind of which you have no experience : and with that state of mind, constituting, as it does, true piety,—an act of backsliding is not impossible.’ What a pointless refutation ! It may be a truth,—but it does not grapple with its opponent,—front to front : it does not seize its sinewy arms, strive to unnerve their tension, and interlock its limbs. Seriously,—in wrestling with a *fact*, we must either unmask or overthrow it. It will not avail to refer the questioner to regeneration of the heart as introducing a new moral element which contends with, but does not immediately destroy the older ones. It will not avail to assert that, in the fight, the old tenants of the soul, though besieged, will sometimes surprise its beleaguers in a sortie. The objector says,—‘Is your Christian creed a practical one, or is it not ? If it is, then no one has ever honestly adopted it, for no one has ever yielded to its requisitions.’ Now, surely, this does not require us to take refuge in the invisible realities of spiritual religion : it does not require us to shield ourselves in the retort, ‘you are speaking of a subject upon which you are wholly ignorant.’ Our object is to *convince* him : but is the mind taught a subject by being insulted for its ignorance ?

We would, therefore, have our author meet the objector upon his own ground. Though thousands of her disciples have been stained by crimes most odious and contemptible ;—though many a page of her annals is marked by treachery and blood ;—though in guiltiest sacrilege her professors have often “thought the Deity such an one as themselves,” thereby to stamp, with the sanction of omnipotence, the frailties of the heart ;—still let us point to facts which redeem, nay more than redeem ;—facts of the moral power of the Christian faith, so pure, so unparalleled, as shall be proofs that *some* have and *do* believe.

Now what are those *facts* ? In the general we affirm that Christianity and human amelioration have ever been coincident. It has been “the salt of the earth” considering society in the aggregate. We dare the objector to contrast the morals and virtues of the most refined Pagan age with those of the most unscrupulous of Christian corruption. We of course concede that there may have been some individual enormities committed under the cloak of religion, as flagrant as any during the unblushing

openness of Heathenism. But in the aggregate, in the sum total of the moral results, we dare him to the contrast. We are quite aware that he will strive to smile with philosophical contempt at our declamation when we challenge him to a comparison of the practical consequences of Christianity with the practical consequences of Atheism, in the *great* experiment of their comparative values, the French Revolution. That age possessed all the knowledge, all the mutual charities, all the refinement which, few though some would call them, it owed entirely to Christianity. Infidelity had not to work upon the obtuse sottishness and harsh vices of barbarism; yet on this favoured soil what was the effect of her cultivation? Were there ever crimes so black, or cruelties so insensible? The recesses of the Inquisition may have witnessed scenes equally appalling: but to this, as a more than off-set, we may place the general workings of our faith. This was a sad exception. But in the opposite case—the only genuine instance of the operation of the most enlightened infidelity—the instance to which there hath been no exception, was one in which men of refined taste were brutalized; in which men of unbending independence became slaves; in which all the domestic affections were eclipsed in mutual jealousies and lusts; and the day on which issued forth the solemn proclamation, “there is no God,” witnessed a moral darkness paralleled only by the darkness when at the cross there issued the proclamation, “there is no God incarnate.” This *general* fact disproves the objection “that no one believes” Christianity. The faith that had hitherto restrained those excesses which broke forth upon its renunciation might have been imperfect in its admissions and deteriorated by its spirit of indifference; still in a degree it *was* faith, and this is sufficient to overthrow our assailant.

But when we come to a *particular* enumeration of facts, we feel our argument still more conclusive. Has well authenticated history no examples of the purest influences of our faith? Have we had none—both those whom prolonged but fatal pain, and those whom distilled, condensed suffering, have ennobled as sincere confessors of the Saviour? If we pass over the facts (for we are prepared to show *they* are facts) of the perfect virtue of our divine teacher, and the irreproachable honesty of his Apostles,—surely we have nevertheless documents of sincerity in their followers. It is here to be remarked, that their *sincerity* is now with our objector the point of dispute. As a proof, he must be *insane* if nothing short of perfection will satisfy him. And we ask him to attend with us some martyr's stake, to watch his voluntary abandonment of wealth, of friendship and of love;—we ask him to follow him as he welcomes the pyre or the falchion, and to tell

us, be his belief well-grounded or not, yet hath he not given proofs of his *sincerity*?

Our reasoning will be most indecisive if it is not borne in mind that the accusation is, "that no one believes," and the arguments by which it is supported is the discrepancy between the Christian's creed and practice. There is a more abstract and perhaps more philosophical answer than our former method of reply, viz. that sincerity of opinion when placed in collision with opposing forces, may be *silenced* though not corrupted; that the believer's creed is a solitary principle in the midst of a host of hostile tendencies—and that the occasional developement of any of these tendencies is only one of the common inconsistencies of human nature.

We subjoin, not as an answer to the sceptic but for the purpose of satisfying the true Christian who may be agitated by this debate, the following passage from our author:—

"But you ask, will he (the Christian) still be capable of wickedness and worldliness? I reply, he will be but according to the strength he receives. It is the office of divine grace to impart good counsels and holy desires; to convince the heart of sin; to awaken faith, dependence on the Redeemer, self distrust, humility, thankfulness, love, and charity in all its comprehensive sense as described by St. Paul (Cor. xiii.) But the elements of human nature still remain. The Christian is yet subject to temptation, and of course liable to both error and sin. His conversion to God is not instantaneous, but gradual; and often slow, and marked by the peculiarities of natural character. It is so ordered, that before his faith is made perfect it is liable to be schooled by many trials, which form the condition of that state in which he has been not undesignedly placed. Thus then he may from time to time appear slack in his spiritual progress, and to some extent conformed to the world. The strife between the spirit and the flesh must begin, and be more or less apparent; but the result is a change of heart, which advances with an accelerated progress. The beginning of this progress may exhibit to human eyes a doubtful character—one not freed from the bondage of the world, though aiming at something beyond it. But from this warfare his character will surely emerge into one of less questionable sanctity. Such a progress, and such a modification of character, are both indicated in the inspired writings, and exemplified in the lives of many virtuous and spiritual Christians; in whom the moral elements of our nature are cleansed, enlightened, and restored by the continued operation of the spirit of God." —pp. 107, 108.

So much for the first division of philosophical believers. The *second* we must classify as objectors to Christianity upon the ground "*that it is impossible to believe.*" This assertion is the sceptic's conclusion after a professed examination of *all* the laws which regulate human credence. The *impossibility* of believing a particular proposition must follow either upon the *nature* of that

proposition itself (not upon the nature of its evidences), or upon the nature of the mind from whom the belief is exacted. If it is an unreasonable, an absurd one, it is impossible to believe it; or if the mind to whom it is submitted indulge an universal Pyrrhonism, there will be an equal, though a moral, impossibility likewise.

In our inquiry into "Philosophical Unbelief," we must again seek for another individual analysis. And as we have made the historian Gibbon the representative of the first class in a former paragraph, we would make Hume in his character as a moralist a representative of the second class. He did emphatically declare, not only that no one believed Revelation, but—that it was impossible for *any one* to believe.

The scepticism of Hume upon the doctrines and facts of Revelation is completely neutralized as to its rational force by recollecting the intellectual predisposition with which he examined them. The formation of his religious creed was commenced *after* his rejection of all belief either in his own consciousness or in the evidence of his senses. He was already living in a mental vacuum. He had no one ascertained fulcrum upon which to place his intellectual lever. He had not *one* point "for firm footing, no one solid rock, though all were sea besides." His thoughts were an universal sea, ever fluctuating either in its alternating tides of habit or in tumultuous doubt. What was his own first method of investigation? "Not only to doubt of all his former opinions and principles, but also of his very faculties; of whose veracity we must, he says, assure ourselves by a chain of reasoning, deduced from some original principle, which cannot possibly be fallacious or deceitful." This was the avowed line he undertook as "a necessary preparation to the study of philosophy;" and in the same moment adds, "but neither is there any such original principle, (i. e. as proof of the existence of our own faculties,) which has a prerogative above all others, that are self-evident and convincing; or if there were, could we advance a step beyond it, but by the use of these very faculties, *of which we are disposed to be already diffident.*" Thus did Hume come prepared to the study of the Scriptures of Revelation with an anterior condition of mind so confirmed in Pyrrhonism, that he was actually diffident as to the existence of his own faculties. Consciousness was not proof sufficient for him. And, moreover, our readers most of them are aware that he discredited the evidence of the senses. "We are necessitated by reasoning to contradict or depart from the primary instincts of our nature, and to embrace a new system with regard to the evidence of our senses."*

* "It seems evident that men are carried, by a natural instinct or prepossession, to repose faith in their senses; and that without any reasoning, or even almost before the

We cannot too closely keep ourselves to this fact. Hume doubted the reality of his own faculties,—he doubted the evidence of his senses. What possible proofs, then, would he have received as sufficient of the authenticity of revelation? Verily, had the Deity, by virtue of his own omnipotence, assisted Hume to a consciousness that he was around him, within him, it had been insufficient. To say that “though one had risen from the dead, he had not believed,” would be far below the truth in expression of his incredulity. *He* disbelieved his senses! Then, had he been borne to the third heavens, and touched the throne of the Eternal,—or, for his impiety, felt “the fire that goeth before” the Deity,—or seen worlds created into being by the Almighty *fiat*,—or heard the ineffable acclaims of the myriads of the redeemed,—these appeals to his senses he had not believed.

Where, then, is the force of his following asseveration?

“We may observe, that notwithstanding the dogmatical, imperious style of all superstition, the conviction of the religionist in all ages is more affected than real, and scarce ever approaches in any degree to that solid belief and persuasion which governs us in the common affairs of life. Men dare not avow, even to their own hearts, the doubts which they entertain on such subjects. They make a merit of implicit faith, and disguise to themselves their real infidelity by the strongest asseverations and the most positive bigotry.” *

This is, indeed, the refinement of philosophical scepticism; and we are sure Hume’s intellectual tendencies, *before* he had formed an opinion respecting revelation, must have necessarily impelled him to its rejection, whatever might have been its proofs.

use of reason, we always suppose an external universe, which depends not on our perception, but would exist though we and every sensible creature were absent or annihilated. Even the animal creation are governed by a like opinion, and preserve this belief of external objects, in all their thoughts, designs, and actions. It seems also evident, that when men follow this blind and powerful instinct of nature, they always suppose the very images, presented by the senses, to be the external objects, and never entertain any suspicion that the one are nothing but representations of the other. This very table which we see white and which we feel hard, is believed to exist, independent of our perception, and to be something external to our mind which perceives it. Our presence bestows not being on it; our absence annihilates it not. It preserves its existence uniform and entire, independent of the situation of intelligent beings, who perceive or contemplate it.

“But this universal and primary opinion of all men is soon destroyed by the slightest philosophy, which teaches us, that nothing can ever be present to the mind but an image or perception, and that the senses are only the inlets through which these images are received, without being ever able to produce any immediate intercourse between the mind and the object. The table which we see, seems to diminish as we remove farther from it; but the real table, which exists independent of us, suffers no alteration; it was, therefore, nothing but its image, which was present to the mind. These are the obvious dictates of reason; and no man who reflects, ever doubted, that the existences, which we consider, when we say this house and that tree, are nothing but perceptions in the mind, and fleeting copies or representations of other existences, which remain uniform and independent.”—*Hume on the Academical or Sceptical Philosophy*, p. 367.

* Hume. *The Natural History of Religion*, p. 518.

His unbelief was a natural effect. He, who, "*addictus jurare in verba magistri*," would strengthen himself by Hume's authority against the Gospel, is equally bound to adopt his other conclusions against his consciousness.

The existence of "mysteries" in Christianity is the sole ground upon which Mr. Wills supposes an infidel to argue "that it is impossible to believe."

The plan which we have proposed for ourselves in this review will not allow us to digress and show the futility of this objection. The author's chapter on this subject is one of his happiest. We think the following, if developed and illustrated, would be a perfect solution of the difficulty:—"A mystery is that which cannot be explained from *known* principles, and the difficulty exists only in relation to our actual knowledge: to a man born blind there is a mystery in vision; to a man born deaf, in sounds."

In a former Letter there is another instance of bad arrangement, in the assertion of a most happy illustration, which would have been so much more appropriate to this place. We shall, therefore, transplant it.

"Two years since, in a short excursion amongst the Connemara mountains, we happened to fall in with a poor unlettered rustic, who attended us for some hours through the intricate passes of these hills. He showed, on a great many common subjects, a degree of shrewdness, and homely but pointed wit, at which, for a little while, you seemed infinitely delighted. At length, I forget how it happened, you became entangled in a very serious argument. I believe that, as a philosopher, you thought proper to enlighten the poor man's mind with a lecture on astronomy. He did not turn out to be the most docile of pupils; and I recollect that there were two of your assertions which he met with the most masterly display of scepticism I ever happened to witness. Of these, one was relative to the spheroidal form of the earth: the other, the fact of its motion in free space; or, as the poor man expressed it, rolling through the empty sky, without any kind of prop. This he sturdily insisted was impossible, and contrary to reason, experience, and common sense. It was an absurdity too gross for any one, out of swaddling clothes to digest, that even a bag of feathers, not to talk of this vast universe, should continue to roll away, without anything either to hold it up in its place, or drive it on its way. He very plainly proved, to his own evident satisfaction, that, if you were right, the earth must be for ever falling down into the bottomless abyss. He also argued with great shrewdness, that if it turned quite round, the same would as surely happen to its inhabitants. On both points he triumphantly referred you, every now and then, to the evidence of your senses, and hinted that learned men were often very credulous, from not looking about them on the actual goings on of the world. He observed that no one saw more of the stars than persons like himself, who often spent his nights, as well as days, on the mountains; and that there could be no other way

of knowing these things. Another argument of his I can recollect, which perplexed you more than all: he very plainly proved that it would be quite inconsistent with his notions of the wisdom of the Creator, to construct such a complicated piece of machinery as you described; and, for the sake of the annual and diurnal changes, which were of very doubtful convenience, to send such a great body of land and water so many million of miles out of its way, round the sun; which, he added, everybody knew to be nothing more than a great ball of fire, fixed up among the clouds for no other purpose than to give light to the people, and make the grass grow. Lastly, he told you that your whole description was one of the many absurdities, invented time out of mind by learned men, to impose upon the world, which was always too wise to believe such crazy notions. You were the more nettled at this, because you supposed the poor fellow to be thinking of Ptolemaic, and other such exploded systems of philosophers and schoolmen. The poor man had probably no such meaning, though he annoyed you prodigiously by confounding the demonstrative science of Newton with the absurd superstitions of astrology. In the whole of this most singular controversy, your ragged antagonist never let pass a single occasion for a good joke; and when he had succeeded in raising a laugh, he evidently set it down to the disparagement of your argument. He also evinced great controversial judgment in interrupting your reasonings at the strong point; and still more, in the felicitous audacity with which he denied the simplest axioms, when they favoured your notions; and again, with equally happy inconsistency, adopted them for his own purposes. After some time you became heated, and even this the shrewd old fellow turned to his purpose, not heeding the fact that he was also himself a little testy: he told you that he perceived by your temper that you were a collegian and an astrologer, and therefore had a personal interest in imposing on the people. I omit the provoking mixture of sophism and flippant jest with which he similarly met your other position as to the earth's form; or how he moved your indignation by flippantly observing, that had he assisted in the formation of this world, instead of adopting for a model that absurd and aristocratic vegetable the turnip, (your unhappy illustration,) he would have recommended for a prototype that useful and popular vegetable the potato.

“ At last we were both much pleased at getting rid of the old man, and I still recollect the mortified aspect with which, before he turned a corner of the village which we were entering at the moment, you looked after him, and with a forced smile of much significance, observed, how little knowledge it required to be a sceptic. To this I assented most cordially; and you proceeded very emphatically to point out the uses of philosophy in freeing the mind from those vulgar prejudices by which it is shackled in its reception of great truths, which lie beyond the sphere of the senses, and thus enabling the liberal mind to attain those remote inferences which reason carries home to the studious. The old peasant, you were pleased to observe, instantly denied whatever he could not entirely comprehend, and whatever threatened to disturb his prejudices. You also very forcibly remarked, that he maintained his ground chiefly

by means of his own errors, and by making false statements, which it would take whole days to rectify. Lastly, you repeated twice over with an indignant air, that the fool asked questions which an angel could not answer, alluding to his having rather sneeringly asked you what gravitation was made of."—p. 65—69.

We come now to the third class of objectors. *They* concede both that it is possible to believe, and that some do sincerely believe; they only assail the claims of the system to belief: they say, "there is no proof of revealed religion." Here it may be thought by our readers that our classification fails in logical accuracy, and that this argument is not a distinctive feature of the philosophical school. But it is to be remarked that they are supposed to say, "there is *no* proof." This is not a partial, but a total abjuration of *all* the evidences of Christianity; the survey of the field is assumed to have been unlimited. It has, however, much in common with the inferior class. To a certain point they both oppose upon the same grounds: the former is distinguished by opposing both upon them and *more*, and therefore its best representative for our analysis must be a sceptic of the greatest information, who has been the most able to view Revelation in all the lights in which her prophecies, her literature, her morals may present her. But even in such an instance we must be more *general* in our researches: there is too multifarious an assemblage in this group to allow much individuality. We will select Voltaire and Rousseau. What was the history of their philosophical unbelief?

Voltaire and Rousseau differed from Hume and Gibbon, in that the latter were men who did not avail themselves of their fancied irresponsibility for the purposes of immorality. It is true that Gibbon's feelings were of the grossest order, otherwise his History had not been so gratuitously defiled; but they were comparatively latent. Perhaps the true explanation of this would be, that the contemplation of sin was itself so exquisitely gratifying to his depraved taste, that overt satisfactions were unnecessary.

But Voltaire and Rousseau were the incarnations of immorality; the cups from which they quaffed their pleasures held sensuality distilled. Voltaire's caustic cynicism, and Rousseau's tender sentimentalism, though qualities so opposed, gave them the mutual resemblance of intense selfishness. It is true that the one delighted in the feeling of isolated superiority, while the other sought for the interfusion of his sympathies with those of his fellow-beings. Voltaire despised human nature; Rousseau adored her. Yet the frown and the smile were purest selfishness. Voltaire contemned "the ministers to his pleasure;" Rousseau loved them as indispensable companions, as nothing more. Both scorned the name of virtue; never were there men more dissimilar

in mind, more similar in morals. When Voltaire visited Pope, even the bard of Twickenham blushed at the pollution of his mind. Gray's epigram upon his prostituted talents was too true:

" You are so witty, profligate and thin,
At once we think thee Milton, Death, and Sin."

The Confessions of Rousseau are unfit to read.

If Quinctilian felt the importance of good morals as an accompaniment to the shrewdest reasoning, in order that the latter might convince, so that he insisted that an advocate should be a good man, it is fair in us to demand the same qualification in an impugner of Christianity, if he would be above suspicion.

It may be justly surmised that the unbelief of a bad man is not from a love of truth, but from a love of sin. He is an interested witness; he has suborned himself to lie against his Judge. But we would not charge this upon the men before us, (not because we think it too severe, or too hypothetical, but because the language of accusation is so unfit for the language of debate,) if we did not honestly believe that this is the common characteristic of their class. In fact, others may be self-deluded by philosophical speculation; these are insincere. The one are blind, the other are masked. The moment a man comes to an examination of the evidences of Christianity, recognizing the genuine laws of demonstration, we believe them to be so irrefragable, so conclusive, that even his fancied disproof of them is impossible. A man awake, in broad, unclouded day, cannot persuade himself there is no sun. We tax Voltaire and Rousseau with hypocrisy. One day Voltaire insulted our blessed Lord with the blasphemy, "Down with the wretch;" another day he partook the symbols of his body. We have no more eloquent or just comparison between the perfect man of Paganism and the "example" of the Gospel, followed with a declaration of the latter's superiority as *infinite*, than in the well-known parallel by Rousseau.

This—the immorality of the third class of philosophical objectors—is the *fact* to be ascertained by analysis, and it is so peculiar to those who, having professedly admitted the Gospel to a hearing, decide against her, that we consider it the cause of the adjudication.

The mode in which Mr. Wills notices this third objection, is by an enumeration of the evidences of Christianity in order to refute it. It is chiefly an epitome of "Leslie's Short Method with the Deists."

His last chapters discuss the fourth Infidel assertion, that "there can be no proof of Revelation." It differs from the principle of Hume: it *allows* that some systems may be proved

but that this—such is its nature—cannot be. It takes its rise from the mathematical class of sceptics. Accustomed to calculate and prove by physical facts, by means of the exact sciences, they have applied numerical probability on the doctrine of chances to Revelation. Now, in limine, it is to be denied that the system of Christianity can be the subject of numerical calculation. And we think that the following is conclusive.

“Laplace acknowledges in several passages, the inutility of the *Calculus* as applied to cases in which a complication of interests and passions combine their influences: and in another part of the same work he points out, with much clearness, the true principles of moral probability. He even observes the impossibility of applying the mathematical *Calculus* to estimate the truth of scientific results, which have been obtained by a variety of different means of observations and methods of reasoning, and adds, ‘which is also applicable to historic facts.’ But it never seems to have entered his mind, in estimating the credit due to the witnesses of the Christian religion, (for such is his meaning, and he is so understood,) that it is a question affected by all the various conditions which exempt it from the kind of trial to which he would submit it. Precise and scrupulous in applying his principles to investigations connected with science, he sets aside the known laws of human nature and the system of life, and invents improbable cases and absurd suppositions, for the purpose of making his favourite science subservient to the popular infidelity of his nation. With this view he narrows the subject to the most elementary conditions, by leaving out the entire question on which he infers by implication. He assumes the simplest case of witnesses testifying to an extraordinary fact; and reasoning on this with the precision of numbers, insinuates a conclusion, of the fallacy of which he was probably aware, in such a manner as to allow the reader to put his own construction upon it.”—pp. 193—195.

It might be contended, moreover, that the truth of the Christian Religion is an affair of demonstration, as well as of moral probability. We know that these terms have too frequently been considered synonymous: but their difference will be easily seen, upon reflecting that the one admits of moral certainty, and the other only of moral approximation. So that were we unable to show the inappropriateness of the *calculus*, and on its being applied to the Christian faith were we defeated, there would still remain another department for a conflict.

In this latter one many mathematicians have assailed our evidences. But in what way? By bringing an objection to *all* moral demonstration whatever. We have to ask by what supposable process have they arrived at this species of Infidelity! It is well known that mental habits are as rigid as physical ones: that as the disuse of any one bodily faculty enervates it almost equally with paralysis, so does disuse of any one mental faculty.

The poet's eye "in fine frenzy rolling," gradually becomes incapable of microscopic observation. Facts and their relations are proportionably lost to him. And with equal truth may it be asserted, on the other hand, that the historian, the man of realities, becomes often incapable of forming the unreal visions of the fancy. The habits of the mathematician and the habits of the moralist in their investigations must be totally distinct. The one exerts powers which the other has suspended. That either man should arrogate and monopolize all the field of demonstration, or even that he should dogmatize upon the comparative merits of the instruments, would be absurd. It would be the naturalist, who has been contracting his gaze upon some moss, with its teeming animalculæ and its foliage, suddenly starting into ridicule at the ecstasy of an observer of a surrounding prospect, though his own pupil is only dilating, and all objects are swimming in indistinctness before his vision.

This law of mind we adduce as seriously accounting for and affecting the worth of the unbelief of such men as D'Alembert and Laplace.

Having now considered the leading topics of this volume, we will hasten to a conclusion. It has been with unmingled pain that we have been obliged to speak with any thing bordering on severity upon a book written with so pure an intention; and, save and except the deficiencies we have noticed, so very valuable. Every volume is not worth the time and trouble of criticism. We pass over many a fault in an inferior writer, which must not be spared in such an one as Mr. Wills. His style as well as his method will bear much emendation. He pleads himself that "it was impossible to afford so much attention as to avoid or correct many very prominent errors of style and method; some arising from an anxiety for condensation, and, others from a wish to avoid common place—both carried too far for good taste." This is the precise truth: there is throughout the work an evident fear of being thought trite: a straining after a superior diction. Is not this a distrust in the force and value of his thoughts? And, as any one would expect, is it not the certain way to obscurity? Every author should know that the affectation of profundity is more dangerous than the affectation of simplicity. A reader will forgive the writer who saves him toil, more easily than when having caused him the toil no thought sufficiently compensatory is discovered.

We much question the advisableness of addressing such a volume of letters to a sceptic, with the design of convincing him. Its unavoidable exposure of the latent faults of the unbeliever's heart,—its accusations of prejudice and unfairness,—will only

irritate. A close ingenuous demonstration, such as Paley's, will—coming as an instructor, not an informer—be far more appropriate. The inquiry is more advantageous to the believer. It enlarges his acquaintance with human nature; it fits him for other adroit homethrusts of argument; and, chiefly, it is another grateful tribute to the honesty, openness and purity of the Christian Faith, another proof that “his hope will not make ashamed.”

ART. VIII.—1. *Does the Church of Rome agree with the Church of England in all the fundamentals of Christianity? Answered by the Authoritative Declarations of the Two Churches; in a Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Melbourne.* By the Bishop of Down and Connor. Dublin: Milliken and Son. 1836.

2. *Tracts for the Times.* Nos. 67, 68, 69. *Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism, with an Appendix.* By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, B.D. (D.D.) Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons.

3 *The Church of England's Confession of Faith in the Thirty-Nine Articles.* By Thomas Stephen. Edinburgh: Frazer and Co.

4. *The Church of England a Protester against Romanism and Dissent.* No. I. *On the Unity of the Church, &c. &c.* By William Dodsworth, M.A. Minister of Margaret Chapel, St. Marylebone. London: James Burns.

SMALL is our right to put so imposing a title as the “*Genius and Character of the Church of England*,” at the head of the few cursory observations, which our article itself can contain. But the impatient course of events precipitates us upon a task, which we have not at present space, even if we possessed the ability, duly and adequately to execute; and urges us to give the outline and skeleton of principles, which we hope to bring out with a fuller development at other and more favourable opportunities.

Neither to the books specified above can we pretend to do justice. We must be content to recommend what we have no room to criticise. Dr. Mant's pamphlet is a cogent and somewhat caustic reply to an unlucky proposition advanced by Lord Melbourne, that “the Roman Catholics in *all* the fundamentals of Christianity agree with Protestants.” In one sense, perhaps, it may be true, that two Churches which have the Creeds in common must have some general agreement in the fundamental

articles of faith. But that the agreement does not extend to *all*, or nearly *all*, the points, which are essential and vital, the Bishop of Down and Connor, following the Bishop of Salisbury, proves to other readers, and, we should humbly think, to the Prime Minister himself, in a terse, lucid, and vigorous epistle, exhibiting a comparison, in parallel columns, of the Articles of the Church of England, and the decrees and statements of the Council of Trent.

Dr. Pusey's tracts are among the most valuable of a very valuable collection. And, as we look at the title page, and see before us, "*Tracts for the Times, Nos. 67, 68, 69,*" we take some shame to ourselves for not having called attention to the series before. But the task, perhaps, would have been deemed a work of supererogation; for extensive scholarship, and earnest piety, and nervous language will work their own way.

The Church of England's Confession of Faith by Mr. Stephen appears, for the most part, a clear and useful compendium of orthodox opinions; but must be regarded rather as a compilation than as an original work. Mr. Dodsworth presents us with a number of little addresses, various in their subjects, but having for a common title, "*The Church of England a Protester against Romanism and Dissent.*" They are written with a smooth and equable neatness of style; safe and sensible, perhaps, rather than forcible or energetic. The *intention* is one, which we at least must approve: since we have earned to ourselves the fervent dislike of Ultra-Protestants, by praising the wise moderation of the Church of England in standing between the extremes of Popery and Sectarianism. With some few and inconsiderable exceptions, we are willing to assent to Mr. Dodsworth's exposition; but, in productions of so unpretending a form, we could hardly expect, nor do we find, any conspicuous novelty either of remark or of citation. Mr. Dodsworth says,—

"It is not my purpose to treat these subjects controversially, any further than is absolutely necessary for their elucidation. My object is not controversy; but 'to stir up your pure minds in the way of remembrance,' shewing what we really do believe concerning these great doctrines; so that our minds may not be drawn aside from the truth on the one side or the other by the subtlety of the adversary."—pp. 7, 8.

But here a difficulty arises. Many persons will think that these brief tracts, if intended for a mere enunciation of doctrines, are far too polemical; if intended for a proof of doctrines, are by no means sufficiently argumentative. For stimulating the mind, the plan may have its uses; but towards satisfying it, can hardly do much. The cheap and popular mode of publication may win the regard of some, to whom otherwise the topics would remain

unfamiliar, if not unattractive: and there are some, again, who will bear wholesome doctrine administered in small portions or doses, one by one: yet have neither intellectual appetite or intellectual digestion for a solid and hearty meal.

Mr. Dodsworth must, however, understand as well as ourselves the disadvantages, as well as the conveniences, of the method which he has adopted.

One disadvantage is, that, in a number of brief tracts, partly expository, partly controversial, and partly hortatory, there may be always a dispute as to the judiciousness of the proportions, in which the several ingredients are mixed up. Indeed, it has occurred to ourselves as at least a questionable point, whether Mr. Dodsworth has enabled himself by the peculiarity of his plan to do justice to his argument. His object, as we have seen, according to his own statement, is *not* polemical: it is merely to put common readers in possession of the views of the Church of England. But still his labour is a kind of pleading; and the misfortune is, that he states his case like an advocate, without allowing himself to bring forward half the evidence of half the witnesses.

An objection, too, might be raised as to the order, if not the character, of the topics which he introduces. Some of the tracts—or, whatever we are to call them,—might, we think, the fifth for instance, have been omitted without injury; and the rest are rather isolated treatises, than well arranged parts of a connected train of reasoning.

And this remark leads us to the principal exception which we would take to Mr. Dodsworth's series. Not only is it a series, without being properly a *consecutive* series: but, by having the argument presented to us simply in fragments, we are left unacquainted with *it as a whole*. There is no introductory outline, giving a sketch of the entire character of our Church: and the strength of the defence is impaired by the want of method and continuity. To our minds the resistless cogency of the case on the side of the Church of England is, that, while it consists of many portions, it is, in itself, one and indivisible. We praise the moderation, the sagacious and discriminating moderation of our Church, and the noble position in which it is impreguably entrenched between Popery and Ultra-Protestantism. This moderation is conspicuous, not merely in *one* or *some* of the doctrines, but in *all* the doctrines; and not merely in all the doctrines, but in the discipline as well as the doctrines. And between all the doctrines themselves; and again, between the doctrine and the discipline, there is an admirable parallelism and correspondence. The *consistency* of the whole, the *harmony* and *connection* of the parts,

and their reciprocal co-operation with each other, form an argument quite independent of the truths and soundness of the separate portions: and at least quite as convincing. But a multitude of detached parts cannot lead us up to this general harmony and consistency: it may rather induce us to forget and overlook it.

We might wish, therefore, that Mr. Dodsworth had undertaken a series of ratiocinative tracts rather than a succession of lectures imperfectly controversial. But we could wish still more that he had imparted somewhat more of unity to his labours; that he had taken a more systematic and comprehensive view of the entire field of his subject before he began to write: and that he had bound his observations together by firmer and more perceptible threads of connection. We are thankful for what he has done. He may be useful as a pioneer. But the "*here a little, and there a little*," is not enough. These fragmentary discussions cannot supersede the necessity of a larger and more elaborate design. The times require a wide and philosophical exhibition of the real character of the Church of England, as to its constitution and its administration, as to its tenets and its government, setting forth its mighty claims, not only to the veneration and gratitude of the country, but to the respectful admiration of all thinking men throughout the world: not merely admitting us into the several apartments, one by one, but also revealing at one view the solidity, the harmony, the beauty, of the whole glorious, and, as we yet hope, indestructible edifice.

It is the glory of the Church of England, that it breathes the genuineness of a Catholic Spirit, combining, in its creed, and its liturgy, and its government, all that is best and wisest in the doctrine and discipline of other Churches;—almost firm and compact as the Papal polity, without its despotism; and friendly, as Dissent can be, to the legitimate exercise of the human understanding, without its licentiousness.

It is said indeed,—in the matter of tradition, for instance,—that the claims of the Church of England are very nearly on a par with the assumptions and usurpations of the Church of Rome; and that the difference at most is a difference not of kind but of degree. But may we not well ask, whether two things essentially distinct are not here very frequently confounded? To lay a considerable stress upon the authority of the Catholic Church, and the general traditions handed down to us from the primitive ages, is to act in perfect accordance with the strictest rules of moral evidence; but to suspend our faith upon any communion, or synod, or pontiff, supposed to be infallible, with a deference so implicit as to bid the individual voice of the heart and intellect be dumb, is an attempt, still more absurd than it is perilous, to believe with the

understanding of others instead of our own. In the one case, we fling our faculties overboard, while we reverence as unerring that, which, to say the least, is liable to err: in the other case, we merely weigh the balance of probabilities, and throw the collective and cumulative aggregate of concurrent opinions, as something in the scale. To gather the suffrages of antiquity; to regard the sentiments of the multitude of learned and holy men, who lived nearer to the circumstances than ourselves, and who enjoyed better opportunities of coming to right conclusions, is to pursue a course, which, instead of being irrational, is dictated by the highest and largest use of reason. We merely bring into the account an argument of the same description with the plea brought forward by the old philosophers; when they contended for the existence of the Deity from the universal assent of all nations, and urged as a main article of conviction, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. In the one case, we are not to exercise our private judgment at all; in the other case, we are to exercise it as much as ever; nor do we exercise it least, when we decide that it neither is, nor can be, the sole and supreme arbiter. We allow long established and widely spread notions to affect our credence; because we do not arrogate infallibility to ourselves, more than we ascribe it to others. In the one case, we bow, without appeal, to the immutable decrees of a sovereign judge; in the other, we simply pay respectful attention to the testimony of a very important witness. The tribunal of our understanding is still free and unfettered; but our private fancies and speculations do not constitute the only evidence which we summon for examination at its bar. Here, as in all the reflective operations of the mind, we place our own private and immediate impressions as something without ourselves; and use them as one element, but not the only, nor always the most powerful element, in forming our conclusions. We regard them as *external*; and our reason, in deciding against them, not the less makes the decision. Our reason is still the judge; and the voice even of Catholic antiquity is received not as the verdict but as the evidence; as *authoritative* testimony, but only as testimony still. The fallacy lies in the equivocal use of the term private judgment; in confounding judgment, when it means "*decision*," with judgment when it simply means opinion, impression, or conception;—and sometimes, again, in not making the due distinction between the Church, independent of the Scripture, "having authority in controversies of faith," and having supreme, plenary, infallible authority.

Mr. Dodsworth has introduced into his fourth address some serviceable observations on this subject, as also upon the itch for novelty in religion.

Novelties in religion are things which we can never contemplate without rising qualms of misgiving and distrust. There is always a *primâ facie* case against them. Surely, there is a native and essential difference between revealed religion and human knowledge. Surely, there are impassable barriers of distinction between the authoritative truths which are delivered down to us from heaven, and the principles of science, which, one after another, by a difficult and laborious process, we work out for ourselves. The latter may be supplanted by juster theories formed upon the view of phænomena hitherto unregarded, or upon a larger basis of observations and experiments; the former can only be superseded by a new revelation equally divine. The latter consist in the progressive discovery and developement of things which always exist; the former consist rather of certain historical facts belonging to a particular time, with which the contemporary observers must, of course, have enjoyed the most intimate acquaintance. In natural science, the inquirers who come last, are likely, *cæteris paribus*, to be the surest guides: but the reverse is rather to be expected in the case of revealed religion. Nor, as the Bible is the main source of knowledge in the one instance, and the whole universe of mind and matter in the other, can the contrary proposition be maintained, unless men are also disposed to argue that the volume of Holy Scripture has not been more thoroughly explored, and is not more fully compassed, than that exhaustless magazine of nature, where we arrive, by slow and timid steps, at some imperfect glimpses and fragments of information as to causes and effects, substances and qualities, mutual operations, perpetual and interchanging transitions. The canon of the Scriptures being fixed, and the text of the Scriptures being ascertained, and the contents of the Scriptures being mastered, and the translation of the Scriptures being accurate—and, assuredly we are too late to introduce any wide and cardinal improvements in any of these respects,—it were preposterous to anticipate that any new doctrine of vital importance should be evolved; although there is, and will continue to be, abundant room for critical erudition, for patient and humble study; although many valuable elucidations may be brought to bear upon particular tenets and particular passages; and although the investigations of successive travellers may throw a strong and increasing light upon the details of the geography of the Bible, and the events of its history, and the fulfilment of its wonderful predictions. True it is that, the Author of Nature and the Author of the Bible being the same, there are some points, such as those which regard astronomy or geology, where the volume of the

Bible touches upon the volume of nature. But here a distinct question arises : and we wait, without an apprehension, to see how far the inspired narration has been accommodated of old to the ignorance of man upon subjects which are not directly of a spiritual or religious character ; and how far the Scriptural language may require to be translated into the phraseology of modern science. For the rest, it is *possible* that some fresh manuscripts may yet be found, that some fresh readings may yet be suggested and adopted ; but that Being, who has benignantly provided that the points, which it is most needful for us to know, should be known from the first, has not, we hold, left us for centuries in the dark as to the great and eternal verities of that gracious revelation which he has vouchsafed to impart. Yet again, there is this obvious and remarkable dissimilarity. The obscurities of nature may be gradually penetrated by farther research ; for they lie, at least for the most part, rather in the number and extent, the complicated intricacy and the rapid, perhaps intangible, transmutations of the things to be examined, than in their actual and proper essence. But the mysteries of the Bible must remain inscrutable and irremoveable to us on earth for ever ; because they belong to the inherent narrowness and infirmity of the human understanding, as compared with the deep things of God. Hence, therefore, we feel entitled to conclude that novelties in religion are, at the first glance, fair objects of suspicion ; that a leaning towards them is almost always unphilosophical, even where it does not tread upon the borders of impiety ; and that their origin is generally to be traced either in unripeness and instability of judgment, or in poverty and superficiality of acquirements ; or in that affectation of singularity, which is a weakness in other matters, but a crime as well as a weakness in matters of revelation. Here, therefore, men are right in standing always upon the old paths, and building always upon the old foundations. The Gospel, the everlasting Gospel, is a final dispensation ; and against all anticipation of an ulterior economy there is in the Scriptures themselves an interdict and a curse. And while Christianity blends together the principle of stability and the principle of progression ; it is progressive in its evidences and in its power ; but it is unalterably fixed in its nature and in its truth. It goes forward in its victorious course, traversing the earth, subduing and transforming all things ; but itself, though in its external garb susceptible of adaptation to the multitude of circumstances, yet without one shadow of variation or decrepitude visible on its sacred, and impassive, and unwrinkled brow. Thus it cannot grow old : it stands alone in the world ;—something that is immutable amidst every vicissitude ;

and immoveable amidst every progression, and equable amidst every fluctuation : one constant star in this universe of growth and decay, of dissolution and reproduction, unfading and the same : one august, glorious, unextinguished, incorruptible verity, which shines like a steady and everlasting beacon over the whole tossing ocean of uncertainty and change.

We have said the more concerning novelties in religion ; because we are anxious to refer to a disposition which we conceive to be very often their origin. Many among the neologisms of expression at least, if not of doctrine, to which Dr. Whately, or rather his pupils, Dr. Hinde, Dr. Arnold, and Dr. Hampden have rushed, are attributable, we believe, in their origin to the ambition of forming a school. To minds, indeed, of a certain cast—we mean philosophical and contemplative, and yet active and aspiring minds—no object of human ambition is so animating and alluring as the aim of founding a school or sect ; of establishing a new dynasty in the world of thought ; of identifying their names with the rise and progress of opinions, which are to have their course and be glorified : and of stamping a definite impress upon the sentiments of future generations ; in a word of first “ *giving laws to some little senate,*” and then seeing that little senate become the birth-place and the cradle of an intellectual empire—a parliament, from which decrees are to issue forth, having jurisdiction over the glorious republic of literature and knowledge. This object has in it something so great, and, in certain points of view, so noble, so far above the sphere and the successes of a coarse and vulgar turbulence, that we can hardly wonder if it constitutes a temptation, which some men, conscious to themselves of large attainments, as well as of native powers, both logical and rhetorical, of a high order, are unable to resist. Yet, if we cast our eyes over the past and present, even of human philosophy, it is but too easy to discern evident and melancholy traces of the mischief which this spirit has occasioned. In religion, however, with which we are more immediately concerned, we may allege, without any apprehension of disproof, that there is no other species of ambition so perilous or so pernicious : and that this ambition befits rather the sophist, or the scribe, or the Rabbi, the intractable and insubordinate disputant, who will call no man master, than the docile, lowly, and humble disciple of the one Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It is an ambition, always lamentable where it meddles with the fundamental truths of the Gospel, and fatal as far as it extends its influence, wherever it works and ferments in the bosom of a Church. For it is adverse, in its very essence, to both established doctrine and established discipline. In Ger-

many, where a professor is induced to create a school, partly by way of collecting an audience, the evil has been long apparent. But in England the evil would be far more widely and intensely felt than in Germany; because our ecclesiastical establishment is different in form and administration, and more completely intertwined with the very roots of the state.

There are other men, we understand, at the University of Oxford, who are supposed to be also desirous of forming a peculiar school, diametrically opposite in its features and character to the school of Dr. Arnold and Dr. Hampden. The latter, we perceive, speaks in his inaugural lecture, of an "*adverse school*." If we believed that the pious and excellent men, who are suspected of such an intention, really entertained it, we should, so far, be at variance with their principles. But we believe just the reverse. We believe, that there are no divines in the kingdom more anxious to respect the voice of Catholic antiquity, and comply, in the letter and in the spirit, with the forms and discipline of the Church; more anxious to adhere to the old landmarks of theology, and consult the testimony of that continuous and unbroken line of witnesses, which has come down to us even from the primitive times; more anxious almost to sink and merge their individuality, if it were necessary, in the establishment to which they belong, instead of obtruding themselves as the salient points of a particular system. We believe, that if they appear to be growing and coalescing into a school, it is simply because, while brought near by circumstances and by locality, they are animated, penetrated, possessed, by a common solicitude to search, critically and profoundly, yet with devout and humble minds, into the truths of God, and combat neology and error,—wherever they deem them to exist, and most where they imagine them likely to be widely and permanently noxious,—with the weapons of keen research and solid erudition. A few friends meeting together to examine or discuss the higher points of divinity, are not obliged, although some light danger there may always be, to crystallize into a school. A school, as we understand it, is characterized by an exclusive, instead of a catholic spirit: a tendency to see all things in a strange light, to put forth peculiar and rash opinions with a self-complacent dogmatism, and say, like the ladies in Moliere,

" Par nos lois, prose et vers, tout nous sera soumis,
Nul n'aura de l'esprit hors nous et nos amis,
Nous chercherons partout à trouver à redire,
Et ne verrons que nous qui sachent bien écrire."

In this sense, the mere attempt to set up a school within a Church is a positive mischief. We can, in fact, hardly conceive a position of things more pregnant with ultimate disaster, than a religious

community, which ought to consist of one vast national homogeneous body, parcelled out into a number of schools, or divans, or *coteries*. Even in theological associations, or meetings of individuals, however learned, and pious, and respectable, for the purposes of theological discussion, there is, we are aware, a tendency to evil, which it requires much prudence to counteract, and a large measure of advantages to counterbalance. For the process is likely to be this. There is a succession of theological assemblies. These assemblies will become wearisome, or will be thought common-place, unless there is something to characterize and distinguish them;—unless, therefore some discoveries are made; unless, therefore, some novelties are introduced; unless some striking and original views, whether really such, or supposed to be such, are elicited by the course of deliberation, and the collision of intellects. Hence a nucleus is soon formed, around which peculiarities and neologisms are collected. These constitute the origin, and in time the *shibboleth* of a school. Then, it is with a school, as with a theory; when it is once formed, every thing must be assimilated to its idiosyncrasy; every thing must be twisted and tortured into a conformity with its tenets. The natural result is, that some other school starts up in opposition; and, just because this opposition is its source, it has a bias towards the contrary extreme. Thus exclusiveness, and excess of different kinds, gradually become the marks or badges of parties within the same Church; infecting, probably, more persons and yet more; and spreading around them the contagion of unsoundness and decay. The Church is no longer uniform, no longer at peace; but split into a variety of hostile sections, bristling with prejudice and hatred, and waging, upon the sacred field of theology, a civil and religious war. As to this noble and solemn Temple of an Established Church, some would demolish the exterior walls, so that all men, of every shade of opinion and character, might leap in, over the ruins; others, or, perhaps even the very same men,—for extremes can meet in the same mind,—would divide the august and open space *within* its bulwarks, into a multitude of little chambers, and separate compartments, having scarcely a communication with each other. We would preserve the walls, but throw down the partitions.

As true churchmen, therefore, the last desire, which could enter our hearts, would be to institute a party, or to *create* a school. For a true churchman, this is no righteous or legitimate ambition. We thoroughly dislike parties *as* parties, and schools *as* schools. Born of self-sufficiency and vanity and the crudest immaturity of conceptions, they lead to heresy, and they are on the verge of schism: they are obviously destructive to the unity,

and we are sure that they are most pernicious to the efficiency and safety, of a church. They set it at variance within itself: and they exhibit it as a spectacle of internal discord and dismemberment to the scorn of exulting enemies, thus led to anticipate and attempt its overthrow: while the lynx-eyed and ever-watchful Papist rejoices in the prospect of an established and national church lost amidst the strife of its contending sections, and the mushroom phantasies of its upstart schools:—schools, with respect to which we have surely made out our proposition, that they have always a tendency to be the nursery, the seminary, the *officina* of neologisms.

Our chief quarrel, indeed, with the Evangelical party is its disposition to erect itself into a school, or sect. It has not been deemed enough that individuals should remonstrate against the errors, whether on the side of statement or of omission, which they imagined to have crept into the church: but a number of men banded themselves together as a separate class, and studiously adopted a particular vocabulary of terms and phrases, which might distinguish them, and mark them off, from their brethren. Thus the ministers of the Gospel have been represented as divided into two sets:—the one set, true, the other unfaithful; the one, preaching Christ, the other, preaching morality. Yet we do heartily trust that these things will pass away: we seem to see indications—and with what pleasure do we hail them!—that the most estimable and influential of the Evangelical clergy are prepared cordially to reunite and amalgamate themselves with a moderate orthodoxy; although there will indeed remain behind a small cluster of fanatics, whom we shall not dignify with the appellation of a school,—because that name has connected with it some associations of accurate learning and sedulous inquiry,—but a knot of foolish pretenders, ranting as if they were the exclusive patentees of truth and righteousness, and stiff with a rampant and indefatigable opposition.

For ourselves, we fairly avow, our object is to consolidate and cement the old orthodox party—but no, a *party* we will not call it—the old orthodox *body* of the Church of England. Individual opinion, individual research, we will not say one word to discourage: but when individuals proceed to form themselves into distinctive sections, or almost independent “*lodges*” and local juntos, we are sure that they are actually instrumental in sowing those very seeds of weakness and division, which, as well-wishers to the establishment, they may yet be solicitous to prevent from being sown. We have fallen upon times when it is necessary to act—when it is necessary to act at once,—and, most of all, perhaps, when it is necessary to act with organization and concert. There

must be co-operation : there must be steadiness ; there must be that moral—we had almost said, that mechanical and physical—force, which only union can give. Now, more than ever, the church is a church militant ; and the soldiers, therefore, of the church must acquiesce in something analogous to military subordination and discipline. The demonstration must be much more than a demonstration of partisans : for the war is much more than a war of skirmishes. If men only act by fragments ; if they merely carry on an irregular and guerilla conflict, without dependence upon each others' movements, or a just knowledge of each others' intentions ; then, even if they are not defeated in detail and one by one, at least they must not hope to make any deep impression upon a formidable enemy. But if churchmen could advance against their adversaries as one compact and solid and well-disciplined array, bearing in their front the glorious standard of genuine and Catholic Christianity, they would be resistless even now.

These strictures, however, although they have a connection with schools in a church, belong more immediately to another evil, which is analogous to schools, and runs parallel with schools. We mean the evil of *societies* in a church, formed without due forethought and discrimination. Societies are in practice, almost what schools are in inquiry or in theory. The effect of societies as to discipline will be similar to the effect of schools as to doctrine. Societies, in fact, are little more than schools put in action. Wherefore, we need not marvel, if the same men are sometimes concerned in both : for the same disposition of mind leads to both.

When we turn to the several associations actually in progress, we are quite startled by their number and the rapidity of their formation. "*The Reformation Society*," "*the Established Church Society*," "*the General Visiting Society*," "*the Home Mission Society*," "*the City, and Auxiliary City, Mission Society*," "*the Pastoral Aid Society*"—all these, we believe, are of recent origin ; and we know not how many others may start up while we are writing. The avowed objects, and even regulations of them all will be found, we dare say, plausible and specious upon paper : the profession, and often, it may be, the design of the founders, is that they should act as auxiliaries, and not as rivals, to Episcopal controul, and the functions of incumbents of parishes. We impute, therefore, not sinister intentions, or improper motives, but rash, immature and undigested views. We are well convinced, that several excellent and pious men, whose names figure in the list as patrons, and directors, presidents and vice-presidents, have affixed their sanction to such associations, simply because they have not sufficiently considered their real and ine-

vitale tendency, and the nature of that influence which, as far as it goes, they will infallibly exert. But still the *effect* will, not the less, be anti-Episcopal, and hostile to the principle and well-being of a national establishment. The philosophy of associations, their bearing upon public bodies and systems of policy, their legitimate province and offices, the limitations within which they are useful, and beyond which they become injurious, constitute, as we have hinted before, almost a virgin soil in the field of social science, where the ground has, as yet, hardly even been turned up by the plough of diligent investigation. But, if the history of Europe is calculated to afford us any one lesson, it may teach us, that all societies, where they interfere with the regular government and settled economy of affairs, are detrimental to the best interests of a nation, and usually subversive of its stability and repose. They are mischievous in a church: they are mischievous in a state: and, when church and state are linked together, they are pernicious to both departments of the constitution alike. They are at once a cause and an effect, a token and an aggravation, a symptom and a source, of disorganization in a community. It would lead us too far, to examine what has been the disordering influence of the societies, such as the Society of Jesuits, and many others, which have existed in the Popish Church, both upon that church itself, and upon the countries, in which the Papal creed has been predominant. Neither can we enter into any general disquisition, how the agency of associations, whether avowed or secret, has been productive of disturbance and disquietude, in Germany, in France, in England, in Ireland. This, however, we may safely affirm, that wherever we find a revolution—and the first French Revolution will occur as a pregnant and signal instance to every man's memory—there we shall also find, that clubs, and unions, and societies, under one denomination or another, have been instrumental in fostering and maturing it; sometimes overawing, sometimes undermining, the legislature and the established institutions. How soon, too, did Lord Grey and his colleagues discover by a painful experience, that the pressure of clubs and unions is inconsistent even with the march of constitutional reform: for that the element of anarchy is born with them at their birth!

But the same reasons, which render associations—that is, associations so framed as to interfere with the ordinary routine and management of public concerns—dangerous to temporal legislature, render them likewise dangerous to ecclesiastical polity. They are in the midst of a church, just what a little nest of republics would be in the midst of a monarchy. They are “*in it, but not of it;*” and yet, while they stand apart, they are not *alto-*

gether apart : they rub, by a perpetual friction, against the chain of government, without forming any of its links : they are independent of it ; and yet cannot be quite dissociated from it : they move in the direct orbit of other bodies, without being subject to the laws, by which the general system is regulated and upheld. Hence, they exhibit the most incongruous of all anomalies, and become, sooner or later, destructive of unity, of harmony, of concentration, of peace. Either the crowd of such societies must fall, or the *one* establishment must fall.

How is it, then, the objector may ask, that the National Society of Education, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and other similar associations, are universally recognized as contributing to the strength and glory, not to the disadvantage and disorganization, of the Church of England ? The answer is, simply because these societies have hitherto been so conducted, that they claim no share in the legislation or the administration of matters directly appertaining to the discipline of the church. They leave the Episcopal and Parochial system untouched and inviolate. Yet, if the bishops should ever withdraw from these societies, and the management should be transferred to other and less skilful hands, we can very easily conceive, how *they*, too, might be turned into engines, which would help to unhinge and dislocate the scheme of polity which they now tend to assist and complete. At present, however, they stand upon grounds altogether dissimilar from the position taken up by new societies, which would impinge upon the functions of our hierarchy, and assume a legislative and administrative power, in matters directly ecclesiastical, within the ecclesiastical establishment itself.

For what is it which these societies propose to do ? They would send agents, both clerical and *lay*, into the various parishes and districts of the realm. They advertise, as we repeatedly see, for clergymen, to be *engaged by them*, who are to preach, and expound, and *speak at public meetings*. They give notice in the newspapers, that, under *their* superintendence, such and such lectures are to be delivered at such and such parish churches, or other consecrated places of public worship.* Their creatures and delegates—we would use the words for plainness, but without offence,—paid by *them*, dependent upon *them*, accountable to *them*, are to occupy the pulpit, and enter the dwelling-house,

* One instance will illustrate our position as well as five hundred. We, therefore, now content ourselves with the following advertisement.—“ *Exeter Hall, Strand.* It has been *determined* by the *Reformation Society* that a *series of sermons* shall (if the Lord will) be preached in London on the principles of the Church of Rome. Notice of the *churches* and days of preaching shall be duly given.”

and discharge all the several duties of the parochial minister. Now, we put it to any candid and reflecting mind, must not the whole parochial economy of our Church be swamped by such societies, if they once emerge from insignificance into authority? If the *clerical* agent of such societies is stopped and thwarted in any of his projects, who is there, at all acquainted with the disagreements already in existence, but must anticipate, with the utmost sorrow of heart, that feuds and bickerings, charges and recriminations, will arise and be interminable? And what will the *lay* agent, appointed by such societies, care for the incumbent of a parish? In short, they will generate a perpetual sore, a perpetual irritation, burning and festering in the Church of England.

But the enthusiast may cry out, "perish the Church of England, so that the cause of Christianity be promoted." Well! we might ourselves echo the sentiment. But the question is, would the cause of Christianity be promoted? We trow not. At least, would it not be more promoted, without the realization of the other part of the alternative? Our main argument against such associations is, that there is no need of them. The religious Establishment of the empire must enlarge and multiply its ministrations. Granted. The increase of population has created an imperative demand for more churches and more clergymen. Granted. The exigencies of the time require the application of new and more vigorous measures for the Christianization of the heathens at home; and an active, aggressive, missionary character must be assumed by the friends of the Gospel; and etiquette must yield to necessity; and the spiritual destitution of perishing souls mocks at the niceties and formalities of clerical discipline. Even these propositions we shall not pause to dispute. But to what does the whole statement amount? We want money; we want men. We want money, that places of worship may be built; we want men, that they may act upon their fellow-creatures for their present and eternal good. But these societies can call neither men nor money *into being*; and our firm opinion is, that they cannot use them, where they exist, to so great and unmingled advantage as the channels and instruments already provided. If persons, rich, and pious, and charitably disposed, wish to contribute funds for the erection and endowment of houses of prayer, why cannot they place them at the disposal of the commissioners for building churches, or the diocesan committees, or the bishop of any particular see? If persons are anxious to devote their individual energies to the furtherance of God's honour and man's salvation, why cannot they go at once to the bishop of a diocese, or the incumbent of a parish? Why must societies interpose between the constituted authorities of a Church and the parties who

desire to render the Church assistance? Because, it will be replied, associations are requisite to stimulate, and nourish, and direct; to connect, and centralize, and systematize exertion; to organize and arrange details; to furnish a known medium of communication; to equalize supply and demand, lest otherwise there should be agents where there are no funds, and funds where there are no agents. *Then let one great society be formed, and let the bishops place themselves at its head, and let its action be judiciously allied and subordinated to the regular action of the Church.* But the present associations rest upon a basis altogether unsound. Let them be swept away. Let them sink back into oblivion. And let their more indiscreet and noisy patrons, or projectors, beware, lest they should lay themselves open to the suspicion, that their zeal in pushing them forward is a love of innovation, or a love of power, or a love of display, rather than a love of religion.

When men shall have *proved* it desirable to unepiscopize and unparochialize the Church, so let it be. But, in the mean time, we tell them, that government by bishops, and government by associations, cannot long co-exist. The systems are heterogeneous, are incompatible, are contradictory. In the mean time, we tell them—and even if we were found in our views more episcopal than the bishops themselves, we should tell them still—that if these societies grow, and acquire power, and diffuse their operations throughout the kingdom, then the whole structure of that ecclesiastical constitution which has the monarch for its temporal head, and the prelates for its spiritual directors, must tumble to pieces in the course, perhaps, of a quarter of a century, with a crash about our ears. We tell them, also, that the incumbent must retain, in dependence of course upon his diocesan, a plenary and undivided authority, in clerical matters, over the parish, for which he is responsible to God and man, without the intervention of societies, whose agents, if obtruded upon him, he may find it a very dangerous measure to admit, and yet a very invidious and obnoxious measure to exclude. We tell them yet again, that if laymen, or if associations, are allowed by the legislature to build and endow chapels, and to introduce ministers belonging to the Establishment, and having a kind of co-ordinate and jarring influence, without the permission and sanction, perhaps against the express wish, of the incumbent who is in every way affected, then the reign of Christian charity and Christian harmony, and, in the issue, we fear, of sober and orthodox Christianity, is destined to pass away from almost every parish in the land.

We want extension, not change of system. We want the tree of the Church to strike yet deeper root, and to branch out with yet wider ramifications. Other men would introduce a new ma-

chinery: we have now a machinery which we think excellent: we only require that its power should be extended and its parts multiplied. We want a humble and subordinate ally. Other men would introduce a coadjutor, soon, perhaps, to become a substitute. If such projects spread, a bishop may be as a "*roi faînéant*," and a society as his "*maire du palais*."

And here the connection between discipline and doctrine—would that it were better understood and appreciated!—forces itself upon our notice once more. A layman, or a society, will erect a chapel and supply a minister. The chapel must be full. The minister must draw congregations. Therefore he must be *popular*: and, in order to be popular, he must cultivate a particular style of preaching; and this particular kind of preaching is as a fire which must be kept alive by the fuel of a particular kind of doctrine. Meanwhile, the orthodox rector will at first survey these novel proceedings with a sorrowful and uneasy expectation. Presently, some of his own flock will be attracted away from him by the potent magnet just fixed in the neighbourhood; then, annoyance will creep upon him; the infirmities of human nature will beset him; until, at last, the rector, or the rector's curate, will be excited either into opposition or into imitation. And so the cycle will be filled up; the contagion of extravagance will spread along and be perpetuated: the whole polity of the Church of England will be deranged, and the steady moderation of its tenets and its government will perish together.

These cautions we are compelled to give, because there is an obvious tendency in the present age to disunite rather than consolidate; and, instead of carrying forward the majestic and holy purposes for which an establishment is formed, with one regular, simultaneous, and connected scheme, to mould its theory by a number of *schools*, and its practical operations by a multitude of *societies*. Yet our duty as churchmen, on the contrary, is to live and have our being as members of one body, conforming, adjusting, subordinating ourselves and our instrumentality as parts to a great whole; *not* seeking to become, each of us, or any of us, separate and independent wholes, the centres of some particular circle, the springs of some particular movement, clashing, instead of harmonizing, with the other wheels of the machine.

In a word, we arrive at precisely the same conclusion with respect to the entire subject, at which we arrive with respect to its separate, yet kindred departments. The thing needful is, that men should work *wisely* as well as strenuously:—the thing needful is, that there should be regular concentration, systematic and disciplined order: the thing needful is, that the Church should be *one*; in its doctrines *one*; in its discipline *one*; in its action *one*;

always preserving amidst the variety of instruments the unity of design.

Yes, emphatically do we repeat the declaration, our first and most earnest wish is, that *the Church should be one*. But *one* it cannot be, if individuals are all anxious to take a line of their own: if societies, almost countless, instituted with as complete a disregard of ecclesiastical discipline, as thorough a forgetfulness of episcopal superintendence, as if they were joint stock companies for the formation of a rail-road, are to disturb its regular movements and fly off into some eccentric path, careless what they jar or displace in their career; or if some persons joining themselves into a party for aggressive purposes compel others to arm themselves as a party for the purpose of self-defence.

The *genius and character* of the Church of England is to be *one*. In attempting—and we should all attempt—to improve the Church as an instrument to its utmost attainable perfection; and then to wield that instrument with the utmost possible efficiency to the glory of God, and the good of man, it is madness to forget or overlook the *true unity* of the Church. This unity is no less essential to its moderation, than it is productive and preservative of its power. Let our aim be, we say again, to arrest its subdivisions; to throw open its space; to break down its party-walls. Schools and societies, we say again, intersecting the establishment, and interfering with its general agency, are the prolific germs of revolution in thought and in deed; the direct avenues to heresies of doctrine and disorders of practice. And, though a multitude of societies be dangerous, we must bear in mind, that the danger will be yet more imminent, if they should all happen to have the same head-quarters, and be gathered into the same focus, and, while independent of the Church, have a kind of connection and centralization among themselves. If we would maintain the establishment, we cannot but oppose all that splits or enfeebles it; and maintain the establishment we must, not merely because it were treachery and perjury to abandon it; but because in maintaining it, we maintain the best means to the highest end, we help to maintain Christianity itself in the greatness of its strength and the loveliness of its purity.

ART. IX.—*The Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, giving a history of the Second Reformation of the Church of Scotland, and of the Covenanters, during the reign of Charles the First.* By the Rev. John Aiton, of Dolphinton. Smith and Elder, London. 1836.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON enjoys all the reputation which is attached to his name in this country, on account of the attempt he made to convert Charles the First to presbyterianism, and of the narrow escape he achieved from becoming a convert to the king's arguments. In the north, we find he has other claims to distinction; being considered the Knox of what is called the Second Reformation, and the successor of Andrew Melville, as the chief promoter of the Genevan discipline. According to Mr. Aiton's arrangement, the first reformation accomplished by the Scots was from Popery, and the second from Prelacy; twin corruptions, which from a very early period he suggests have darkened and debased the Christian commonwealth. The former delivered the people from transubstantiation, purgatory, and the despotism of the supreme pontiff; the latter freed them from bishops, the liturgy, and the Perth Articles. Dr. M'Crie celebrated the triumph gained by his countrymen over Rome, the mistress of nations; and the minister of Dolphinton comes forth to revive the pæans long since shouted by rustic mouths over the discomfiture of Laud, the rejection of the Prayer-book, and the suppression of Episcopacy.

As there is no composition more delightful than a well-written biography, so is there none more difficult to finish, in all the requisites of matter, method, and style. Where so much is necessary, we ought not, perhaps, to be surprised, that something should be wanting in most of the productions of this kind which fall into our hands as professional critics; but, in all cases, we think ourselves entitled to expect the very ordinary qualifications of a little grammatical knowledge, an acquaintance with the more common rules for constructing sentences in English; and, above all, such a habit of reflection as will prevent an author from contradicting himself and writing arrant nonsense. Mr. Aiton unfortunately has brought to his task nothing besides zeal and a half-intellectual admiration of his subject, whose motives he has not been able to penetrate, and whose character he has not talent to unfold. Of Henderson, accordingly, considered in his powers of mind, his acquirements, his domestic habits, and literary pursuits, we know not any thing more distinctly when we arrive at the last page of this volume, than when we entered upon the first. We are told, indeed, that he began his career under the auspices,

and benefited by the patronage of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and that, upon some pretext, not clearly stated, he passed over to the other side, and became a most determined enemy of the episcopal order; that he accepted of a royal chaplaincy from Charles the First, and afterwards crossed the Tweed with the army, which was the principal means of bringing his sovereign to the block; and finally, that though he entered into public life a poor man, he acquired, amid the troubles which distracted his country and impoverished the best of her sons, such a mass of wealth as would, we are told, if it had been duly invested in land, yield 10,000*l.* a-year at the present day. In fact, Mr. Henderson's "will," in which the amount of his property is detailed, and which is infinitely more honourable to his thrift than to his self-denial or patriotism, is the only document having any claim to novelty that the research of his biographer has brought to light. Every thing else has been long before the world in the general histories of the period, and may there be read in better language and more lucid order than Mr. Aiton has bestowed upon his "Life and Times."

We have no pleasure in exposing the deficiencies of an author who has consented to devote his time, and, perhaps, spend his money, in order to gratify the curiosity or extend the knowledge of his contemporaries, on a subject which must ever prove interesting to the historical reader. But, in this case, the welfare of literature seems to demand from us a decided opinion, because we find that Mr. Aiton meditates a similar work, and will, probably, perpetrate a similar outrage on the memory of a man, not less distinguished than Henderson among his presbyterian brethren, and whose fame is less sullied in the estimation of all others. At the conclusion of his preface, he says, "The Life and Times of Mr. Robert Douglas, may next *fall* to be undertaken;" a notice which must be considered as equivalent to an avowal that he has resolved to charge himself with the duty of bringing forth "a work which would complete the biography of our Scottish ecclesiastical leaders, down to the Revolution in 1688, and would include a history of the Church of Scotland from 1649 to the Restoration; an important period hitherto left in almost total obscurity." This menace recalled to our minds the exclamation of the poet—

"O Douglas, Douglas! if departed ghosts
Are e'er permitted to re-view this world"—

what must have been thy wrath and fear at the announcement of this presumptuous resolution! The minister of Dolphinton, in short, has mistaken the path which his genius and acquirements have fitted him to pursue; and aspiring at things too high for

him, he will infallibly once more disappoint his friends, and supply an occasion of ridicule to those who have fewer reasons for personal attachment or forbearance. As he is apparently a young man, and obviously an unpractised writer, he may yet, by means of sedulous study, attain some mastery over the rudiments of composition and the principles of taste ; till which happy consummation be in some measure realized, he ought to abjure all intercourse with publishers, and avoid all exposure to the fiery furnace of criticism.

In an "Introduction," not remarkable for accurate statement or sound reasoning, we are supplied with an historical outline which connects the main events of the earlier Reformation with the commencement of that which it fell to the lot of Henderson to conduct a few stages in its progress. No Scotchman, we are persuaded, can read with pleasure the annals of his country from the death of James V. to the accession of William III. to the throne of the united kingdom. In remoter times, the countrymen of Wallace and Bruce appear to great advantage, as determined patriots ever ready to do and endure to the utmost of their power, in defence of national independence. Often defeated in the field, and frequently compelled to witness the most cruel devastations committed on their families and inheritances, they still clung to the hope that courage or good fortune would retrieve their affairs ; and at all events, they had resolved that, if their native land were over-run by the arms of a conqueror, he should find it a desolate wilderness, and without inhabitant. In their celebrated letter to the Pope, the Scottish barons declared, that so long as there were a hundred men alive, they would never submit to the English. But gold afterwards accomplished what the tempered swords and sharp arrows of the Edwards and Henrys had not been able to effect ; and the northern nobles became the mean pensioners of the nation whose power they had been able either to resist with success, or to evade without dishonour. No sooner did the second monarch of the Tudor race set his heart on an union of the two kingdoms under his son and the young queen of Scots, and, with this view, attempt to extend his new system of ecclesiastical polity into the dominions of the latter, than he found it expedient to address the avarice of the Caledonian chiefs, and to undermine their loyalty by annual grants of money and the promise of forfeited lands. Religion, to a certain extent, was wont to mingle in these negotiations ; and even when murder and treason were deliberately resolved on, the assassins allowed themselves to advert to the "godly intentions" of the king.

The main obstacle opposed to Henry's views on Scotland, arose from the patriotism or ambition of Cardinal Beaton, who,

during the feeble administration of the Earl of Arran, exerted himself with great effect in defence of his church, and for the independence, as he was pleased to regard it, of his country. Hence it became an object of importance in the eyes of the English king, to have this troublesome ecclesiastic removed from the scene of political contention; and, according to the simple views of those unsophisticated days, a direct assassination seemed a more convenient method than parliamentary impeachment or the intrigues of cabinet councillors. The scheme of murder was coolly proposed on the one side, and received with equal composure on the other. No delay or difficulty was occasioned by any compunctious feelings as to the horrible offence about to be committed against the laws of God and man; but a serious demur arose on the part of the Scottish nobles, with respect to the amount of the reward, and the security for its payment.

The plot for the "killing of the Cardinal," we are informed by a modern author, is entirely unknown either to our English or Scottish historians; and only now, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, has been discovered in the secret correspondence of the State Paper Office. It appears that the Earl of Cassillis had addressed a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, in which he made an offer to have the primate murdered, "if his majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was done, a reward." Sadler shewed this letter to the Earl of Hertford and the Council of the North, and by them it was transmitted to the king. The associates of Cassillis, to whom he had communicated his purpose, were the Earls of Angus, Glencairn, Marshall, and Sir George Douglas; and these persons requested that Forster, an English prisoner of some note, who could visit Scotland without suspicion, should be sent to Edinburgh to communicate with them on the design for cutting off Beaton. Hertford accordingly consulted the Privy Council upon his Majesty's wishes in this affair; requesting to be informed whether Cassillis's plan for the assassination of his powerful enemy was agreeable to the king, and whether Forster should be despatched into Scotland. Henry, conveying his wishes through the same Council, replied that it was his wish Forster should set off immediately. To the other part of the query, which respected the royal consent to the murder, the answer of the privy councillors was given in these terms: "His majesty hath willed us to signify to your lordship that his highness reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his Majesty, will not seem to have to do in it, and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the Earl of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh

not convenient to be communicated to the King's Majesty. Marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter ; he shall say, that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his Majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the King's Majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and trust verily the King's Majesty would consider his service in the same ; as you doubt not his accustomed goodness to those which serve him, but he would do the same to him."*

In this reply there was some address ; for Henry thereby preserved, as he imagined, his royal dignity, and whilst he affected ignorance of the atrocious design, encouraged its execution, and shifted the whole responsibility on his agents. On both points the king's commands were obeyed. Sadler wrote to Cassillis in the indirect manner which had been pointed out ; and Forster, in compliance with the wishes of the conspirators, was sent into Scotland, and had an interview with Angus, Cassillis, and Sir George Douglas ; the subject of what passed at which is contained in his report, still preserved in the State Paper Office.† From this communication, it is evident that both Angus and Cassillis were deterred from committing themselves on such delicate ground as the proposed murder of the Cardinal, by the cautious nature of Sadler's epistle to the latter nobleman, in which, following the royal instructions, he had recommended the assassination of his Excellency, as if from his own judgment : and had affirmed, though falsely, that he had not communicated the project to the king. These two earls, therefore, said not a word to the envoy on the subject ; although Cassillis, on his departure, entrusted him with a letter in cipher for Sadler. Sir George Douglas, however, was less timorous, and sent by Forster a message to the Earl of Hertford, in very explicit terms : " he willed me," says Mr. F., " to tell my lord lieutenant, that if the king would have the cardinal dead ; if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved ; for he seeth the common saying is, the Cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is smally beloved in Scotland ; and then, if he were dead, by what means that reward should be paid." Such was

* Privy Council to Hertford, May 30, 1545.

† The Discourse of Thomas Forster, gentleman, being sent into Scotland by my Lord Lieutenant, to speak to the Earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, Anguise, Marshall, and Sir George Douglas, being returned with the same to Dernton, the 4th July, 1545.

the simple proposal of Sir George Douglas for the removal of his arch enemy ; but, although the English king had no objection to give the utmost secret encouragement to the conspiracy, he hesitated to offer such an outrage to the common feelings of Christendom, as to set a price upon the head of the Cardinal, and to secure a reward and indemnity to those who should slay him. For the moment, therefore, the scheme seemed to be abandoned by the earls, but it was only to be resumed by one of their confederates.*

The correspondence now mentioned, which had for its avowed object the assassination of the Scottish Primate, extended also to a plan for invading the country by the army under the Earl of Hertford, and for reducing a large portion of it to the dominion of Henry. It was not without reason, therefore, that the Cardinal denounced the leading patrons of the Reformation as traitors to their native sovereign, and as enemies of his throne. At the same period, too, the peace of the central counties was disturbed by the preaching of Wishart, a zealous reformer, who under the protection of the conspirators already so often named, stirred up the people to destroy the monasteries and other religious houses at Perth and Dundee. When checked in his iconoclastic rage by the magistrates of Edinburgh, he predicted the coming vengeance of God ; a denunciation which his connection with Cassillis, Glencairn, and Crichton of Brunston, who were paving the way for an invasion of the most destructive nature, enabled him to pronounce with great certainty of its speedy fulfilment. The Cardinal, who was not altogether ignorant of the designs of his enemies, determined to make an example of Wishart. On the other hand, the preacher, aware of the danger which hung over him, was usually surrounded, when in public, by the warlike barons clad in mail, accompanied by their armed retainers ; and ever since his life appeared in hazard, a two-handed sword was carried before him by some hired follower, and not unfrequently by the renowned John Knox, who learned from him the art of addressing the multitude, as well as of employing their physical force in the pious labours of demolition.

When the martyr was at length brought to the stake, in front of the archiepiscopal palace of St. Andrew's, he is said to have uttered a prophecy against the cardinal—who is described as gazing from a window upon the preparations for his execution—importing that Beaton himself would soon be made a spectacle in the same place. It is indeed doubted by the best historians, whether the words now alluded to were ever spoken ; but, if they were,

* Tytler's *History of Scotland*, Vol. v. p. 387, and Appendix.

the gift of inspiration was not necessary to him who had lived in intimacy with those who had planned the prelate's murder, and whose hands were stayed from the bloody tragedy only by the hope of extracting from the purse of the English king a larger bribe than he thought such service could merit. The archbishop was soon afterwards put to death, though not by the daggers of those who had thus shamefully trafficked for his life. Melville, who inflicted the mortal blow, as if aware of the correspondence with Henry, exclaimed as he stood over his victim, "remember that the stroke I am now about to deal, is not the mercenary blow of a hired assassin, but the just vengeance which hath fallen on an obstinate and cruel enemy of Christ and the holy Gospel."

This event, which forms an epoch in the Scottish Reformation, has been viewed by authors in different lights, according to the bias of their respective principles. But to all of them the secret and long-continued correspondence of the conspirators with the English king, was entirely unknown; a circumstance which has led to much angry controversy among the zealots on both sides. By its disclosure, for which we are indebted to the able author whose writings are indicated above, we have been enabled to trace the secret history of those iniquitous times; and it may now be pronounced, without fear of contradiction, that the murder of Beaton was no sudden event, arising simply out of indignation for the fate of Wishart, but a crime long projected, and, so far as the principal conspirators were concerned, committed from private and mercenary considerations.*

The Reformation, which had so inauspicious a commencement, continued throughout to be opposed to the civil authority of the country, and to depend more or less on a traitorous connection

* The venality of the Scottish nobles at the period in question, is shameful and disgusting in the highest degree. The worst cases occurred among the prisoners taken at the Solway rout, including the Earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn. They promised to Henry the government of their country for the present, succession to the throne in the event of the young queen's death, occupation of all the capital fortresses and places of strength, and the delivery into his hands of the cardinal and another person, (Arran, the regent,) whom he regarded as his most dangerous opponents. The king, in a letter to the Duke of Suffolk, says, "they have not sticked to take upon them to set the crown of Scotland upon our head." He grudged the pensions which they received at his hands, and did not neglect to remind them that their promises of service had always exceeded the actual performance. The sums distributed to them are set down as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| To the Earl of Angus..... | 200 <i>l.</i> sterling. |
| Glencairn..... | 200 marks. |
| Cassillis | 200 marks. |
| To the Master of Maxwell..... | 100 <i>l.</i> |
| the Sheriff of Ayr | 100 <i>l.</i> |
| the Laird of Drumlanrik | 100 <i>l.</i> |
| the Earl of Marshall..... | 300 marks. |
| Sir George Douglas | 200 <i>l.</i> |

with England, at that time a foreign and hostile nation. As long as the sovereign was Popish, the edge of popular resentment was directed against Catholic usages; and when the kings became Protestant, and laboured to uphold a moderate episcopacy, the zeal of the multitude was turned in favour of Presbyterianism. Hence, unfortunately for the Scottish character, the people were early taught that their duty to God was incompatible with obedience to their earthly rulers; and as the claims of heaven naturally superseded any which could arise from worldly relations, the arms they lifted against the law of the land were sanctified in their eyes by the service which they meant to perform in behalf of the Gospel. Accordingly when Beaton was murdered, the assassins seized his castle, set at defiance the commands of the regent, and applied to Henry for the aid of men and money to fight his battles. At this critical moment, Knox threw himself into the garrison in quality of chaplain, and assisted the rude warriors in providing means of defence at home, as well as in conducting their seditious correspondence with allies abroad. Thus was Scotland about to become the arena for French and English armies to decide their mutual quarrels, when the death of Henry occasioned a pause in these hostile proceedings, though not until the great reformer and the conspirators at St. Andrew's had surrendered to the military lieutenant of Francis, on condition of being carried into his dominions.

During the long reign of Elizabeth, the Protestants in Scotland yielded a more willing allegiance to her than to their own sovereign, even when the stumbling-block of Popery was altogether removed. The unhappiness of their position rendered them traitors at the moment they were following the dictates of conscience; and that politic queen, who knew the advantage of supporting a faction in the north opposed to the native princes, never failed to grant aid when their strength was much reduced, and to afford a ready asylum when they were compelled to flee. But it is obvious that the habit of resisting their own rulers and of relying upon foreign assistance, destroyed in their minds the very seeds of loyalty, and produced, even among the preachers, the unseemly spectacle of rebellion clothed in the garb of sanctity. The conduct of Knox in this respect is well known, and has left a deep stain on his reputation. Under a feigned name he wrote to Sir James Crofts, who commanded the English troops at Berwick, soliciting a reinforcement to aid the congregation against the queen regent, the mother of Mary. A treaty had just been concluded between France and Queen Elizabeth, which comprehended the Scots; whence arose a manifest obstacle to the armed interference of England in behalf of the rebels beyond

the Tweed. The reformer stated to Sir James, that in Scotland they had attempted to raise men by proclamation and beat of drum, (a strange employment for a divine!) but that partly from lack of money and partly from want of ardour in the cause, they had not succeeded in collecting any considerable number. For these reasons he entreated that money and soldiers should be sent to Edinburgh without delay. Aware however that the relations subsisting between the French and English might prove a bar to compliance with the request which he so intensely urged, he reminds Crofts that though those two nations were outwardly at peace they were at war in heart, and only waited opportunity to seize the first advantage. "If ye list to craft with them, the sending of a thousand or more men to us can break no league nor point of peace contracted between you and France; for it is free for your subjects to serve in war any prince or nation for their wages. And if ye fear that such excuses will not prevail, you may declare them rebels to your realm, when ye shall be assured that they be in our company." Sir James, in his reply, expressed much surprise at this strange request; which he said could not be granted without making his countrymen show themselves to be enemies where they had promised to be friends. "For as to your devices how to colour our doings in that part, you must think the world is not so blind but that it will soon espy the same; and surely we cannot *bona fronte* so colour and excuse the matter but that it will be expounded to be a plain breach of our league and treaty, whereby the honour of the prince cannot be a little touched. Wherefore, I pray you, require of us what we may do with honour and safety, and you shall not find us unwilling thereto."

Knox, although he evidently felt the reprimand of his military correspondent, did not consent to relinquish either the principle he had advanced, or the purpose which it was meant to serve. "Whether it may stand with wisdom, said he in his next letter, to have such respect to that which some men call honour, that in the mean time I may see my friend perish, both to his destruction and mine, I refer to the judgment of the most honourable. If you understand the danger as I do, love would compel you sometimes to exceed the bounds of your commission, if you can find no means secretly to convey such liberality as friends with you are pleased to bestow upon such as cannot otherwise serve. In a few words, sir, if you join not with us in open resistance, we shall both repent when the remedy will be more difficult."

Being in arms against their sovereign, and acting in defiance of law, every advantage gained by the reformers must have been considered by the more impartial and patriotic of their country-

men, as a victory achieved over the constitution to which they had pledged their obedience; and it would appear that, from the moment they began to fight for an ascendancy which allowed no toleration, they lost the sympathy of all who had any affection for their native land. The people at large, finding that there was no longer any obstacle to their worship, agreeably to the purer system of belief to which they had recently attained, became very generally indifferent to the issue of the contest. It is accordingly admitted by Knox himself, that, unless assistance were forwarded from England, in men, money and warlike stores, the royalists could hardly fail to attain an ultimate triumph.

This union of religion and perfidy, accompanied the Scots throughout the greater part of their reformation; for when by means of foreign influence they had driven their unhappy queen across the Solway Firth, they pursued the same policy against her son, who, in his turn, was doomed to sustain the jealousy or resentment of Elizabeth. But it was when Charles the First ascended the throne that rebellion became fully matured, and its objects clearly exposed to light. There still remains, indeed, a dark portion of that troubled land on which the beams of history have not yet shed a satisfactory radiance; the spot, namely, where the views of the English patriots and the Scotch covenanters originally met, and whence their co-operation and mutual understanding took their rise. That there was a secret treaty between these powerful bodies has never been doubted, while the aid which they afforded to each other leaves no obscurity as to its intention; but whether the first movement was made from the north or from the south, continues to be merely a subject of conjecture. The king himself, on one occasion, thought he had discovered the thread which was to guide his steps through that labyrinth of intrigue and treachery; a result which would probably have implicated several names in both divisions of the island, towards which the royal suspicion had never been directed. But though he failed in this attempt, he could no longer remain ignorant that, in Scotland especially, he was betrayed by those in whom he placed the highest confidence, who held the most important offices under his government, and who enjoyed the best patronage he had to bestow.

Mr. Aiton devotes a chapter to a consideration of the question, "Who began the war in Scotland, the king or the covenanters?" If by the beginning of the war be meant the preparation for battle, or the first actual appearance in the field, the question is of small importance, because a hostile position may be assumed long before a sword is drawn or a manifesto issued. The party therefore who so far changes the relation of things, that the con-

tinuance of peace shall be impossible, ought certainly to be regarded as giving a commencement to the war; and according to this principle, there cannot be any doubt that the covenanters originated the civil strife which for a time levelled the throne, extinguished the royal power, and overthrew the church. No sooner had Charles's third parliament been dissolved, than the puritans, political and religious, anticipated the hazard of a grand national movement against the pretensions of the crown and the despotic principles of the cabinet. The Scotch were full of discontent for reasons in some degree peculiar to themselves, and therefore lent a ready ear to the murmurs which reached them from the south, as well through the medium of the patriots, who could no longer figure in the House, as of the non-conformists, who still cherished their sullen thoughts over the grievance of the ceremonies. Pym and Hampden repaired frequently to Edinburgh, where they held counsel with the republicans of the north, and concerted their plans for advancing the common cause. From an early period, indeed, the measures of the covenanters were regulated by their confederates among the patriotic party in England; and we find accordingly, that, in the year 1639, when the Scots crossed the Tweed with an army, they thought themselves entitled to complain of broken promises, and to lament that the co-operation of their allies among the disaffected did not go beyond verbal encouragement. We learn this from Principal Baillie, who accompanied the invaders, and who remarks, "the hope of England's conjunction is but small, for all the good words we heard *long ago* from our friends—all this time, when their occasion was great to have kythed (shown) their troth to us and their own liberties, there was naught among them but either a deep sleep or silence."

D'Israeli justly observes, that the Scots were our tutors in the artifices of popular democracy, and those mysteries of insurgency which afterwards were systematized by ourselves. They were the contrivers of that terrific revolutionary engine—a mobocracy; and it was from them that we learnt how to organize a people in vast masses, so as to assemble or disperse them at will. Their petitions and remonstrances served as our models, when in a similar submissive style of loyalty, they kept drilling throughout the whole kingdom. This subtle party ever practised the arts of political flattery: at the moment they were insolent in the success of their arms, they apologised for their invasion; and his majesty's loyal subjects of Scotland were only rebellious in their acts. In the fall of the hierarchy, through all its stages, the English Commons were but the servile imitators of the Scottish covenanters. The leaders of faction both at home and in Scot-

land were indeed but few; they had however engaged the whole people on their side by concealing their own design, which was a subversion of the government, and by making religion their ostensible object, carefully keeping out of view all the while the private interests and personal jealousies, which were in fact the main stimulus in all their proceedings.

But admitting, for the sake of argument, that the tyranny of Charles had proceeded so far as to endanger the best interests of society, civil liberty and religious freedom, and that opposition to his government was perfectly justifiable on all the broad and acknowledged principles on which a regulated allegiance is founded, it does not follow, assuredly, that those employed by the king had a right to betray him, or that the persons who were loudest in their professions of fidelity should have been the first to stain their souls with perjury. Lord Lorn, for example, afterwards more famous as Duke of Argyle, and who became the head of the Covenanters, had largely shared in honours and emoluments, though he was all the while devoted to the popular party, and threw not off his mask, until he apprehended that his arts were detected at court, or that the Earl of Antrim would be allowed to press his claims on some of the ducal lands. It is said that he was displeased at his majesty for refusing the chancellorship, which was conferred on the Archbishop of St. Andrews; but if we may trust to the accuracy of Guthry's Memoirs, he himself assigns another reason, still less creditable to his honesty. When he had openly joined the Covenanters, he assured them that "from the beginning he had been theirs, and would have held to the cause as soon as any did, had it not been that he conceived that by attaching himself to the king, and going along with his council, he was more useful to them than had he from the first declared himself."

Earl Traquair, again, though openly professing friendship for the bishops and conforming himself to the schemes of his royal master, was also their secret enemy. He imagined that these ecclesiastics were intriguing with Maxwell, the Bishop of Ross, and that this prelate, the ablest and most ambitious of his order, was grasping at the treasurer's staff, which the earl himself held. Whatever ground there might be for this suspicion, he lent his influence to those who meditated the utter ruin of the Scottish church; and with this view he is described as having stimulated Laud and his party to the most unpopular as well as the most imprudent measures; talked to them in their own language; blamed the older bishops as timorous phlegmatic creatures whose sees ought to be filled by more active spirits, and pledged "his life" to carry them through the business, were he entrusted with its

execution. Laud, accordingly, put his trust in the younger prelates, and these last in Traquair; and soon after the earl was appointed, he signed the Covenant which abolished Episcopacy.

Sir Thomas Hope, the king's advocate, was at once the tool and the leader of the Covenanters; serving them with greater zeal than he served his master, whose confidence he had gained and whose interests he was bound to protect. This subtle lawyer had a great command over Charles, who employed him to recover the church lands, of which the nobles had formerly defrauded the crown; but by his delays and evasions every one perceived that he was acting in concert with the high personages who had enriched themselves by plunder. In fact, the skill of his majesty's advocate was usually displayed in thwarting the measures of his majesty's government; and though he could not appear openly in the cause he had secretly espoused, he failed not to supply the legal knowledge by means of which the enemies of the court were enabled to cover and finally to accomplish their traitorous objects.

The characters of the two Hamiltons, the Marquis and the Earl of Lanerick, have been either too deep or too shallow to be sounded by the plumb-line of history. The ambiguous conduct of the former, greatly suspected in his own times, does not appear either more distinct or intelligible after it has been made the subject of inquiry during two hundred years. If he did not betray his sovereign, he contrived, by his inactivity when at the head of armies, and by his strange concessions whenever he came to treaty with the insurgents, to inflict upon the royal cause all the inconvenience, and perhaps more than the loss, which would have resulted from open treason.

It is well known that there existed a Scottish faction at court closely connected with the Puritans and Patriots. The Earl of Haddington, brother-in-law to the Earl of Rothes, the first conspicuous leader of the Covenanters, remained at Whitehall. The former, who afterwards ranked himself under the same banner, entered into the intrigues of the Earls of Holland and Warwick, and with the Lords Say, Brooke, and Wharton, the chiefs of the opposition. "Little William Murray," too, of the bed-chamber, was not less active than the others in plotting the downfall of his indulgent master; and though he had enjoyed his confidence from childhood, he saw neither shame nor sin in revealing his most important secrets. It is not only from Clarendon that we learn the faithlessness of this domestic agent; we draw it also from an impartial witness in De Montrueil, the French ambassador, who accompanied Charles in the last critical period of his life. At a moment when the unhappy monarch was medi-

tating to emigrate, the plan was left entirely to Murray, who was ever assuring the king of its safety; yet, adds the envoy, he is very careful to hinder the king from employing those who certainly are as able as himself, and far more sincere. Murray insisted in reiterating his doubts that Ashburnham would deceive his majesty; but the impartial Frenchman sarcastically concludes "that these honest persons, so zealous for their prince, had two displeasures; the one that their master is betrayed, and the other that it is not they themselves who betray him." Whether, says D'Israeli, it was the love of country or concealed ambition, or some motive less honourable, the insincerity of the Scotch about the person of Charles is very remarkable, from the nobleman to the domestic. They remained still Scottish in their hearts, and found as little compunction in betraying the secrets of their master, as the nation afterwards experienced in selling him. Of their loose notions of gratitude, too, we have a remarkable instance in the case of General Lesley, whom his majesty thought proper to create Earl of Leven. At this unexpected honour the old soldier was so transported, that even on his knees he swore that he would not only never bear arms against the king, but would serve him without asking the cause. This was the paroxysm of his loyalty; for in less than two years he led a Scottish army into the south, to wrest the sceptre from him to whom he owed the distinction which he so highly valued.

It is lamentable to observe that patriots should so often be constrained to assume the characters of conspirators, and to leave the open and honourable path of truth for dark and intricate plots. The mind becomes degraded by the artifices it practises, and cunning and subtlety are substituted for those generous emotions and that nobler wisdom which separate, at a vast interval, the real lover of his country from the intriguing partizan. Archbishop Spottiswood was so sensible of the infidelity of his countrymen, that he offered himself as a personal sacrifice; advising Charles to have a list prepared of all his councillors, his household officers and domestic servants, and with his own pen expunge all the Scots, beginning with the archbishop himself, which would at least prevent any complaint of partiality. The state secrets even of the privy council were betrayed. Charles appointed a commission with the view of making a discovery; confessing in the warrant which he issued for this purpose, that "by what ways or means they were revealed and disclosed is not yet manifested to us."*

In the progress of rebellion such characters may be found to

* D'Israeli's Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First, vol. iv. p. 22. Most of the anecdotes mentioned in the text will be found in the 3d and 4th volumes of this interesting work.

appear in all countries ; persons may be seen offering themselves as the instruments of revenge or ambition, even to the extent of the taking away of life ; the murderer may be heard higgling about the price of his crime, and labouring to secure the payment of his thirty pieces of silver ; domestic treason may be seen prevailing in the high as well as in the low places of society ; and the dearest confidence ever pledged between man and man may be betrayed for the love of gold or the interests of faction. But in Scotland, unfortunately for the reputation of her people in those evil days, the horrid offences now stated were usually perpetrated in the name of religion ; and from the assassination of Cardinal Beaton down to the execution of Charles the First on the scaffold, the holy cause of faith and hope was associated with the darkest intrigues of the mercenary conspirator, as well as with the open violence and insolent triumphs of insurrection.

About the time Henderson appeared on the scene, the spirit which began to be manifested by his party was so inconsistent with the duty of loyal subjects, that, even in the absence of all records illustrative of their intentions, it might be inferred they had already determined on war. It is found, accordingly, that, while they were negotiating with Hamilton as the representative of their sovereign, they were also employed in awakening the interest of foreign powers in their behalf, and in purchasing arms for the use of their followers at home. Even in the year 1637 resolutions were passed in the committee of lords, barons, ministers and burgesses, who then, in defiance of the king, exercised the government of Scotland, respecting military stores and implements. It was also agreed, in the same convention, that a certain sum of money should be raised upon the owners of land, to defray the expenses of their administration, as well as to enable them to take the field, should such an expedient be found necessary.

Nor were their preparations confined to the resources of their native land ; but, suppressing for a season their wonted aversion to Roman Catholics, they wrote a letter to the French king, in which, after reminding him that he was the refuge and sanctuary of all afflicted princes and states, they expressed their assurance of obtaining from him a degree of assistance corresponding to his accustomed clemency ; and they conclude by declaring that the Scots will not yield to any other nation the glory of being for ever his very obedient and most affectionate servants. It is true that scruples among the clergy, as well as other reasons affecting the relations at that time subsisting between the two countries, prevented the expected aid from being actually sent. One of their authors remarks, “ we were hopeful of powerful assistance

from abroad if we would have required it. France would not have failed to embrace our protection: Holland and we were but one in our cause. They had been much irritated lately by the king's assistance of the Spaniard. Denmark was not satisfied with many of our prince's proceedings, and was much behind with the crown of Britain since his war with the Emperor. Sweden was fully ours to have granted us all the help they could spare from Germany. But we resolved to make no use of any friendship abroad, till our cause was more desperate than we yet took it. We still hoped to bring off our prince by fair means, which had not been so easy if we had once brought foreign forces within the isle. We were hopeful, by the assistance of God, to make our party good by ourselves alone. The assistance of Lutherans, let be of Papists, at this time was to our divines a leaning to the rotten reed of Egypt. Above all, a league with foreigners had made England of necessity our enemy, the evil in the world we most declined, and our adversaries did most aim at. The less our design was for help from abroad, our diligence was the greater to make good use of our means at home. Much help we got from good General Lesley, who sat daily with our general committees. We intended to give him, when the time of need came, as we did, the charge of our generalissimo, with the style of "His Excellence;" but for the present he was diligent without any charge to call home officers of his regiment, to send for powder, muskets, pikes, and cannon; wherein from Holland, Sweden and Germany we were pretty well answered."*

The French government, at that period under the direction of Cardinal Richelieu, desirous to perplex the affairs of the English king, and to sow dissension among the Protestants in this country, made a favourable return to the applications of the confederated lords who had placed themselves at the head of the Covenanters. Chambers, a priest of Scottish extraction, and who was at once almoner to the Cardinal and nephew to Con, the papal nuncio, was repeatedly sent into his native country to watch the motions of the two great parties, to inflame their mutual resentment, and to excite a spirit of hostility to the monarch. This individual afforded a channel of communication between his patron, the Cardinal, and the disaffected nobles; and as these last were chiefly influenced in their measures by a regard to secular considerations, they refused not to accept the aid, whether of arms or of money, which the French minister had at his disposal. Large supplies of warlike stores were accordingly sent by the way of Holland; and a hundred thousand crowns were confided to the care of General Lesley, who had undertaken to

* Baillie, vol. i. p. 153.

discipline such of the rustic insurgents as might flock to the banners of the renovated faith.

It is thus perfectly manifest that the Covenanters had not only anticipated the hazard of war, but had even made preparations for it before Charles perceived the full necessity of an appeal to arms. In fact, the noblemen who were most active in opposing the King's government in Scotland, found it necessary from time to time to keep alive in the minds of the people the feeling of discontent and suspicion, which the repeated concessions already made to their wishes had nearly allayed. When, for example, the Service-book and the Canons were withdrawn, and the High Court of Commission was so restricted as to present no danger to personal freedom, the great body of the nation were satisfied. At this epoch accordingly, when peace seemed about to return, and the popular excitement was fast subsiding into repose, Lord Rothes states that the leaders of the faction "did find it necessarie to sett out something for informing the people in the nature of our desires, that so, they being found so necessarie, might not be deceived, nor taken with the suggestiones of such as thought the discharge of the books and the tempering of the High Commission sufficient." With this view they employed Johnstoun of Wariston, and the Rev. Alexander Henderson, to draw up a manifesto for the public eye, entitled, "The least that can be asked to settle this Church and Kingdome in a solid and durable peace." The conditions stated in this pamphlet paved the way for the Resolutions of the celebrated Assemblies held at Glasgow in 1638, and at Edinburgh in August, 1639, by which Episcopacy was not only abolished as the form of government recently established in the Church of Scotland, but as positively unlawful in itself, and destitute of all scriptural authority.

Viewing their conduct simply as that of men who had determined to resist their sovereign by force, and to introduce, whether with or without his consent, certain changes in the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical, now deemed indispensable to their independence as the subjects of a free state, the reader will not make haste to condemn the means which the Covenanters adopted for the accomplishment of their object. But a candid mind will find some difficulty in extending a similar indulgence to them, when he weighs their actions in connection with the loud and ardent expressions of loyalty they were constantly directing towards the throne, which they certainly meant to humble, if not to overturn. Viewed as following the maxims of avowed rebels, they were not to be blamed for their efforts to combine against their king the power of France, Holland, Sweden and Denmark, and even to invite foreign troops to land upon the shores of England in the

capacity of their allies. It is, however, less within the range of that sober philosophy which examines the ordinary principles of human action, to discover motives which could incite the enemies, and even arm the subjects of their lawful prince, to oppose him in the field of battle, and at the same time dictate the most fulsome declarations of love, fealty and devotion to his cause. While they were writing to the King of France to assist them with men, money and weapons; while they had agents on the continent collecting pikes, powder, muskets and cannon, they still expressed the deepest sorrow at being thought mutinous or rebellious; "the imputation whereof," they said, "was intolerable unto them who had God to be their witness that they would rather undergo death itself than be guilty of that sin." They further declare, "that never any such word or motion had been among them that tended farther than humbly to supplicate, as the most submissive way allowed to the meanest of subjects; and therefore that they behoved to clear themselves by a petition to his majesty."

In these singular proceedings there is nothing so remarkable as the gratuitous and despicable insincerity which runs through the whole of them; their words being as soft as butter, while in fact they were very swords. Henderson had his full share in all the transactions which preceded the actual appeal to arms; he is suspected to have organized the opposition and planned the attack which disgraced the cathedral of Giles, in the month of July, 1637; and he is known to have managed the Glasgow Assembly, which left to Charles no other alternative than either to sanction the deeds of rebels, or to repress them with a strong hand. But before we advert to these occurrences in a manner somewhat more particular, we shall follow the progress of the Scottish Reformation, and mark how closely it still connected its interests with sedition at home, and a traitorous correspondence abroad.

A few years after Charles the Second had been seated on the throne the Covenanters again flew to arms, in order to fulfil the obligations of their national oath. Being defeated in battle, considerable severities were inflicted on them by the provincial government, little to the honour of those by whom its laws were administered; no sufficient distinction being made between the leaders and their less guilty adherents, many of whom had been seduced into treason under the most deceitful pretences. The object of the former, it is now ascertained, embraced a complete revolution in Church and State, which they hoped to accomplish by the assistance of foreign powers. The principal persons who embarked in this scheme, had for some time carried on a correspondence with the United Provinces, (then at war with England,)

and even received promises of aid from that quarter. This will be made manifest by the following extract from the Register of the Secret Resolutions of the States-General, dated 15th July, 1666.

“ It was notified in the Assembly that overtures had been made by certain friends of religion in the dominions of the King of Great Britain, who had resolved without delay to seize upon the first good opportunity for vindicating from constraint and oppression the reformed worship of God, to take arms, and do their utmost to get possession of some one or more towns or fortresses lying in the foresaid King of Great Britain’s dominions. Their high mightinesses, therefore, feel themselves here called upon to give assurance, that, how soon soever they shall be masters of one or more such towns or forts, assistance shall be promptly sent to them, and arms and ammunition of war expedited to such town.”

Among the articles to be sent for the foot were 3000 muskets, 1000 matchlocks, 1500 pikes, and 10 brass field-pieces; and for the cavalry, 2000 brace of pistols, all with snap-locks, and 1000 horsemen’s carbines. Besides these supplies in arms and ammunition, there was promised a subsidy of 150,000 *gulden*. This resolution is signed by the President Van Vryberg; and the Pensionary De Witt formally declares, “ that no time shall be lost in getting every thing ready in conformity with the decision of the States-General, when wanted.”*

The Scottish government in the meanwhile received information that some such plot was concerted, and even that the disturbances in the west, the hot-bed of the insurrection, were connected with a scheme for inviting an enemy into the country. As a proof of this, when M’Kail, one of the clerical leaders, was taken prisoner, his brother, a physician, interceded with the Archbishop of St. Andrew’s for his life. The primate replied, that he would befriend the captive minister, if he would reveal the mystery of the plot; for “ there was, indeed, a plot to have surrendered the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton, in July that year, and the chief contrivers failing, nothing was done.”† This fact, recently brought to light, constitutes at once a reason and an apology for some of the punishments which were inflicted after the defeat of the rebels. The number who lost their lives was not great; and all of them would have been pardoned, had they consented to renounce the covenant, that bond of sedition and source of rebellion. Burnet tells us, that most of them were but mean and inconsiderable men in all respects; and the arm of the law, it is to be regretted, did not reach those who were really guilty—the authors of the insurrection; for, to this day, it is not

* M’Crie’s *Memoirs of Veitch, Brysson and Wallace*, p. 378.

† MS. quoted by Dr. M’Crie, p. 36.

known who the individuals were who solicited an army from the coast of Holland to drive the king from his throne, and who consented to accept from a people actually at war with their sovereign, treasure, arms and ammunition.

The undutiful and treacherous conduct of the Scots in the age of Charles the First may perhaps be ascribed, in some degree, to the infelicity of their situation, and not to any inherent bias towards deceit, tumult and rebellion. But it was not without surprise that we read, in the volume now before us, that "loyalty is a plant indigenous to their soil," and that in those days it was trodden under foot only because the Covenanters esteemed Presbyterianism as the green pasture from which alone they could procure spiritual food. An historian, who knew his countrymen better than Mr. Aiton, acknowledges that "the Scotch were seldom distinguished for loyalty," though this remark applied rather to the insubordination of the nobles than to the temper of the peasantry, who are always quiet when unassailed by demagogues.* At all events, it was the policy of the lords, barons and ministers, who raised the standard of revolt in 1639, to profess the most loyal feelings and unbounded attachment to their prince; and, more especially, it was their rule, whenever war was in their hearts, to have peace in their mouths. For example, no sooner had they invaded England, gathered a few loose laurels which the royal leaders purposely dropped from their brows, and taken possession of Newcastle, than they addressed to the king a humble petition, deprecating the evils of protracted hostility, and entreating the renewal of friendly relations between their good sovereign and his loving subjects. To justify their conduct to the world, too, they dispersed a couple of manifestoes, of which the one was entitled, "Six Considerations of the Lawfulness of their Expedition into England;" and the other, "Intentions of the Scots and their Army made known to their Brethren of England." In these papers they took great pains to show that their motive in making such an inroad at the head of 20,000 men, was not to invade the kingdom, but simply to defend themselves against Strafford, Laud, and other enemies! They maintained that the king had begun the war, because, after consenting that the General Assembly should have power to order the affairs of the Church, he had dissolved parliament before all the decisions of the ecclesiastical board had obtained a legal sanction. It could not be surprising, therefore, that his majesty should have answered these appeals to the public by a royal proclamation, declaring the Scots rebels, and their declarations to be false and treasonable.

But the Covenanters knew the spirit of Charles's army and

* Laing's History of Scotland.

people more intimately than he himself did; they had been assured by trusty envoys from the cabinet of the patriots, that, if they began the work in earnest, they should meet with little disturbance on the part of the English; and they had been encouraged to hope that their troops, whom they found it inconvenient to maintain north of the Tweed, would be amply supplied with meat and wages when encamped on the banks of the Tyne. Only one difficulty presented itself to the ardent soldiers of the covenant before they crossed the border, the lawfulness, namely, of bearing arms against their king. "They set themselves," says Mr. Aiton, "to diligent reading and prayer for light in that question, which the times required peremptorily to be determined without delay;" and, as might have been expected, their objections gradually gave way to the views of expediency which were expanding before their eyes. But if

"Henderson and some of the leaders of the party entered on this war with reluctance, it would appear at least, from some of the historians, that the clergy in general had none. Of all men they were the busiest by fasting, preaching and prayer. They made the pulpits ring almost every day with declamations on the subversion of civil liberty and the ruin of religion. They told their flocks, that, unless they acquitted themselves like men, all of them might look for bondage and popery."

After a time,

"they advanced in three divisions towards Newcastle; and on the 26th August they concentrated their forces at Frewich. Here they sent dispatches to the commander of the English army, and another to the mayor of Newcastle, stating the motives of their march, and requiring a free passage through the town, that they might lay their grievances before his majesty. But, as these were returned unopened, the Covenanters marched up the Tyne about five miles to Newburn, where the river was passable at low water. Here Lord Conway had taken up, on the south side of the river, a position, which he had fortified with a view to oppose the passage of the ford. But Lesley not only forced it, but put the English army to the rout, and made himself master of Newcastle, where he found a supply of provisions and 5000 stand of arms, with an army of 10,000 men. The Covenanters made a sort of triumphal entry into the town by the bridge. On Sunday a public dinner was given to the general and a considerable number of the committee, when the king's health was drank with great enthusiasm."

We find that the usual inconsistency between word and action still continued. They beat the royal army, seized one of his majesty's forts, his supplies and ammunition, and then they drank flowing bumpers in his honour, coupled, we may presume, with the usual expressions of loyalty. Nay, it was declared in their articles of war, that "every man who opened his mouth against the king's authority or person, should be punished as a traitor;" a sin-

gular penalty to be denounced by a host of rebels, all of whom had forfeited their lives to the public law of the nation.

But the story of that civil commotion has been too often told to justify, on our part, any further details respecting the battles, sieges and treaties which diversified its progress. We are tempted, however, to introduce a reflection given by the author in his best manner, who, speaking of the Scottish ministers, great numbers of whom followed the army, informs us that

“ many of them, who were not enthusiasts, even imagined that they felt the favour of the Almighty shining upon them, and declared that they were conscious of a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit, which led them along. But, bright as this prospect really was, a keen eye might already have detected the black spot which in time was sure not only to darken the colours, but to rot the canvass. This was the juxta-position and jarring of the military and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which in a camp are altogether incompatible. At first the authority of those clergy and elders who combined in themselves nearly the whole talent and influence of Scotland, was confined entirely to exhortations and prayers, to the strictest exercise of church discipline, and to the care of the poor ; and for a time there was little interference on their part with the mere military department. But they first began to advise, then to direct, till in the end they usurped the management, and compelled their general near Dunbar, where he had caught and kept Cromwell fairly in the trap, to adopt a measure which forthwith led to their destruction. Situated as Lesley was, he might well say, as he often did, that he could not please everybody.”

We have quoted these remarks for the sake of the little vein of thought they contain, without thinking it necessary to take any particular notice of the historical blunder on which they are apparently founded, namely, that the General Lesley who led the Covenanters into England, was not the same officer who encountered the Protector at Dunbar. It is possible, however, that, in this instance, the ambiguous language of the author is more at fault than his knowledge of facts.

The most remarkable events in the life of Henderson, so far as they can be considered apart from his public career, are his conversion to the cause of Presbyterianism; his conduct immediately previous to the Glasgow Assembly; and his conference or disputation with King Charles on ecclesiastical polity. We find that he was originally a strong advocate for Episcopacy—was in favour with the men in power—and enjoyed the patronage of Gladstones, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, by whom he was appointed to a parochial charge. He was also a professor in the university of that ancient city, in which office he appears to have distinguished himself by his zeal and talents; but his notions as a churchman rendered him unpopular among his parishioners, who were not

able to appreciate his learning, and not disposed to profit by his instructions. The accession of Spotswood to the archiepiscopal see, however, produced a change in the sentiments of this aspiring minister. The new prelate neglected him, or, at least, did not prize his talents and value his co-operation so much as he expected; thereby wounding his pride, and disappointing his prospects. His biographer, of course, labours to obviate the impressions that such considerations could induce the accomplished incumbent of Leuchars to embrace the cause which he had hitherto opposed, and abjure the tenets he had maintained throughout his professional life. The reader is requested to believe that

“above all these motives, by which Henderson may have been partly actuated, there cannot be a doubt but that a far purer principle—a general anxiety to be useful in guiding his people to godliness—was already daily entering deeper into his heart, and leading him, even before he was fully aware of it, into the ranks of his former opponents.”

The charity which thinketh no evil will prompt the benevolent reader so far as to acknowledge, that men sometimes proceed in a direction quite opposite to the line of their worldly interests, and consequently that the cloud which came over the sun of Mr. Henderson's official attachments and prospects, had no effect whatever in withdrawing his support from the Church. It is manifest, however, that the wound inflicted on his pride, and his diminished hope of promotion under the new archbishop, will for ever preclude the unanimity which Mr. Aiton is so desirous to establish in his favour. There is even in his conversion, more strictly considered, an appearance of preparation, which cannot be contemplated without some rather painful suspicions. Having resolved to quit his former ranks, it seemed expedient that an occasion should be either embraced or created, for avowing the sentiments now matured, in such a way as to secure due attention. Henderson, being informed that Bruce, a celebrated preacher among the Presbyterians, was to do duty in a neighbouring parish, resolved to hear him; but, that he might not be recognized, he repaired to an obscure corner of the church, and sat down without attracting the gaze of any eye.

“From his lurking-place he saw the veteran ascend the pulpit, with his usual easy carriage and countenance very majestic. In prayer Bruce was short, but every sentence, like a strong bolt, shot up to heaven. When he rose up to preach, he, as his custom was, stood silent for a time. This astonished Henderson a little, but he was much more moved by the first words the preacher uttered, which were those of the Lord,—‘He that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber.’ Henderson, by nature pliant and pious,

felt at once as if the opinions he had hitherto entertained were founded in quicksand. The text and sermon which followed it, sent home to his conscience, and accompanied by the blessing of God, he afterwards frequently owned to be the instrument of his first conversion. Of the many thousands gained by the labours of Bruce, Henderson was justly esteemed the best fish caught in the net."

Mr. Aiton candidly subjoins, that "there seems to have been more than a mere singular coincidence in this story, and especially in the choice and application of the text. Probably Bruce had either known Henderson, or known that such a man was present." Most readers will admit the probability of this conjecture, as the sermon was really *preached at* the minister of Leuchars, who had entered into his parish by the door of episcopal presentation and institution; a mode of approach which he was now longing for an opportunity to pronounce unscriptural, and equivalent to climbing up in an unlawful way. What shall we think of the man whose principles as a churchman were undermined by a declamatory harangue, supposed to be extemporaneous, pronounced by a person who himself was not in holy orders of any description, and who derided all official authority in a minister, whether conferred by a bishop, or by a presbytery? According to Bruce, the only door, by which a pastor could regularly enter the fold, was the voice of the people; which nomination superseded in all cases the necessity of the Apostolic usage of the laying on of hands, and of prayer. The Episcopalian, who could be converted by such arguments as Henderson was likely to hear, must have been extremely eager for change, and longing for the gentle violence which was necessary to complete his apostacy.

There is also some allusion to his having been refused a degree in divinity; a slight which, it is supposed, may have rankled in his mind, and weighed with him not a little in forming the determination to abandon his old friends. But Mr. Aiton, by a species of logic familiar to his habits of thinking, satisfies himself that the withholding of this compliment must have followed, rather than preceded, his adoption of what he calls the "new line of policy;"

"for," says he, "as Spotswood was an arch politician, he would have gladly paid this retaining fee to an advocate for episcopacy of Henderson's talents and learning, if the price would have bought him. The only just conclusion, therefore, seems to be, that this title was withheld from him merely on account of his prior defection."

At all events, we must rest satisfied with the explanation now given, unless we prefer the one suggested by the views of a certain Carmichael and his associates, who not only declined the

honours of an academical degree, but resolutely opposed this creation of doctors, as "introducing confusion among the ecclesiastical officers of Christ's appointment."

Henderson covered his advances against the constitution of the Church, which he overthrew at Glasgow, by introducing speculative doubts as to the apostolical authority of episcopacy in general, and more especially as to the form which that polity had assumed in Scotland since the year 1606. At a later period, when he had accomplished his object in the north, and found himself at the head-quarters of the covenanting army in England, he boldly pronounced all imparity among Christian ministers to be unscriptural and decidedly unlawful. His biographer, hastening to supply him with that kind of assistance which always sends to the bottom the drowning man, who might otherwise save himself, undertakes to prove, that by the First Book of Discipline, the original platform of the Protestant Church in Scotland, no countenance was given even to a "phantom of prelacy." There is not, he maintains, in that book a single sentence which, by fair construction, can be said to advocate episcopacy. But with his usual coherence of reason and argument, he remarks—

"It is needless to deny that in this first standard of Protestant belief different orders of ministers and officers of the Church are appointed; and that instead of a Presbyterian parity among those set apart to the ministry, three classes of teachers are enumerated: first, there are superintendents, who are certainly invested with powers similar in many respects to those of the bishops, especially in so far as they had provinces or dioceses in which they resided, and tried the lives and diligence of the clergy; secondly, there are parochial clergy, who are enjoined to discharge ministerial duties in one parish only; and thirdly, there are readers, whose duty it is to read the Scriptures and Common Prayer to the people. At first sight, these different orders of office-bearers seem to indicate that the Reformation was partly episcopal: but after all, the most that can be said on this point is, that they present the shadow without the substance of prelacy." "As the best argument on this matter is the statement of facts, it is proper to mention further, that the form and order of the admission of John Spotswood is preserved. It is penned by Knox, and in the doxology of the prayer by which he is set apart, the reformer owns Christ to be their Lord, King, and *only* Bishop. The whole manner of procedure is detailed so as to exclude even the phantom of prelacy, and the exercise of all dominion whatsoever over their brethren the other pastors."

We agree with the author in thinking, that on all such subjects, where the opinions of men are necessarily various, the best argument is an appeal to facts; and as Knox's liturgy or the Genevan form now lies before us, we shall quote two or three sentences

from the "Order of the Election of the Superintendent." After sermon, then, by John Knox,

"it was declared by the same minister, maker thereof, that the Lords of Secret Counsell had given charge and power to the churches of Lowthian to choose M. John Spoteswood superintendent, and that sufficient warning was made by public edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Striveling, Trenant, Haddington, and Dunbar; as also to earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, or other that have or that might claim to have voyce in election, to be present at the same hour."

It thus appears that the official duties of this order of ministers, so far from being confined to one parish, extended to those of several counties, and, in the present case, to four of the most populous shires in Scotland. The authors of the Book of Discipline knew perfectly well that the terms bishop, superintendent and overseer, were strictly equivalent; and they accordingly used them all as occasion seemed to require, as applicable to the same office. "Will you acknowledge this your brother for the minister of Jesus Christ, your *overseer* and pastor?"—is one of the questions put by Knox to the clergy and people at the admission of their diocesan. The reformer, too, in his prayer on this occasion, employed the following expression: "Send unto this our brother, whom, in thy name, we have charged with the *chief care* of the Church within the bounds of Lowthian, such portion of thy holy spirit as thereby he may rightly divide thy word to the instruction of thy flock."

It is remarkable, too, that the compilers of the Book of Discipline were distinguished for prelatical principles to the end of their days. Winram, for example, died Superintendent of Strathearn; Willock was Superintendent of the West; Spoteswood, whose installation has just been mentioned, was many years a superintendent, and uniformly hostile to Presbyterian parity; Douglas became Archbishop of St. Andrew's; and Row was one of the three who afterwards defended the lawfulness of diocesan episcopacy at the conference appointed by the General Assembly in the year 1675. Hence it is manifest that the associates of Knox were not Presbyterians, and had no intention of setting up a system of equality among the ministers of their new establishment. If further evidence were wanting to prove this point, reference might be made to a letter, written by Erskine of Dun, to the Regent, dated November, 1571, in which he maintains not only the expediency, but even the divine authority of the episcopal office in the Church of Christ. Erskine, it is well known, was a fellow-labourer with Knox in new modelling the constitution of the kirk, and was himself one of the original su-

perintendents; on which account it may be inferred, that the opinions which he expresses in an official communication to the head of the government, were those entertained by the whole body to which he belonged. Alluding to the authority which St. Paul conferred upon his disciples Timothy and Titus, when he appointed them to the charge of Ephesus and Crete, he remarks—

“Thus have we expressed plainly by scripture that to the office of a bishop pertain examination and admission into spiritual cure and office, and also to oversee them that are admitted, that they walk uprightly and exercise their office faithfully and purely: to take away this power from the bishop or superintendent, is to take away the office of a bishop, that there be no bishop in the Kirk. There is a spiritual jurisdiction and power which God has given unto his Kirk, and to them who bear office therein; and there is a temporal jurisdiction and power, given of God to kings and civil magistrates. Both the powers are of God, and most agreeing to the fortifying one of the other, if they be rightly used. As to the question, if it be expedient that a superintendent be where a qualified bishop is, I understand a bishop and superintendent to be but one office, and where the one is the other is.”

Nay, at a still later period we find among the acts of the General Assembly a petition to the Lord Regent, praying that stipends be granted to superintendents, *in all time coming*, in all counties destitute thereof, whether it be where there is no bishop or where there are bishops who cannot discharge their office. Is it, then, true that in the First Book of Discipline, and earliest form of the Protestant Church in Scotland, there was not even the “phantom of prelacy?” But granting that this assertion were correct, the authority conveyed by it could not be rated very highly; for it is added, that in the first National Assembly there were only eight or nine ministers and thirty ruling elders, so that the lay voters, compared with the clerical, were more than three to one.

These considerations affect deeply the character of Henderson, who endeavoured to convince his partizans not only that episcopacy has no authority in the word of God, but also that it was never acknowledged by the Scottish reformers. Unless he believed that Knox, Erskine and the Superintendent Spotswood proceeded upon a false ground in establishing the basis of their Church, he could not possibly esteem himself an honest man; and if he allowed his conscience to be convinced that they contrived their scheme only for a temporary purpose, he cannot have read the Book of Discipline with a sincere desire to ascertain its true import.

Mr. Aiton tries to find an apology for Henderson's tergiversa-

tion, by alleging the *Arminianism* of the Scottish liturgy, and the *Pelagianism* of Laud's doctrines. But without pressing the fact that the minister of Leuchars was converted in 1516,—more than twenty years before the liturgy appeared, five years before the Perth Articles were ratified, and some years before Laud attained power,—we may take leave to observe, that the doctrine of the Scottish Prayer Book did not differ in any one point from the orthodox principles contained in the English ritual sanctioned by Parliament in 1563. The daily worship is precisely the same; and in the communion service, where the several prayers are somewhat differently arranged, there is no tenet or shade of opinion introduced to which the most scrupulous Protestant could object. On this subject we find, in Mr. Aiton's volume, the most lamentable ignorance. He says, that "in the Assembly at Perth, the Church enjoined kneeling at the sacrament, private communion and private baptism, secret confirmation, and the observance of the festivals kept in the Church of England." What he means by *secret* confirmation, we cannot conjecture, unless he has mistaken it for auricular confession; but we are sure he is wrong in asserting that the Church *enjoined* private baptism and private communion. The object of the Articles on these heads was simply to grant permission to the clergy, in cases where those sacraments could not be administered in public, to perform the duty, when required, in the house where a sick child or a bed-ridden patient was resident. Before that period it was unlawful to christen an infant, though at the point of death, any where but in the presence of the congregation. A similar prohibition applied to the communion of the sick, although weakness of body might have detained the sufferer many years from public worship; and the Church, in the celebrated Assembly held at Perth, provided no further than to put it in the power of a parent to have his child baptized, or of an infirm person to commemorate the Lord's death in the company of his friends under his own roof. The rule as to confirmation was equally optional; it might be omitted or observed, according to the discretion of the individuals principally concerned. Nor was any one, not a clergyman, obliged even to keep the festivals. The churches were indeed open on Christmas-day and Easter; but no person was compelled to fix his thoughts on the birth and resurrection of the Redeemer at particular seasons. It might, perhaps, be deemed a constraint to kneel at the communion, and some might think it more decorous to sit; but even this, the only Article which was not entirely discretionary, was not enforced, and, generally speaking, the people were indulged and allowed to follow their own judgment or inclination. But, we repeat, so far as Henderson's

change of views is considered, such grievances cannot be applied; for they were not in existence when his wounded pride and blasted prospects alienated him from Archbishop Spotswood and his own principles. In point of fact, the Perth Articles and the Arminianism of the Liturgy were a mere pretext to most of the nobles and ministers who adopted "the new line of policy;" for, although the motives of the latter body of men are not in all cases easily comprehended, the former had clear and urgent reasons for pulling down the episcopal Church. Mr. Aiton has truth on his side when he states that

"The Act of Revocation, by which Charles attempted to transfer to the crown the church lands, which had been long in possession of the old court favourites, was the grand foundation stone of all the mischief which followed. As these extensive domains had been procured by a general scramble in the confusion occasioned by the Reformation, or acquired by court intrigue during the regencies in his father's minority, Charles deemed them fair objects of acquisition. But as the attempt was obviously hazardous, he went to work with caution. To make the powerful barons leading cards to the rest, the abbey of Arbroath and the lordship of Glasgow were procured by secret purchase, and conferred on the two archbishoprics. Several other estates, of less value, were managed in a similar way. So long as value was obtained, the nobility, pretending favour to the court, made a show of zeal after a good bargain; but when the Earl of Nithsdale came down, in 1628, to offer merely the king's favour to those who surrendered the church lands, and to wrest them from those who refused, open resistance was in an instant determined upon, and the old cry of popery was raised to serve the purpose of those interested in these grants. At a secret meeting it was settled that, if no other argument should induce Nithsdale to desist, the barons should at once knock out his brains, after the good old Scottish manner. When the parties came to a conference at Edinburgh, the dark scowl of the nobles, patiently waiting for vengeance, terrified the court party so much, that they did not even disclose their instructions, but sent back Nithsdale to London, to declare that the service was desperate. From this time the nobles suspected the king, and began to play underhand the back game against his government. With a view to coalesce with a powerful opposition party, they became avowed champions of Presbytery, and from pecuniary motives in their opposition to the bishops, artfully laid the blame of every misfortune on episcopacy. By thus making religion a mere stalking-horse to their own interests, they verified the general remark, that at the bottom of the purest boilings of patriotism there often lies a thick sediment of gross selfishness."

No one who has read the history of those evil days will call in question the remark with which the foregoing paragraph is concluded. The avarice and ambition of the nobles were provoked at the sight of so much wealth and power entrusted to the hands of the bishops; and in order to remove this ground of complaint,

they resolved to strike at the hierarchy itself. The prelates could still present a claim, founded on law and usage, for the lands torn by violence from their predecessors; the Presbyter had no such pretensions in virtue of any constitution, whether ecclesiastical or civil, and therefore he was the fitter man for the wealthy lords, whose domains had greatly extended their boundaries under the auspices of the Congregation. At this crisis, the reverend Alexander Henderson, actuated indeed by different motives, thought proper to embark in the same cause with the "greedy barons;" and having pledged his troth to them, he scrupled not at any means whereby their common purpose—the humiliation of the Church—might be accomplished.

The day had been fixed for the introduction of the Liturgy as the national form of worship. Before that epoch, we have reason to believe, a variety of prayer books were used in Scotland, among which were the Manual ascribed to Knox, and the Common-Prayer of Edward the Sixth. The Liturgy of our Church also, in its present shape, was read in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood House, and probably in other places; a circumstance which, as it proved that the people had no particular objection to preconceived devotions, afforded a rational ground for hope that they would be gratified by the pious cares of the king, in providing them with a complete and authorized guide for their solemn services. But such an occasion for undermining the ecclesiastical fabric, was too seducing to be allowed to pass unimproved. The ministers accordingly, who were in the secret, repaired to Edinburgh, to make arrangements for the popular explosion, by which it was hoped the government would be intimidated, the prelates shaken from their purpose, and his majesty induced to leave them to their fate. Henderson, with two other clerical deputies, waited on Lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, to inform them of the object of their journey to town, and the measures they were prepared to adopt. The plan, we are told, was approved by his lordship, and the king's advocate, men whose duty it was to preserve the public peace and protect the royal interests; and a meeting of the conspirators was held in an obscure part of the city.

"There were here convened by the Lord of Lorn, the Earls of Rothes, Cassillis, Glencairn, and Traquair, Lords Lindsay, Loudon, Balmerino, and divers others, of whom, says Spalding, the Marquis of Hamilton was one, together with a menzie of discontented puritans, of whom Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, Mr. David Dickson, minister of Irvine, and Mr. Andrew Cant, minister of Pitsligo, were the ringleaders. At this private meeting the ambitious insolence and avarice of the prelates, their meditated innovations on the Church, besides their endeavours to reduce the nobleman's rights on slight grounds, were all considered. After much deliberation, they concluded

to bring about a reformation shortly; and to that effect they drew in a number of the nobility quietly to their opinion, and waited the time to begin. It is said to have been arranged that the first opposition to the introduction of the Liturgy should be made by the women of inferior ranks of life; and in justification of their conduct, the passage in the Acts of the Apostles is said to have been quoted, where it is written, 'that the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women.' Nicolas Balfour, Euphan Henderson, Bethia and Elspa Craig, and many other matrons, were instructed how to give the first affront to the book, and assured that men would afterwards take the business out of their hands. Having thus laid the train, and procured individuals whom the law would not recognize, to apply the match, the actors quietly returned to their respective homes, to abide the explosion."

The motives, the objects, and the plan, are here detailed with clearness and candour, leaving no doubt that the "godly women" were nothing more than simple tools employed by the intriguing ministers and their noble allies.

"It is in vain to assert," continues Mr. Aiton, "that these riots were entirely discountenanced by the leaders of the Presbyterians. During the whole troubles the populace came upon the stage, acted their part, and retired in a way too critical for their unaided capacities. That it was part of the tactics of the Presbyterians to secure the concurrence of the populace, is further evident from the fact, that about this period a petition was given in to the privy council against the Liturgy and Canons, in the name of all the men, women, children, and servants, of Edinburgh."

Having succeeded so well in their first attempts, the nobility, and others of a class considerably above that of the rioters, openly defended the tumult which signalized the 23d of July. The next step in their progress was to obtain or extort his majesty's consent to a meeting of the General Assembly, where the resolutions of the secret committees might be converted into laws, and where all the violences of the multitude might be sanctioned by the united wisdom of the Church. As conditions to his concurrence for the assembling of that seditious convocation, the king was desirous to secure two great principles; namely, that the deputies or representatives should be chosen by the clergy alone; and that they should not alter or overthrow any thing which had been confirmed by Parliament. To these reasonable proposals, the Reformers turned a deaf ear; being aware that the majority of the parish ministers who were still friendly to the episcopal constitution, would not co-operate with mercenary laymen for its ruin, and also, that the Church being established by the authority of Parliament, could not be thrown to the ground without setting at defiance the most solemn deeds of the legislature.

In the meantime it was deemed expedient to make a demonstration of physical force; and with this object in view, a body

of supplicants, amounting to many thousands, were instructed to proceed to the capital, where the treacherous government of Charles were sitting ready to receive the impression which this show of strength was meant to produce. Then followed the erection of the Tables, or standing committees, who undertook to represent the whole Presbyterian interests, and who, in reality, superseded the power of the sovereign, and governed the country at their will. Having assumed such ground, whence they could look down with contempt upon all the efforts which their prince might make to assert his authority, they give utterance, as usual, to the highest tones of loyal affection. "More reverence, more expression of true and religious love to his majesty's person, more promises of hearty prayers from all for his spiritual and temporal good, were never among subjects." The mob retired to their homes till they were again summoned to sign the covenant; and afterwards, at the signal of war, they assembled their bands, "when to a man they buckled on their armour and marched to the battle field."

At this stage of the revolutionary movement, Henderson was the prime instigator. Baillie facetiously remarks, that at the request of Lord Montgomery, he attended as a commissioner at the table of ministers; but they had nothing to do except to give their presence, for in effect, says he, "all was done by the grace and wit of the two *archbishops*, Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. D. Dickson, joined with two or three noblemen."

Mr. Aiton acknowledges that the Tables, or Committees of lords, barons, ministers, and burgesses, "soon became a new representative government in Scotland. They in the end usurped the authority of the whole kingdom, and issued orders which were everywhere obeyed with more promptitude than those of the most despotic sovereigns. Like the piston in the steam-engine, those Tables gave the command of the whole Presbyterian machinery. Through them, by the moving of their hand, a few nobles and the 'two archbishops,' while sitting at Edinburgh, could at once stop or set in motion every wheel, however huge or remote, and send their commands to the inhabitants of the most distant glen, with the rapidity of a sky-rocket."

After the Service Book, the ostensible cause of complaint and tumult, was withdrawn, Henderson suggested that they ought now to complain of the Bishops themselves, as underminers of religion, and crave justice to be done upon them. To this measure, it is said, many were at first averse, and argued, that they came to Edinburgh solely with the view of being freed from the obnoxious Liturgy, but that otherwise they had no cause of quarrel with the prelates. The influence, however, of the meek Presbyterian prevailed, and he induced his leaders, as well as his

followers, to frame a remonstrance ; stating “that the bishops had introduced the Book of Canons and Common Prayer, containing divers superstitions, idolatry, and false doctrine ; that their proceedings were contrary to his Majesty’s intention ; and were, moreover, subversive of religion and liberty.” This step is, perhaps, the least creditable that Henderson ever took ; for he knew well that the bishops, so far from wishing to impose the Liturgy and Canons, contrary to his Majesty’s intentions, were urged on by royal injunctions much faster and farther than they had any wish to proceed. But his object, the depression of the hierarchy, was thereby forwarded ; and this great end, in his eyes, seemed to justify the most flagitious means.

Matters being thus matured, the Assembly met at Glasgow, and the main purpose contemplated by the demagogues was, to try the bishops as criminals, and find them guilty. Hamilton, the royal commissioner, who failed not to perceive their object, protested in the name of his master, in his own name, and in that of the lords of the clergy, that no act passed after his departure—and he meant immediately to withdraw—should be held binding on any of his Majesty’s subjects. He then, in the name of the king, the head of the Church, dissolved the Assembly, and discharged their farther proceedings. But they, smiling at such empty threats, continued their sittings, till they had demolished the ecclesiastical constitution, voted episcopacy unlawful, and excommunicated several of the prelates.

The next appeal was to arms, when Henderson, who had denounced all civil occupations in clergymen, entered upon a course of life which was spent in political broil and contention. Charles, who respected his learning and talents, endeavoured to gain him so far at least as to secure his neutrality ; but the other received the rents of the chapel royal, formerly esteemed a “ morsel for a bishop,” without remitting his exertions in behalf of that cause which brought his benefactor to the block.

It is asserted by various writers, that Henderson, at the close of his days, expressed deep regret for the part he had acted, both towards his Sovereign and the Church ; and there is still extant “ The Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, principal Minister of the Word of God at Edinburgh, and Chief Commissioner from the Kirk of Scotland to the Parliament and Synod of England, on his death-bed.” Clarendon has given the authority of his name to this report ; for, after remarking that the king was “ too hard for Mr. Henderson in the argumentation (as appears from the papers which passed between them, which were shortly after communicated to the world) that the old man himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he himself had been the author of, or too much

contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidants; and died of grief and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his majesty." The authenticity of the paper which bears his name, is not free from suspicion; but there seems no reason to doubt that he expressed regret, upon seeing the issue to which matters were fast approaching; lamented that he could no longer restrain the furious zeal of the party whom he had originally incited; and probably, at his last hour, condemned himself for yielding to motives so deeply tinged with human pride, revenge, and ambition. As to the victory gained over him by Charles, there cannot be the slightest difference of opinion, among men qualified to judge; and, considering the circumstances in which his majesty conducted the dispute, the entire absence of all such helps as even the most learned divines require for refreshing the memory, in facts, dates, and names, and, on the other hand, the presence of objects so apt to disturb reflection and banish mental repose as the bustle of a camp, the constant arrival of important despatches, and even the dread of assassination, the letters do infinite honour to the talents of the king.

Without taking the darkest view of Henderson's character, we may assert, that there are few personages who walked over the troubled stage on which he chose to act, whose doings would afford more ample materials for a bitter satire on human nature—the vindictiveness of wounded pride; the sullied honour which attends the triumph of popular insurrection; the contempt which never fails to overtake him who tries to cover the intrigues of personal or professional ambition with the pretext of religious zeal; and, at length, the humiliating discovery that the object on which he had set his heart could not be attained; that his followers had taken the lead, and were looking back upon him with scorn; and that the laurels which he had planted, were plucked up to deck the brows of his worst enemies. Henderson, there is no doubt, was crushed to the earth by the labour, the responsibility, or the remorse, which he brought upon himself.

We blame not the author for his admiration, though he has not pointed out any thing worthy of being admired; we blame him not for his tone of exultation, though he shouts where there is no victory; and we do not chide his strong predilection for the Presbyterians of the 17th century, though his narrative does them little honour. We can even bear his joke, when he speaks of the necessity of benefices being filled by qualified persons; "that ignorant idiots be not placed in such roomes by them that are yet called bishops, and are not;" simply reminding him, that those who have read with attention a work recently published at Edinburgh, will find reason to suspect that even the purer discipline of Geneva cannot always exclude such candidates for preferment.

ART. X.—*National Education, and the Means of Improving it.*

By the Rev. T. V. Short, B.D., Rector of Bloomsbury. London: Parker. 1835.

THIS is a very brief production; and our notice will be proportionately brief. We should be glad if we could make it proportionately sensible.

If we were desirous to write a dissertation upon the instruction of the higher or lower classes, we should have ample materials at hand, in Dr. Russell's (of Leith) excellent Address on the Advantage of Classical Studies; in Mr. Pillan's late publication, also advocating their utility; in Mr. Whewell's letter on the Study of Mathematics; in the first of a proposed series of letters "*on the Condition, Abuses, and Capabilities of the National Universities;*" and in a compilation of papers, collected from various sources under the general title of "the Schoolmaster." Now, however, we would simply present a plain statement of some few, but momentous, facts, leaving systematic disquisition and abstract speculation, until a future occasion.

1. The first matter in dignity, if not in importance, is the projected establishment of a Metropolitan University. We say university, because such is the appellation assigned; and because we hear of the nomination of Lord Burlington as Chancellor, as well as of sundry other officers. At the same time, it is something strange in England, if not on the continent, to regard a board of examiners as constituting an university; or to think of an university as quite distinct from its several colleges and places of tuition. This Board of Examiners, of which rumour has made Dr. Maltby president, and Dr. Arnold, Mr. Milman, Mr. Airy, Mr. Peacock, and some other persons, known as scholars or mathematicians, as linguists or men of science, component members, is to confer degrees, at first, as we understand, upon candidates who come with certificates of good conduct from either the King's College in London, or the (so called) London University; and, afterwards, upon candidates, similarly recommended as to character, from other schools and seminaries, which shall have asserted and made out their claim to the distinction. The power of conferring degrees will not, however, include degrees in theology: nor will the examinations include examination upon matters of religion. Whether these degrees ought to have precisely the same title with the academical degrees now conferred at Oxford and Cambridge; or whether they ought rather to bear their own stamp, and therefore their own value:—whether, again, it might not be better, that two or more universities, if necessary, should be founded, one or more for churchmen, one or more for dissenters of various grades, so that the education and the reward

should be given within the same institution, and that a portion of religious knowledge should be an essential prerequisite to a *general* university honour and degree: these are questions which may at least admit of doubt and debate.

2. Besides this Metropolitan University, we have heard from good authority, that it is in contemplation to form, upon a plan in many respects similar, an University in Liverpool, probably another at Manchester, and others, perhaps, in other cities or large towns of the empire. In Liverpool and Manchester, at least, there is a desire, we believe, to execute the design upon a very liberal and comprehensive scale; to import professors from France and Germany; and, in fact, to attract from all quarters the men most celebrated in all arts and sciences. These universities are destined, we conceive, to be *cheap* Universities, and *open* Universities; that is, open to every thing, except the peculiar doctrines of a revealed and positive faith.

3. The activity of the movement party in urging forward their favourite scheme of a *state*-education for the people at large is unremitted. In the mean time, however, if they cannot yet prevail upon the legislature to adopt their views in the gross, they can, *en attendant*, go to work in detail; they can till the separate portions of the soil according to their new mode of cultivation, and prepare it for the seed which is to be sown, broad-cast, by a sweeping and universal enactment hereafter. For,

4. The Local Councils in many places, formed upon the new Corporation Bill, are already entertaining the project of employing Corporate property and Corporate influence in the education of the people, according to the most improved *norma*, or pattern, set up by the Utilitarians. At Bath, as the newspapers inform us, a committee has been appointed, investigations are being made, and the whole business, we apprehend, will be conducted under the immediate, though perhaps unseen, auspices of Mr. Roebuck; who is, we dare say, if his purpose can be answered, quite ready to prove, on one day, that the work of education belongs to the state, and, on the next, that it belongs to the magistracy of a borough. At Pontefract, at Liverpool, in Kent, we hear of similar intentions; and, if the system spreads, the consequences will be *most important* at least, whether for good or evil. Who shall say how soon the surplus property arising from bequests, or the funds of grammar schools, and endowed schools, may be appropriated by Town Councils? And who can be so blind as not to see, that many grave inquiries might be opened, both as to expediency and as to right?

It has been said by one, who would stretch quite far enough, perhaps, the power of Municipal Councils:—"The real and

natural objects of corporate government appear to me to be these—the administration of the police force—the control and direction of the police force, whatever it may be, to which the protection of person and property is confided—the administration of corporate property—and the regulation of those other not unimportant matters which concern the health, the comfort, and the convenience of the community—the lighting, the paving, the draining, &c. &c.” Yet this enumeration can hardly be said to include any wide scheme of education, to be carried forward upon principles hitherto unrecognized by the Church or by the State.

Perhaps, too, trusting at the moment to our historical recollections, we should say, that, as far as precedent or analogy goes, the members of Town Councils were to be conservators of external peace and local order, and superintendents of streets and buildings, having authority over brawls and nuisances; but they had nothing to do with the higher and more abstruse departments of political philosophy. It would be strange indeed if functionaries in the inferior offices of administration should start up at once as law-givers and law-makers in the most important points of legislation which can affect an empire. We do not remember that the curators of the walls were chief governors of the city; or that the ædiles meddled with the province and prerogatives of senator, or censor, or consul. But, knowing how much the wisdom of the present age loves to demonstrate itself by a supercilious contempt of the past, and what scorn will be thrown upon the pedantry of appealing, as an argument, to the usages of Athens or Rome, we forbear to lay any stress upon these considerations. Still it may be urged, upon the principles of reason and of the British constitution, that these Municipal Corporations are not entitled by right to interfere, as they seem to have the ambition of interfering; that the same reasons which take matters of religion out of the hands of the Town Councils, should take out of their hands matters of education; for we may be assured that general measures of religion and of education can never be divorced or torn apart.

It may be, however, that these things are left in doubt. The Imperial Parliament may have committed the stupendous blunder of erecting a multitude of local legislatures, and yet assigning no definite limits to their privileges and powers. It would appear, indeed, that the views of our statesmen are as yet quite vague, and their opinions quite unformed, as to the extent and respective boundaries of central and local jurisdiction. We as yet see scarcely the shadow of general, and matured, and comprehensive conceptions. Now, there is a manifest tendency to gather up all authority, even to its executive details, into the grasp of parlia-

mentary commissioners or some central board in the metropolis: now, there is a disposition quite as manifest to split the kingdom, by municipal acts, into a number of petty states, each taking a different character, and forming itself upon a distinct model, as the predominance happens to be with Infidels or Believers, Churchmen or Dissenters, Conservatives or Destructives.

5. The Municipal Corporation Bill is to be extended, if the dominant party in the House of Commons can extend it, with full and unrestricted operation, to Ireland. But if the Irish Town Councils are to arrogate to themselves the same plenary jurisdiction which some of the English would usurp, we, who would look at these discussions, not as factious partizans, but as Church politicians and Christian politicians, must ask, with almost a foreboding shudder, what is likely to be the result to the best interests of religious education? Intimately connected with the question of the Established Church and the Protestant religion in Ireland, is the question of the Municipal Corporations. But here again, and to an especial degree, many a senator must have been fettered in the debate by his own praises of the virtue of Centralization, the greater efficacy and strength of one supreme independent central authority, over a multitude of local and petty tribunals. We are not going to argue the point, or to dogmatize upon it in either way. But thus it is. Men are more fond than ever of calling into life and action some pregnant and gigantic principle, without duly regarding, in a large and profound spirit, its proper mode and extent of application, or its general relations with the whole economy of man, as a political, social, and individual being. They introduce, with almost as much precipitancy as if the science of legislation were a game of hap-hazard, the most potent engine for the immediate purpose of a party: they prate about central government as opposed to local government, or self-government as opposed to government by metropolitan boards and commissions; but when their rash logic—or rather rhetoric—is turned against themselves, they are bewildered and stand aghast; and, in the meantime, the entire philosophy of the question remains unappreciated, unadjusted, and misunderstood.

6. As to the sister-kingdom, the facts stated by the Bishop of Exeter, in his impressive, though dispassionate, speech in the House of Lords, at least afford matter for serious scrutiny and solemn apprehension. Nor do they afford it the less, because Ireland is so strange an anomaly, and presents such a mass of awful, bewildering, and almost insuperable embarrassment, that even in a question of education it stands out by itself, and cannot be placed in the same category with other countries. It becomes us, however, now to view the influence of the existing Board of Education

in connection with the Irish Corporation Bill, if it should pass without modification or curtailments.

7. In the midst of these projects and innovations, the Tax upon Knowledge, as it is called, is to be much diminished; or, in other words, the stamp-duty upon newspapers is to be reduced, from 4*d.* with discount, to 1*d.* without discount. The immediate consequence may be, that the power of that almost omnipotent engine, the daily press, will receive an indefinite augmentation; that new journals, specially addressed to the millions, will be started and multiplied; and that a flood of political literature, cheap, bold, clever, and attractive, but not, we fear, the most sound, or the most wholesome, or the most friendly to religion and the Church, will inundate and deluge the land. Yet we wish, let it be understood, merely to state what we anticipate at the moment, without stopping either to attack or vindicate the theory of the tax; either to acknowledge or deny, that ulterior and progressive good may far more than counterbalance any temporary inconvenience.

8. By way of consolatory circumstances, as a set-off against some of the mischiefs and dangers which have been mentioned, we may specify the improved Education of the Clergy, which the Church-Commissioners suggest as being in view: we may specify the extraordinary care now bestowed upon theological instruction, at our ancient universities, at our public schools, at the King's College, and those proprietary schools in connection with it, which certainly afford an excellent education, both general and classical, to many hundreds of youths, who might otherwise be debarred from it by considerations of expense: we may specify the admirable efforts of the National Society, together with the increased and increasing efficiency in the management of parish schools.

9. Still, when we would strike the general balance, there is a vast preponderance on the side of peril and difficulty. Let us *suppose* the upper classes safe; let us suppose them placed above the influence of that intellectual and moral contagion, which floats in the atmosphere of ignorance or false knowledge: let us *suppose*—and the supposition is even now a violent one—that adequate provision is made for the mental and spiritual wants of the humblest ranks among us:—still there remains the mighty chasm between—no, not chasm—but the mighty space filled up by a teeming population of busy myriads. *With* these myriads, and *for* these myriads, something must be done.

10. We must look also to *age* as well as *station*. The infant school may teach the infant; the parish school may teach the boy and the girl: excellent persons among both the clergy and

the laity, may even be at cost and at pains in instituting and conducting schools for adults ; but these exertions upon the mass of the people may be comparatively unavailing ; and youthful impressions will wear away, more especially if the population is suffered, still more and more, to outgrow the means of accommodation in places of worship belonging to the Established Church ; and the *men* of England will be gradually withdrawn from habits of loyalty and piety ; if almost all they hear, and almost all they read, goes to unteach and not confirm the lessons which they have imbibed in childhood, to alienate them from that civil and ecclesiastical constitution which was cherished by their forefathers.

11. We must look again to *sex* as well as age, If there are no schools—and we apprehend that there are few or none—which communicate a really good education to the lower division of the middle class, is the father of the family, or—what is even more important—the mother of the family likely to supply the deficiency ? Is she likely to impart at home that sound and solid instruction in religion which may compensate the imperfections, or remedy the mistakes, of the tuition at school ? In other words, how has that mother herself been instructed ? or what is the character of female education in this class of life ? We fear, that, as to the weightier points of religious and moral training, it is still lamentably flimsy and superficial. We fear, that there are causes, operating in this class of life, which, as they lead the men to a love of political and religious insubordination, bias the female mind towards enthusiasm and dissent.

12. If, then, we would survey the whole matter with a steady and unflinching gaze, we shall find it to stand thus. That class, which is nearly the most numerous, and quite the most influential in the community, is, in its religious and moral education, the most neglected. We say, nearly the most numerous, because we include a considerable proportion of agriculturists in the country, as also the great mass of tradesmen and shopkeepers in towns—from the 10*l.* to the 30*l.* or 40*l.*, perhaps the 50*l.* or 60*l.* householders. We say, quite the most influential, because the whole genius of modern legislation is to lodge in this class all real and actual power. From this class, or the class immediately above it, and immediately connected with it, the members of the town councils will generally be chosen. In this class, the Dissenters, and most particularly the Wesleyan Methodists, have their strongest hold. Thus the Dissenters will have a very large share in nominating the town councils ; and the town councils will have a disposition to forward the objects of the Dissenters ; and thus the entire system will have an evident tendency to

strengthen and perpetuate itself. In a word, there are many who think that the worst symptom of the times, the very canker in the frame of the state, is the radical spirit of the towns. We may well add, that the surest,—we do not say, the shortest—but the *surest* way to subvert the institutions of a country, is to revolutionize its education. Now, we must put these two elements together. Here is the radical spirit of the towns invested with power, and prepared to use that power in building up a new structure of education upon a revolutionary basis. And the impression will be chiefly made upon that order of the community, which we, as Churchmen, have been most ready to abandon, and which seceding anti-Churchmen and irreligious anti-Churchmen will do most to gain. For let us be assured, that many town-councils, and the politicians, who set their springs in motion, while they will be glad to estrange the lowest classes from the Church, aspire to carry their projects of instruction many steps higher than the level of those humble pupils, who are now taught in our national and parochial schools. Let us likewise be assured, that this system, if matured and not counteracted, will strike much deeper into our social fabric, than a thousand measures of general politics, about which senators make declamations, and pamphlets are written in shoals.

13. But already, months and even years ago, on more than one or two occasions, we have insisted upon the necessity of making strenuous efforts, as Christians and as Churchmen, for the education and subsequent instruction of the less opulent division of the middle ranks. Instead, therefore, of repeating our own opinions, *usque ad nauseam*, we rejoice to avail ourselves of the authority of Mr. Short, fully concurring in the general tenor of the extract which we subjoin, though not, perhaps, in every single observation.

“ In regarding the education of England, in a general point of view, it cannot be doubted that much improvement has taken place during the last thirty years. The Universities have greatly advanced as places of education ; many alterations for the better have been introduced into our public schools ; and, on the whole, the upper orders are more soundly instructed than they used to be. At the same time, a more than corresponding change has taken place among the working classes ; large and cheap schools have been formed on wise principles ; and those among the lower orders, who are still blind enough to send their children to private day-schools, feel the reflected influence of the spread of information in the improvement of even this species of seminary. The middle orders alone seem not to have benefited by the progress in which those above and below them have participated ; and while the energies of educated men have been freely applied to amend what is amiss among the poor, the children of the superior mechanic and of the

little tradesman have derived no corresponding advantage. If this state of things continues, the members of this class of society must necessarily be in danger of changing places with the mere labourer—an alteration by no means to be desired. While, at the same time, it is not an easy task to interfere with that which must be left to the choice of those who are most interested in its being carried on well.

“ The only apparent method by which this object could be fairly obtained, would probably be, if a class of schools were established in London and other large towns, which should be carried on upon the system of mutual instruction, but in which much higher branches of education might be introduced. The middle orders, for whose benefit they were intended, would soon discover the real advantage which they might derive from such establishments ; and the general education destined to supply their wants, would be exalted by the competition necessarily raised through such improved places of instruction. In such an undertaking, some species of scientific reading might be added to superior attainments in writing and arithmetic,—and a taste for English literature might be cultivated. The elements of the fine arts might also be taught ; and whatever is useful or ornamental in education might gradually be blended with that which is most valuable. Science, literature, and the fine arts, might be partially acquired, while sound moral government and sober Christianity were made the basis of that which is to exalt human nature above the lot of mere animal existence. If such an establishment were well carried on, it would lay the surest ground-work for the diffusion of real religion among that class of society which is daily becoming more influential.

“ The persons for the use of whose children such a school would be most beneficial, are those who, by their own exertions, are placed in comparative affluence, and who, feeling the want of education in themselves, and rightly estimating its value, would be willing to contribute materially towards the support of the undertaking. It can hardly be doubted, that a large number of scholars might be procured at such a school, who would willingly pay at the rate of one shilling a-week. Of course many expenses must be incurred before such an undertaking could be brought into operation ; but when it was once founded, and the expenditure of the buildings had been defrayed, it ought to support itself.

“ Boys of talent, who had distinguished themselves at any previous schools, might occasionally find friends who would furnish them with the means of finishing their education at such a seminary ; and the cause of general education would probably be thus most effectually promoted, by spreading through the kingdom a race of well-educated men.

“ The particular subjects on which instruction might be given in such a place, must depend on many circumstances, and be adapted to the wants of those who were admitted among the scholars. Such a course of education should always embrace instruction in religion ; history, particularly English history ; English literature ; geography, physical and statistical, for the sake of those who were to be engaged in engineering and trade ; drawing ; and, in mining and manufacturing districts, mechanics, and geology.

“Independently of the benefit to be reaped by those classes for whose immediate use it was intended, it might be hoped, that much contingent advantage would flow from its adoption. It might form a higher standard school, towards which, those destined for the use of the lower orders, might constantly be tending. It might form a seminary, from which, ultimately, many good schoolmasters might be derived; and, as the pay of such an establishment would generally exceed that of the masters’ on the National or British system, masters of talent might be continually preparing and improving themselves, in the hopes of obtaining a station of more dignity, as well as of greater emolument. As this experiment could not be made, even in a single case, without considerable expense, it could not be attempted, unless with the support of persons of wealth and influence.

“In looking at the practical results at which we have arrived from the previous discussion, it is obvious that they would lead us rather to promote and advance what is already established, than to recommend any new attempts, certainly not any great or decided alterations.

“The government will do well to continue, or, perhaps, enlarge, the grant of money which has been made during the last two years, for the purpose of assisting in building schools. Probably, some of the increased grant might, with advantage, be specially applied to defray the whole expense of erecting schools in poor and populous neighbourhoods, in London, or in manufacturing towns. A dense population, without any means of religious education, must exhibit to the patriot the appearance of a dangerous and alarming ulcer in the body politic. The Christian cannot help regarding it as a grievous sin, in this wealthy and enlightened country: but such cases, thank God, are not so very numerous, but that the government might easily step in, and offer to those who are most affected by the particular evil, the means of establishing the remedy, provided there were a hope of their being able to carry on the school when the commencement had been made; perhaps an additional annual grant of 5,000*l.*, for a few years, might answer the most urgent demands of this nature; and if such a sum were not adequate, it would only more strongly prove the urgency of the want.”—pp. 32—37.

It is one happy characteristic of Mr. Short, that he writes in a *hopeful* spirit. And we would say, with all deference to some, who are almost ready to despond, that the discouraging circumstances which surround us, instead of damping our zeal, or causing us to relax our exertions, should rather urge us to multiply and increase them. Must we quit the field at once, because opponents are prepared to enter it? Let us rather hold the Christian advantage which prior occupation always gives. We affirm, with as much sincerity and earnestness as the hottest projectors of the day, that a good and competent education must be communicated to the entire population. We affirm, that the work must be done—but not by them, nor after their fashion. We must do it ourselves.

14. Yet there are certainly some matters in which, for our own

individual parts, we should be glad to join even with dissenting and radical Town Councils. One of these is the plan of securing public walks and open spaces for recreation in densely-peopled towns. The physical and intellectual and moral evils accruing to the hundreds of thousands “in *populous cities pent*,” from the want of all unbought and simple pleasures, of healthy exercise for the body, and wholesome refreshment to the mind; from the absence of the cheerful sight and the sweet influences of nature; and from the consequent need of artificial dissipations and excitements, we do believe to be incalculable. We can never wonder at profligacy and disaffection, turbulence and discontent, amidst the smoke and the noise, the “*fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ* ;” the clashing din of half-stifled myriads, where God’s work is shut out by man’s; where there is every thing to breathe of this world, and almost nothing to remind us of our Creator. Would that every populous town could be circled round by a green girdle of parks or fields, sacred from brick and mortar !

15. But these notions, which we hold to be philosophy, many will deem fantasies. We, therefore return to Mr. Short, and cite with pleasure the conclusion of his pamphlet.

“It is absolutely necessary that National Education should keep pace with the alterations which are arising in society, Individuals, according to their political opinions, may differ as to the quantity of power which should be granted to the several orders in the state; but no one can doubt that, if power has been entrusted to any description of persons, the experiment can only be safe when those persons shall receive an adequate education.

“Let us never forget that it is not mere knowledge, but Christianity, which can give permanent security to any country; and if that system of education which endeavours to impart sound principles, fail to attract the notice, and obtain the confidence, of those orders, among the people which it is destined to educate; if, from neglecting to extend the bounds of the knowledge which it communicates, or from any other reason, it does not satisfy the wishes of those who are anxious to diffuse general information among all orders, there will probably arise a danger that the people will overlook the religious instruction which they might have obtained, and seek extended information from quarters where the more important points are neglected.

“In this world of activity and exertion, nothing can stand still. That which is not advancing will soon find that it has fallen into the rear. General education is becoming, day by day, an object of more engrossing interest. The Christian patriot will thank God for this circumstance; and having used his utmost endeavours, that sound religious principles, and enlightened instruction, may advance hand in hand, he will humbly pray for God’s blessing on his exertions, and trust the event to that Power, which, while it has directed human beings to employ the means, can alone grant the success.”—pp. 39, 40.

With all respect, then, be it said, that the members of the Church of England, and more especially the more exalted and influential members, must now, having first scanned the actual position of the empire, adapt themselves and their efforts to the new circumstances which have arisen; they must enter upon a bolder and more vigorous policy than they have hitherto pursued; they must act upon a larger and broader scale of operations; they must assume, we are unwilling to say a more aggressive, but a more active, and energetic, and conspicuous part. It is strange that we must tell Christians not to be too tranquil and too unostentatious, as if troublesomeness and ostentation could ever become virtues: but, in deed and in truth, they must “let their light *shine*,” or it may be extinguished. We are far from meaning that they should signalize themselves amidst the violence of controversy, and the strife of factions; but they must be *seen* to be foremost in all sacred enterprizes; and what they do in the cause of spiritual instruction, of religious and useful education, of moral knowledge and enlightenment, of general amelioration and philanthropy, they must have the *credit* of doing. From principle, rather than from indolence, they have been fond of remaining in the back ground. The times demand that they should step into the front. They must be prominent. They must take the lead. Otherwise, amidst the countless projects of the day, and the restless officiousness of busy men, their merits may be unregarded, their influence may die away, their very existence may be left out of the account. They must bestir themselves; proceeding, however, by matured and well-digested schemes; not by rash measures, which may help to dismember instead of strengthening the Church, and where the remedy would be almost as grievous as the distemper. They must bestir themselves chiefly in two ways,—

1st. By providing a directly religious instruction for the entire people, through the regular ministration of the Clergy in the parish or district, and in the consecrated place of worship, with an instrumentality commensurate with the exigencies of the land.

2ndly. By labouring that there may be a good solid education, founded upon religion, and not disconnected from the Church, for all who need it; but especially for the less wealthy members of the middle order, both male and female:—thus helping to do for *la petite bourgeoisie* what has already been done for themselves by *la bourgeoisie supérieure*.

These plans, separately so essential, have yet an intimate affinity: they will produce a tenfold benefit, if undertaken in conjunction; and, in fact, we can hardly hope that the due results will be attained, if there be only one without the other.

ART. XI.—1. *Pamphlets in Defence of the Oxford Usage of Subscription to the 39 Articles at Matriculation.* London and Oxford. 1835.

2. *Foundation of the Faith assailed in Oxford.* London. 1835.

3. *Elucidations of Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements.* Oxford. 1836.

4. *Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements, and the 39 Articles, compared.* Oxford. 1836.

THE above pamphlets are interesting at the present moment, as including all that has hitherto appeared to explain the repugnance which the University of Oxford has shown to receive Dr. Hampden as Regius Professor in Divinity. Of these, the two last contain the most explicit and detailed charges against that gentleman. Others, contained in the volume of pamphlets published in the last year, while entering more or less fully into the question of Dr. Hampden's heterodoxy, seem principally to aim at awakening men to the importance of protest and resistance, by connecting Dr. Hampden with other writers and events of this and past times, and showing that his system is no mere fancy of an individual, which may, in prudence, and should, in charity, be allowed to burn itself out quietly; but as one, and, perhaps, in the Church the most prominent, instance of a spirit, the tendencies of which are towards heresy on the highest points of our belief; a spirit which is prevalent in the world, and does not want able representatives within the Church;—which is not merely speculative, but is moving forwards by acts subversive (as the writers maintain) in the first instance, of the authority of the Church, and through it, of the Christian faith—which has shown itself in other ages, and against which it has, as often, been the especial duty of the Church, and, in particular, of the University, to use the utmost vigour and watchfulness.

The “Elucidations” profess solely to answer the main question, *what* Dr. Hampden's opinions are. They consist almost entirely of quotations from his works, arranged under different heads, and prefaced in each instance by a few remarks from the author to show the drift of his quotations. The second pamphlet, “Dr. Hampden's Statements compared with the 39 Articles,” a far more able and complete work, besides fulfilling its title, contains a preface in explanation of his views, and of the terms by which he conveys them, and a series of propositions drawn up from his writings under a variety of doctrinal heads.

From each of these publications it may be as well to make one or two extracts, not with a view of condemning Dr. Hampden, concerning whom we have recorded our judgment in our previous

numbers, but of illustrating, by the *primâ facie* appearance of his statements, the feelings of those who are now opposing him, and of accounting for the alarm and distress which have been so widely expressed on the news of his appointment.

The one great assumption on which Dr. Hampden founds his system, and which he applies successively to the various great doctrines held by the Church, is set forth with an instance of the reasoning by which he justifies it, in the following extract :—

“Strictly to speak, in the Scripture itself there are no doctrines. What we read there is matter of fact: either fact nakedly set forth as it occurred, or fact explained and elucidated by the light of inspiration cast upon it. . . . If any part of Scripture contains doctrinal statements, it will at any rate be supposed to be the Epistolary. But even this part, if accurately considered, will not be found an exception. . . . Let the inveterate idea, that the Epistles are the doctrinal portion of Scripture, be for awhile banished from the mind. . . . For my part, I cannot doubt but that the decision will be in favour of the *practical* character of them. The speculative theologian will, perhaps, answer, by adducing text after text, in which he will contend that some dogmatic truth . . . is asserted. But ‘what is the chaff to the wheat?’ I appeal from the logical criticism of the Apostles’ words to their apostolical spirit, from Paul philosophizing to Paul preaching, and entreating, and persuading.”—*Elucidations*, p. 7 ; *B. Lect.* 374.

He thus speaks of the orthodox doctrine of our Lord’s divine nature :—

“The confusion of principles of different sciences in these promiscuous enquiries is sufficiently apparent. But it was by such a philosophy that the orthodox language was settled, declaring the Son begotten, before all worlds, of *one substance* (sic) with the Father.” *El.* p. 20 ; *B. L.* p. 137.

“I propose to him [the Unitarian] to consider whether it is not *theological dogmatism*, and not *religious belief*, properly so called, which constitutes the principle of his dissent.”—*El.* p. 21 ; *Obs.* p. 19.

And thus of the Atonement :—

“Thus Christ is emphatically said to be our Atonement: not that we may attribute to God any change of purpose towards man by what Christ has done, but that *we may know* (sic) that we have passed from the death of sin to the life of righteousness by *Him*, and that our own hearts may not condemn us.”—*El.* p. 25 ; *B. L.* p. 251.

Again, of the Creeds :—

“The Apostles’ Creed states nothing but facts. The transition is immense from this to the scholastic speculations involved in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds.”—*El.* p. 9 ; *B. L.* p. 544.

The author of the Preface to the “Statements” affords us the following, out of a number of propositions drawn from his works :—

" 1. Religion lifts up the feelings, but does not give them solidity ; it needs philosophy as a counterpoise.—*M. Ph.* p. 102.

" 2. The opinion of the dependence of moral theory on religious truth is, in fact, a remnant of the philosophy of the middle ages. Moral science was absorbed in the vortex of theology.—*M. Ph.* p. 23.

" 3. The maxim, that the business of man is the imitation of God, is from Plato ; and is the commencement of the confusion of morals and theology.—*B. L.* p. 271.

" 4. Religion sums up all its practical energy in the one quality of Resignation ; Moral Philosophy provides for the duties belonging to the heirs of flesh and blood.—*M. Ph.* p. 103.

" 5. Religion is among the means which Moral Philosophy employs to improve the power of man.—*M. Ph.* p. 95.

" 6. The *religious principle* is not to be substituted for morality as the spring of action.

" 7. The idea of God, as the source of our moral powers, cannot be taken into account in the *science* of morals, without sacrificing its independence."—*M. Ph.* p. 76, 77.

Now whether these few passages are fairly or unfairly extracted is nothing to the present purpose. They are here produced to make persons feel, first, what is the kind of scepticism with which Dr. Hampden is charged ; and, secondly, that the *primâ facie* evidence for the truth of the charge is such, that persons, possessed of influence and interested in the maintenance of Christian truth, may not dismiss it without examination. For such persons the making up their minds on the evidence, scanty at best, which can be afforded by opponents, would be as useless an act as not making it up at all. Leaving, then, the question of Dr. Hampden's orthodoxy or heterodoxy, not indeed as a light matter, but as beside our present purpose, we will proceed to a short account of the present proceedings at Oxford, considered merely as a matter of fact.

The first and obvious objection made against Dr. Hampden's present opponents, is their long supineness after those publications which they now are so loud in denouncing. Not only, it is urged, have Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures, preached and published with the sanction of the University, remained with that sanction upon them for four years, but during that time the University, with the objectionable passages in her hands, has, through her authorities, confirmed it afresh by appointing Dr. Hampden to two distinct situations of trust, the Headship of St. Mary Hall and the Professorship of Moral Philosophy, and all this without a murmur of protest or disapproval. Now, however, when a Prime Minister follows up these University acts by placing Dr. Hampden in the Chair of Divinity, the appointment is stigmatized as subversive of the Christian faith, and the most extreme measures

are threatened in opposition to it. Surely, it is argued, either the present opposition is factious, or the aforesaid four years of more than acquiescence imply a most inexcusable desertion of duty. And it cannot, in candour, be denied that one of these alternatives the University of Oxford must, in a measure, adopt. *Which*, however, of the two, remains to be determined from the faithful examination of Dr. Hampden's writings. If, after such review, the opposition appears unfounded, there is of course no more to be said; but if, on the other hand, it appears that there is a cause, one practical lesson is taught us from the charge in which the University is entangled, that in such grave matters forbearance cannot be practised with impunity. More than this it will be difficult to conclude from the objection under consideration; unless indeed past carelessness in any matter obliges one to a deliberate neglect for the future. This is the utmost conclusion we arrive at to the prejudice of Oxford, *supposing* Dr. Hampden's writings do afford ground for animadversion. This, if proved, will be a fact unaffected by the past, and legitimately influencing the future conduct of the University.

However, it may be as well to show the full extent to which the charge of indolence does lie against its members. The Bampton Lectures, containing the first full statement of Dr. Hampden's views, were preached in 1832, and not printed till the following year. Now if any one will really consider the respite which the University had long enjoyed from any painful discussion, and the quiet improvement which, it may be said without boasting, was going on, he will easily understand the reluctance which was felt to exchange peaceful instruction for earnest and probably harsh controversy, or the unreadiness to believe that any thing very wrong could come from those who spoke from a place of authority. Dr. Hampden's hearers had naturally got into a habit of investing the Bampton Lecturer with a prescriptive orthodoxy; and their incaution arose in a measure from innocence and trust. Add to this the acknowledged difficulty of entering into Dr. Hampden's meaning, which diminished the number of his readers, disguised the character of his tenets from some, and enabled others, who much disliked their tone, yet to hope that they had but misapprehended him when he seemed to speak most objectionably. Add again, the impossibility, in times such as these, of any hearers remaining wholly uninfluenced by the spirit of the age, now so little sensitive on doctrinal error; or of preserving their ears at least from familiarity with the words, though their minds might be ever so pure, from the theories of modern rationalism. All these considerations certainly tend to explain the fact that, of the not very large number who heard or read Dr. Hampden's Lectures, most should have

overlooked or undervalued their evil tendencies; and therefore that the few remaining, (none, it may be, peculiarly called on to protest,) should have indulged themselves in the hope that no harm would come, and that it would be unnecessary for them to interrupt their own avocations and the peace of the place by a formal accusation of Dr. Hampden or a necessarily very serious controversy. This dream ought perhaps to have been dispelled by the nomination of Dr. Hampden to the Headship of St. Mary's Hall in 1833, and to the Professorship of Moral Philosophy the year after, and probably would have been so, if it had lain with Convocation to exercise any kind of influence in either appointment. Those members of Convocation, who felt more than suspicious of his writings, would then have been called on to examine and pronounce more decidedly upon them; Lord Grenville, however, as the Chancellor had the sole appointment to the first, and the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and one or two Heads of Houses to the second. Now a gratuitous interference to protest on theological grounds against an appointment to a Headship or a Chair not connected with Divinity, made by the authorities of the place, was a measure which the members of Convocation ought perhaps, after all, to have adopted; but it is not unnatural they should only murmur in secret and not act. However, an event happened in the autumn of 1834, which directed attention more directly on Dr. Hampden's opinions. In consequence of the protestations made by the bulk of the University in the early part of the year against the forcible intrusion of Dissenters among them, Dr. Hampden published a pamphlet in their favour, called "*Observations on Dissent*," with the merits of which our readers have been long since acquainted. In it the statements of his Bampton Lectures were made intelligible; and a sensation at once followed this naked and practical avowal of them. A controversy ensued, though it was almost one-sided, no one venturing absolutely to undertake Dr. Hampden's defence. Even the writer who appeared most in connection with him on this question, avowed that he considered "some" of his opinions concerning "*Tests, Creeds and Articles*, dangerous and unsound."* Other writers, it need hardly be said, pronounced more unqualified sentences, some of them with an earnestness which, though at the time offensive to many temperate persons, yet seems to have had its effect in awakening University men to their position, and convincing even those who still waited to make up their minds that the question was not a trifling one.

In order to show the feeling existing on the subject many

* Questions respectfully addressed, &c. p. 27.

months before the present unhappy disturbance, we quote a passage from the pamphlet entitled "*Foundations of the Faith.*"

"Surely this pamphlet alone [Dr. Hampden's] considered in connexion with all the circumstances of the case, sufficiently warrants my assertion, that the foundation of the faith is at present assailed in Oxford. I do not indeed accuse Dr. Hampden or his supporters of any unequivocal assertion of doctrines directly Socinian; but if we refer to history we shall find that, I fear, in many respects, he goes far beyond the errors of Socinus and Crellius. These heretics, at least, believed something definite and positive; but he appears to object to all statements of doctrines of whatever kind, if they be regarded as expressing any thing of intrinsic truth; and by representing the points of difference as trifling, he certainly paves the way for others to formal Socinianism, however he may himself escape it."—pp. 14, 15.

Even this passage is quite sufficient to show, that the present opposition to Dr. Hampden is not got up on the moment merely from political motives. So the question stood, when he was appointed Regius Professor. Every one was at length compelled to make up his mind and act; and certainly the more Dr. Hampden's opinions have been examined, the stronger and more general hitherto has the feeling become of their destructive tendency, and of the duty of defending his future scholars from them, and disavowing them on the part of the university. We state this as a matter of fact, whatever be the conclusion deducible from it: this feeling gave rise to the following proceedings. The first step to be taken was tolerably clear; at once, upon the report of his appointment, to petition the king either as a body, or, if that could not be done, as individuals, not to confirm it. When the first of these proposals was negatived in the board of heads of houses, (it is said by Dr. Hampden's casting vote,) a petition was agreed on by the residents of the university as individuals. We give it as it appeared in the papers.

"We, the undersigned, beg to approach your Majesty with every sentiment of loyal and devoted affection, and to acknowledge with thankfulness the benefit which we have derived from the appointments made by your Majesty's predecessors, to the important office of your Majesty's professor of divinity in this university.

"We would anxiously disclaim all wish to interfere with the exercise of this prerogative, which has been of so great benefit to our ancestors and recently to ourselves. We would, however, humbly submit that those who, as has been reported to us, have recommended to your Majesty Dr. Hampden, Principal of St. Mary Hall, for this important office, cannot be sufficiently acquainted with the theological character of the individual whom they have recommended.

"We regret to say, that from the statements of his opinions put forth in his published works, we should apprehend the most disastrous

consequences to the soundness of the faith of those whom he would have to educate for the sacred ministry of the Church, and to the Church itself.

“ We beg also to submit to your Majesty, that it is very essential to the discharge of the duties of the regius professor of divinity, that he should possess the full confidence of the several persons engaged or interested in the education of young men in this place, which confidence we unhappily cannot repose in Dr. Hampden.

“ We would humbly implore your Majesty to be pleased graciously to listen to such representations as may be laid before you by the spiritual heads of our Church, some of whom have themselves discharged the office of regius professor of divinity. We shall rely most confidently upon your Majesty’s known attachment to the Church and to the interests of religion, that your Majesty will appoint a fit person for this weighty office, and we shall await cheerfully your Majesty’s decision in a matter which so deeply concerns the spiritual and eternal interests of so many of your Majesty’s subjects.”

This petition received 71 signatures, 40 being those of persons engaged in tuition, and was transmitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the request that he would present it to the King. In spite of this attempt, however, it was understood that the appointment would be persevered in; and then it remained for the University to do what could be done of its own proper authority, to counteract its evils. Two things seemed desirable: first, to preserve pure the Religious Education of the place, particularly that of the future clergy; next, to oppose the authority of the University to those particular dangerous opinions, which (it must be confessed) had hitherto, from the mode of their publication, had its tacit recommendation. The first was to be accomplished by transferring the education to other hands; the second, by formally condemning the obnoxious tenets. The latter of these, though recommended equally with the former by the resident masters, has not yet been attempted by the University itself, and certainly gives rise to difficult questions which take some time to solve. It is objected against any authoritative condemnation of the obnoxious works, that such an act might lead to serious consequences as regarded the temporalities of Dr. Hampden’s situation; and that it is very undesirable to mix up questions of orthodoxy with questions of income. And further, the University has not exerted its judicial power for many years, and cannot now revive it without interfering with existing usages and establishments. Certainly the Church and University are not what they were; the prerogatives of religion are obsolete; and the functions it once exercised are portioned among other powers of the state. It may be argued that, as, in other things, it has abandoned its claims, so in this too it cannot revive them without hazarding a commotion through the country; that the less its *de facto* powers,

the less it should still demand; that its safety in times like these, when the spirit of the age is against it, is to venture on still less than what that spirit permits; that it once taxed its clergy, who are now reduced to the ranks of the laity; it once directed missions, which have now been taken up by laymen and dissenters; it once had power over its own dignities, which are now in the power of aliens or enemies; it once had the care of the poor, which now are transferred to a board of civil commissioners; it once was censor morum, but has been now succeeded by the *Times*, *Record*, and other newspapers. In short, the Establishment is in good measure dead, and its life so far has passed into worms and creeping things. To revive then what once was, is but to act on a dangerous theory; and even to advocate it, is to place all that is dear to us, our possessions and our privileges, on the brink of a precipice. Lastly, it has been said that the object of an authoritative censure on Dr. Hampden would be indirectly, and therefore sufficiently, obtained by the former of measures specified, a restraint upon his teaching. There is great force in all this reasoning, and we should not be surprised if it prevailed with the University. Nor will we interfere to detail the arguments used on the other side, except to say thus much, that the object of a *direct* censure on Dr. Hampden's works is something which no indirect censure will reach,—viz. the guarding the religious public generally against specific false statements of doctrine which occur in the publications in question, and which are, or are likely to be, very popular at this time. There is a remarkable and undesigned coincidence in important points between Dr. Hampden's and Mr. Jacob Abbott's opinions; and considering how extensively mischievous the latter are, there is a peculiar fitness in seizing the first instance of their being advocated from a place of authority to protest against them. Or rather it should be considered as the first formal introduction into this country of a school, whether of philosophy or heresy (as it will variously be viewed), which has effected in Germany almost an entire revolution of the peculiar religious system settled at the Reformation. This serious view of the matter is taken by the Committee of Members of Convocation in the Report of March 5, which runs as follows:

“After a most careful and systematic research,” they say, “they intreat you to bear in mind, that the present controversy is not so much concerned with an individual or a book, or even an ordinary system of false doctrine, as with a *principle*; which (after corrupting all soundness of Christianity in other countries) has at length appeared among us, and *for the first time been invested with authority within the University of Oxford*. Far as they are from imputing to its maintainer personally those unchristian doctrines, with which it is closely connected, or

the consequences inevitably flowing from it, they cannot forget, that the poison of unbelief (now working so deeply in another country) was first disseminated by a man piously educated (Semler), and who lived to deplore most deeply the effects of his successful rashness."

Another material consideration in behalf of a formal judgment is this—that, *till then*, the continued and combined attack of individuals upon Dr. Hampden seems like *persecution*, and will certainly be so accounted by a number of persons. And this feeling, if it grow, may in time cause a reaction (whether in itself right or wrong) in his favour, to which the English character is especially liable, from its very generosity and sense of justice. These, and the like arguments are in circulation. Meanwhile, dismissing the question, we will but observe, that it is considered two ways lie open to the University, should it wish to condemn Dr. Hampden's works; according as it might choose to proceed, by statute or by precedent. If by statute, the Vice-Chancellor will appoint six Doctors, with whom he will formally examine and pronounce upon the works; and a condemnation would issue in Dr. Hampden's being suspended from the office of preaching. If by precedent, the matter will be brought before Convocation, in which all members of the University have votes who have taken their M. A. degree. And so strong is the feeling of the bulk of the University upon the subject, there is no doubt, that, were the matter brought before Convocation, Dr. Hampden would fare no better than those who have advanced novelties of doctrine in former times.

It remains, in a few words, to state what has actually been done in this distressing business. A Convocation was holden on the 22d of last month, in order to secure, as far as might be, the former of the two objects abovementioned, viz. to guard against the injuries which it was feared that a professor of Dr. Hampden's opinions would inflict on the candidates for holy orders. The first idea had been to address a letter from the University to the Archbishops and Bishops, begging them to allow certificates of attendance on the Margaret Professor's lectures to stand as one of the necessary papers for ordination, in place of the usual attendance on those of the Regius Professor; but, on mature consideration, it was abandoned. Instead of it, it was proposed to pass a statute, suspending the professor from his office of choosing University preachers, and of judging of sermons alleged to be heretical; an infliction, slight in itself, but all-important as implying the deliberate judgment of the University on the matter in dispute. Such it was understood to be by persons high in the state; and if we may trust common rumour, the influence of government was freely promised in favour of its professor. On the

other hand, the resident members of the University were not idle. They put forward a declaration signed by between seventy and eighty names, and sent it about the country as a sort of rallying standard to all who cared for the ancient religion. We only allow ourselves to quote the last words :—

“ Having refrained from any public expression of our opinions upon the nature and tendency of Dr. Hampden's publications, till the last moment that forbearance was compatible with our duty to the Church and the University, we now solemnly protest against principles, which impugn and injure the Word of God as a revealed rule of faith and practice, in its sense and use, its power and perfection, and which destroy the authority of the Church as a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ.

“ And we hereby declare our stedfast resolution to oppose, under the blessing of Almighty God, the spread of that false philosophy to which those principles may be traced; a philosophy, which in other countries has poisoned the very fountains of religious truth, which for a long time reduced Protestantism, in its original seat, almost to an empty name, and changed the religion of the Cross into the theology of Deism.”

Thus matters stood, when, a day or two before the expected Convocation, the Proctors announced their intention of exercising their extraordinary prerogative of putting a veto on the proposed measure. What the occasions may be which justify such an exertion of power, it is difficult to determine: but that they are rare and critical, we are justified in pronouncing on no less an authority than the present dispassionate Bishop of Llandaff. Many years since he was accused of inconsistency in not putting his veto, when Proctor, on the University anti-catholic petition, he being personally opposed to it; he replied as follows—

“ It would have been indecent and arrogant in the extreme, and an unprincipled perversion of power lodged in our hands for very different purposes. . . . For the Proctors to say of themselves to the whole University assembled in Convocation, ‘ You shall not address, or you shall not petition,’ appears to me deserving of every epithet I have used, and of still stronger epithets, if stronger can be found.”

What made the exercise of this extraordinary prerogative still more remarkable was, that they did not signify their determination to use it, till so late a date that it was impossible, in many instances, to recall the notices summoning the non-residents to Oxford. In consequence between 200 and 300 made their appearance, some from as far as Yorkshire, to no purpose; except to pledge themselves, that, both in Oxford and in their respective neighbourhoods, they would exert themselves to the utmost in their sacred career. And thus the matter rests at present.

ART. XII.—1. *Quarterly Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 67, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

2. *Rejected Passages from Melmoth's "Great Importance of a Christian Life Considered:" intended as a Companion to the Christian Knowledge Society's New Edition, and as a Manual of Reference for its Members.* London. 1836. pp. 12.

It is not without a long pause of deliberation and uncertainty that we have resolved to make a few observations upon the actual state of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The inconveniences incident to this course have not escaped us. If all parties would be silent, we should say at once, that silence was better. But if one party *will* speak, the other *must*; and if that party is to speak at all, it is well to speak before the public ear is poisoned,—before the minds of clergy and laity are so filled with *ex parte* statements, as to become closed against the admittance of truth. If the case is urged perpetually on the one side with energy and perseverance; if attacks, argumentative and declamatory, appear week after week in almost every kind and shape of publication; but, on the other side, only a few faint words are uttered, and scarcely heard; we are convinced that a just sentence will not be the issue. Here, however, as in other cases, we shall not rush, although we may at length be goaded, into controversy: we write with pain and reluctance, although we write in self-defence; and most cheerfully shall we drop our arms at the very first instant that the *movement party* in the Society can be induced to discontinue their aggressions.

There are now lying before us papers relating to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge sufficient to fill a volume. Yet, from the single wish of avoiding needless irritation, we still refrain from making much use of them. We are content to give *this* announcement, without having either desire or fear that we may be challenged to do more; namely, that if sound religion is precious to us; if the principles of reason and equity are to avail with us; if the views in which a society was originally formed are elements to be taken into the account; if ancient usage and long prescription are not to be as a jest and a bye-word, we are *able* to bring forward one of the most complete, the most convincing, the most overwhelming, the most demolishing arguments, that ever was presented to any minds capable of understanding consecutive propositions, or of proceeding from obvious premises to undeniable conclusions. We could undertake to prove, that, while the abstract merits of the question as to the now disputed points of theology are in our favour, there are other and antecedent considerations, *quite independent of these abstract merits*,

which it were sheer infatuation and treachery to overlook. We could undertake to prove, from the spoken, and written, and printed admissions of our opponents themselves, that the history, the constitution, the first transactions of this Society, the opinions of the framers who have founded it, and the benefactors who have enriched it, are all arrayed against them. We could undertake to demonstrate, again, that the managers of the Society have been *pledged*, within the last two years, not to make or admit any essential change in the theological character of its publications. We could undertake to demonstrate, that the antagonist parties, if antagonist parties there be, in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, are not to be placed on the same level; unless they who would stand upon the old paths, and administer the affairs and the funds in accordance with the primitive design and the usual course, are to be regarded in merely the same light with those whose every step is a step towards innovation. We could undertake to demonstrate, that the aggressive measures have been, and are, wholly and solely, on one side; and thence to infer that *they* have no right to talk of concord and harmony, who have been themselves the main, the only, causes of commotion and dissension; unless, indeed, the besiegers are entitled to say to the besieged, and the invaders to the defenders of a country, "just give us up your citadel, just resign to us your land, and the blessings of peace shall be restored at once and without difficulty." In a word, we could undertake to prove a series of sweeping vituperations and perpetual attacks, which might startle some in the torpor of their inadvertence, and arouse others from the slumbers of their indifference, and inspire others, again, with a more strenuous and inflexible determination to resist all further encroachments, at whatever hazards and at whatever sacrifice.

But we now pause upon the threshold. We trust that the dignitaries of the Church, and the most exalted members of the Laity, will interpose with a voice far more authoritative than our individual, though earnest, remonstrances. Yet, we venture to repeat, the disputes must be set at rest. They can best be set at rest by promptitude and vigour of interference on the part of those to whom even presumption must bow, and before whom even turbulence must be silent. But unless something immediate be done, there are men, we know well, whom no considerations upon earth will prevent from bringing matters to a decisive issue. They feel that the *most* important question which is now agitated within the Church, is the question which relates to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: they feel, too, that the most fatal blow, which can be inflicted upon orthodox Churchmanship, will be the transfer of that Society from the hands of wisdom and

moderation into the hands of enthusiasm and violence,—its character altered,—its original principles disregarded as a tale that is told,—its proceedings become the opprobrium of Church and Clergy,—and the funds diverted to purposes other than those which the donors had in view. They are *prepared to act* ; and yet *anxious not to act*, unless there be a stern, cogent, perceptible and imperative necessity. Actuated by similar motives, *we*, in our humble capacity, now turn aside from urging the topics which we have suggested,—prepared, however, to urge them home, resolutely, firmly, but without a shadow of personal ill-will, if a struggle become indispensable to the restoration of tranquillity.

In the same spirit we forbear to notice what has been done in the case of *Death-Bed Scenes*, for instance, or to dwell at any length upon some other subjects equally sore. Indeed, concerning the mutilation of some of the *oldest* tracts upon the society's list, we could not say one word without pain; and happily we are spared the necessity of saying much. The episcopal referees have evinced a decided disinclination to their share in the sacrifice : and by the members of the Tract Committee, the practice, if not the right, of such revision and alteration, is likely to be abandoned. Verily, we always felt from the beginning, that the imperfect manner in which, at best or at worst, the business would be performed, would not give full satisfaction to any party, or to any fragment of any party. Let us take the case of Mr. Melmoth. Here is a work written by a layman : a work, not intended as a body of divinity, not intended as a treatise of speculative theology, systematic and complete ; but as a practical exhortation upon the practical part of religion. But is it to be supposed, we ask, that, in every single tract, every single tenet of theology is to be expounded, more than it is in every single chapter of the word of God ? Or is it altogether prejudicial that Scriptural terms should sometimes be translated, as it were, into the phraseology of the current literature, and the common language of moral philosophy ? We should answer both questions in the negative. Yet how apparent is the *animus* with which the omissions and alterations are made ! Their whole drift and spirit consists in a shrinking abhorrence of any expressions such as “ *a good life* ;” the “ *satisfactions*” of virtuous conduct ; or the “ *complacency*” arising from the “ *well-spent*” hours of existence. “ The expression,” says the pious gatherer of the exiled and outcast passages, “ the expression, a ‘ *good life*,’ is uniformly rejected ; so also, a *well-spent life*.” A *good conscience*, too, is a phrase that gives offence. In short, there seems a sensitive dislike of the notion, that the performance of moral duties is valuable “ *for its own sake* ;” or that the reflections of a death-bed ought to be poignant or consolatory,

in proportion as men have lived well or ill; so that it *may* soon be held impossible, that a man should look back with pleasure upon his good works, without boasting of them, or pretending to be *justified* by their “merit;” so that soon it *may* be deemed unevangelical to talk of “morality,” and unchristian to talk of *virtue*; and the common terms of moral duty must be expunged from the vocabulary of a believer.—This is sorry theology; and yet, in the present instance, although it has extended its expurgations to the Catechism and the Liturgy, it is not carried, according to its own principles, half far enough. Much has it omitted to omit; nor are even all its substitutions unexceptionable, or all its purifications pure. In sober truth, when the edict for excision went forth, the knife, we think, ought, in consistency, to have been applied to the title-page—“*The importance of a religious life:*”—“*the great importance of a Christian life considered!*”—This ought hardly to have been left, if the tendency of the alterations is towards the tenets of enthusiasts who would argue that a Christian *life* is of no importance at all. Or what is *gained*, upon this system, by changing “our sincere obedience to God’s commandments will certainly be rewarded” into “a truly religious life will certainly be rewarded?” Is it not clear, that either too much has been done, or too little? But, imagining, as we well can, the extreme delicacy, and difficulty, and disagreeableness of the task imposed on the Committee, we will not enter into an invidious dissection of the extent to which it has been executed, either as to Melmoth’s Christian Life, or as to the “Pious Parishioner Instructed.” Our objection lies wider than any particular details. It goes the whole length of the principle. We hold that for the successors in a society to alter and abridge, in such a way that alteration and abridgment imply reprehension, the work of one of the founders, is a thing not merely injudicious, but unconstitutional. If tracts, in the course of time, slide into disfavour on any *literary* account; if they have not pith enough, or briskness enough, or attractiveness enough, for the march of the age, let them at least die a natural death; let them fall, gently and decently, into the calm sleep of oblivion: but let them not be lopped, and maimed, and mangled, while, perhaps, there is yet a demand for them, in order to suit them to a modern taste, which, after all, will not be satisfied: let them not be immolated by friends as a propitiatory sacrifice to antagonists.

In venturing these free remarks, we have no fear that we shall wound the feelings of the Tract Committee. They will rather thank us, we believe, for helping to rid them fairly of an irksome employment, which they have always undertaken with reluctance. They may be almost ready to lament with us those “expurgating

processes," which, as Milton said of them, "rake through the howels of many an old good author, with a violation worse than any that could be offered to his tomb."

Again, still wishing for peace, we shall pass lightly over the late proceedings of the Society; the motions which have been made; the reports which have been published in a newspaper; and the discussions to which those reports have given rise. It is impossible, however, for us to do our duty, without remarking, that, although the affairs of the Society are as to their external aspect most flourishing, nevertheless, dispassionate observers are compelled to regard its position with misgiving and uneasiness;—while some are almost ready to turn away their thoughts from it in distaste or despair. They see, that there is something wrong, something uncomfortable; something, which, unless it be checked in time, will proceed from discord to disunion; and can only terminate, either in the dismemberment of the Society, or in the utter subversion of its original principles.

For let us look at the Society in this point of view. Let us look at the present composition of the monthly meetings. The time has been—oh, surely it has not passed away for ever—when, at the meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the most dignified, and experienced, and influential members of the Church, both among the clergy and the laity, took the principal share: and when the proper business of the Society was conducted with the most quiet, orderly, and decorous regularity. At the meetings in the spring, some at least among our prelates were almost sure to attend. How do matters stand *now*? The Bishop of London, alone and unsupported, has taken the chair once or twice since the recess. But at the last two meetings—those, namely, in February and March,—not a single Bishop has been present; and at the last—although, happily, it is true, a very able and excellent man presided,—there was not even an archdeacon. And yet the room was full, thronged, crammed: and yet the points to be discussed were of the utmost importance. But the prelates—and is this wonderful?—have been unwilling to subject themselves to vexation and annoyance; or to mix themselves up with ebullitions of intemperance and spleen, which might almost disgrace a well-regulated debating club. And the proof is, that, at the very time of their absence from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, almost all the bishops must have been in the immediate neighbourhood, from having come up to discharge their parliamentary duties; and that many of them *did* attend other charitable and religious meetings. Moreover, how many other men have withdrawn themselves, whom the Society has every reason to miss and regret. The oldest, the staunchest,

the most tried members,—we might well ask, “*where are they?*” and echo might answer “*where,*” but that the echoes of the Society’s room have something else to do, and quite other sounds to reverberate. These men have been estranged by the coldness with which their views have been regarded; or they have been scared away by the organized efforts which connect themselves with the pressure from without and the articles in a newspaper. And are not these things significant? Do they convey no warning? Have they no voice? Or, is it fit that the house of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Lincoln’s-Inn Fields should be converted into a stage, where the religious adventurer is to make his *début*, and where controversy of the most useless and unmitigated kind, is to hold its carnival?

Yet such must the case be, unless order is enforced, irregularities discountenanced, and frivolous, irrelevant, time-consuming motions stopped at the outset, when they would interpose their noisy interruptions between the Society and its actual business. Our quarrel, in fact, with the gentlemen, who make them, is, let it be well understood, not so much with the opinions, which they hold, as with the line of action, which they think proper to pursue. We complain, not so much of the extravagant divinity, as of the utter anarchy, which they are strenuous to introduce. We do not think that they will improve the theology of the association: we are quite sure that they will reduce to a perfect chaos all that it has hitherto possessed of good order or regular government. If no curb is put into their mouths, and no check upon their proceedings, they will render the right administration of its affairs, and the tranquil discharge of its legitimate business, a thing impossible. And why? Because, however well intentioned, they are evidently weak and ill-informed: because they have entered the society with views the most unphilosophical and the most unsound; because as to the science and *rationale* of societies in general, they know literally nothing; and because, as to this society in particular, they have never inquired into its history, or studied its constitution, or acquainted themselves with its usages, or troubled their brains about its true functions and purposes, and the place which properly belongs to it in the division of intellectual and spiritual labour. By some process, quite mysterious and inscrutable to our minds, they have learnt to regard it as a theatre in which they may exhibit themselves and their oratory *ad libitum*, and vent their crudities or half-concocted speculations without restriction or reserve: as a kind of ecclesiastical parliament, where debates are to be held upon the whole multitude of matters in which the Church is interested,—all its doctrines, and all its polity—all that agitates it within, and all that affects it from without: in a word,

as an irregular and unauthorized *Convocation*, composed both of clergy and laity, contriving to include all the inconveniences of the *Convocations*, which have been laid aside, and leave out all the advantages;—having more than all the tumult, and not one particle of the authority.

Such men, it is a logical, we fear, though not very consolatory conclusion, have neither “*the disposition to preserve*,” nor “*the ability to improve*”—those two qualifications, which, taken together, are, as a great statesman has said, “the standard of practical wisdom;—but without which,” he adds, “*every* thing else is vulgar in the conception, perilous in the execution.”

Moreover, we would contend, that, before alterations of doctrine, or *any fundamental* alterations, are admitted, the sense of the whole Society at large should be fairly taken; the widest and most effectual means should be adopted for collecting the suffrages of the subscribers in the country. Full opportunity, at least, should be allowed them for declaring their sentiments.

For, in the first place, it is hardly just that the mere, and perhaps accidental, majority at a Board in the metropolis should, by their comparative paucity of numbers, determine changes so momentous. It is hardly just that the small fraction of 100 or 200 should bind the vast aggregate of 15,000 or 16,000. It is hardly just that the theology of a long-established and influential body should depend upon the members who happen to be collected in a room which is not capable of holding more than 400 persons, and in which the rest would be precluded, by an architectural impossibility, from expressing their opinions, even if they had come up from a distance for that very purpose.

Besides, there is this second reason, why the country members should not be implicitly bound by the Clergy of the capital, or any other large town. In any particular diocese there may prevail a particular style of divinity; and, in cities or large towns, such as Bath, Cheltenham, Liverpool, Portsmouth, and, perhaps, London above all, the theological temperature is affected by many local circumstances. The thermometer, we will not say, of piety, —but of religious excitement,—ranges higher than in more quiet neighbourhoods. The multitude of lectureships and lecturers,—of proprietary chapels, and ministers attached to them,—the stimulants, which force enthusiasm as in a hot-bed,—the peculiar character of the religious newspapers, and floating religious publications,—the currency of religious gossip,—the warm colouring and the gorgeous drapery with which Christianity is invested,—the empassioned delivery, and the other devices of attractiveness, which are engendered by the love of popularity, and fed by its attainment,—all these things, so different from the more sober

ministrations of rural districts, may render the theory and practice of Christian devotion and Christian knowledge, in a capital or populous town, the types of merely partial and temporary, not of endemic and universal, feelings. Thus the religious temper of a city may be by no means the best criterion of the religious temper of a kingdom. We would even allege, by way of example, that, as far as our experience goes, the religious tone of the *metropolis*, and of the *Universities*, is, in many respects, widely distinct; however recently they who minister to London Congregations may have been imported from Oxford or Cambridge. Hence it follows, that, although they who are on the spot must, from that very circumstance, have more to do with *the details* of a society than those who are at a distance from head-quarters, still they must not be allowed to usurp an exclusive jurisdiction. And, if they who, from their leisure, or from their habits and pursuits, can be always forthcoming on the first Tuesday in a month, may elect themselves as delegates and plenipotentiaries empowered in all points to fetter all the absent,—whether tied to their secular pursuits,—or immersed in parochial engagements,—an entire society may be *surprised* into measures which it could not calmly contemplate without apprehension and regret. The introduction of *essential* changes should be the consequence of a verdict of a graver—more deliberate—more general—more formal—more authoritative kind. Nor, in point of fact, are the monthly meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge of the same character as the annual meetings of other societies, where matters are arranged as by chosen deputies and representatives from a whole association.

On similar grounds, we are inclined to doubt, as we have hinted at an earlier stage of these remarks, whether any Standing Committee, or any Tract Committee, is competent of itself to *legislate anew* on points which involve the constitution of a society, or are really vital to its highest interests. The province of committees is rather to manage its routine business, and administer its concerns, *pro re natâ*, in conformity with the standing rules and the established usages. They cannot, without danger, be endowed with any plenary authority for alteration and re-construction.

For this reason, we have always looked upon societies in general,—and, especially, old societies, where the members are so numerous, that they cannot conveniently meet together to consider the primary laws,—as institutions, in which, above all others, fixed and ascertained principles are of indispensable necessity. When once the spirit of innovation and fluctuation pervades them, from that period the difficulties of their direction and government become almost insuperable: the whole machine is disordered,—the

whole frame is out of joint,—and it even becomes a question in what hands the prerogative of organic re-adjustment is vested and lodged. Administrative changes may be requisite;—adaptation to the times may be made in matters which are fairly progressive;—and expansion may be given in matters which are fairly expansive;—an enlarged superstructure may be reared upon the old foundations, and in character with the rest of the edifice:—but, for the rest, stability,—we emphatically repeat, *stability*, uniformity, and certainty of operations, are the real elements of enduring prosperity and usefulness, without which no society can flourish or be secure: and change,—which shakes confidence, and banishes repose, and engenders strife,—change is an evil in itself which can only be counterbalanced by some vast, palpable, immediate, indisputable benefit, recognized at once by at least two-thirds of the whole number of members who compose the association.

Yet, although there may be an earnest desire to preserve the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge stable as to those divine verities which are immutable in themselves, there has been *no* tendency to lethargy or stagnation as to those matters which march onward with the onward march of mankind. The just distinction has been drawn between innovations in religion, which are almost always error; and adaptation to improvements in human science, which is the child of wisdom. Let one preposterous accusation, therefore, fall to the ground. Has this Society been managed of late years upon narrow principles? Rather, what society has shown itself so capable of enlargement and advance? What society has been so pliant and ductile to the intellectual wants and capabilities of the nation? And so let another absurd charge be driven out of court. Is there need that the rays of public scrutiny and public opinion should penetrate the gloom of this Society? Rather, what society is to be found of which the proceedings are so open, and the constitution so democratical? With its monthly meetings,—with its annual, and then quarterly, and now, we suppose, monthly reports,—what society throws itself so fairly before the face of day?

One misfortune, however, is, that licentious proceedings too often lead to an almost necessary invasion of just liberty. Thus it may be in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Restrictions may be imposed upon all from the indiscretions and intractability of a few. Something, as we have said, must and will be done. The present course of things, which has been changed from a quiet flow to a turbid torrent, must be arrested. Already the country members are astonished and alarmed. We know a most respectable clergyman who happened to attend one

of the late meetings in London, and who could scarcely find words to express his surprise and annoyance. He thought that we were *disputation-mad*, and that a *motion-mania* was upon us. And he went back, earnestly wishing us a good deliverance, and heartily congratulating himself that they managed things better in the country. Some, again, desire to send up deputations expressive of their opinions. Others would claim to vote by proxy. Others propose that there should be 200 incorporated members, in whom the whole power of the Society should rest. Every man has his own project, as usually happens, when an institution is tossed about and unsettled. Even in the metropolis, how many and how different schemes are proposed! Some would change the order of business; some would forbid notes; some would admit regular reporters; some would have meetings only once or twice a year, at which, of course, an established routine of proceedings would be necessary, and no irregular speeches or motions could be permitted. The one only point, in which all seem to concur—and we hold it to be the fullest justification of our strictures—is, that *things cannot remain exactly as they are*.

Such is the present and visible effect of those discords, and divisions, and differences, which may be, or may not be, real and formidable. For ourselves, we are quite ready to take whichever alternative may be presented. Either there is a schism in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, or there is none. If there is a schism, who has made it? If there is no schism, why is there so much noise? The points in dispute are either important, or unimportant. If they are unimportant, why is this heat of controversy engendered, why is this mass of disquietude called into life, on account of matters that are insignificant and trivial? If they are important, on what principles of reasoning is it supposed that the old and established party is to give way? If they are so important as some persons declare, if they actually involve the highest interests of Protestantism, and even the essence and foundation of Christian truth, then it is quite evident, that, sooner or later, there must be an open rupture, a formal struggle for the possession of the Society, and the application of its influence and its funds. But, really, are gentlemen who have just gained an uncertain footing on the premises to affect surprise that the ancient occupiers will not quietly and patiently receive notice to quit, but presume to render necessary the process of ejection?

Yet we must question, whether it is either safe, or wise, to pretend that there are no differences, while other persons are pushing their own views with the utmost vigour, upon the express plea that there is a radical and vital difference; or to affect neutrality,

and oppose, at most, a merely negative resistance, while other persons are persevering in bold and unremitted assaults.

In the Church, the differences may be, for the most part, rather verbal misunderstandings, than real and serious disagreements of belief. With respect to the *moderate* men of all parties we have ourselves expressed that opinion; and most gladly, as long as we can, would we cherish that opinion, and act upon that opinion. But, in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, if there be no difference as to theological sentiment, there must be the stronger difference as to modes of conduct. Wherefore, we do earnestly call upon the excellent and influential men, who hold that the differences in doctrine are slight and evanescent, to follow up their statement to the legitimate conclusion, and openly declare, that the efforts of a *movement-party*, an *agitation-party*, must be without excuse. We do call upon them to say to all refractory and insubordinate individuals;—"Our principles make us your opponents. Because we do not recognise you as a party in the Church, we are compelled to look upon you as a faction in the Society. Real difference there is none; therefore, real cause for dissension, and for alteration, there is none. You are creating a disturbance about nothing. You are exciting tumult for tumult's sake. You must be put down, not with the strong hand, but with the plain word." Such, we maintain, is the language, which the "no difference" members are bound by plain reason and consistency to use. Otherwise, their argument will be on the one side, and their actions will tell on the other.

At the same time, we have no *wish* that there *should* be parties, or *should* be a contest; but upon the *hypothesis* that there *must* be, we would just say two words in conclusion.

If there must be parties, we plainly tell the members of the old orthodox party, that, if they abandon the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; if they secede from it in a faintheartedness, which may not be quite unnatural; or an impatient fretfulness, which may not be quite without a cause, they will be committing an act of lunacy, and the only right verdict must be *felo de se*. There would indeed be no justification in any other party for teasing and worrying them into exile; but they would almost deserve to be driven out. Let them recollect, that this is their Society, or ought to be theirs. Let them recollect, that if they leave this Society, they have no other in which they can carry forward the same kind of operations for the good of mankind and in the cause of Jesus Christ. Let them think, what will be the inference, if they surrender this their fortress; if, out of this, which has been their strong-hold for now several generations, they are not so much dislodged as frightened. If, while they have a ma-

jority, a vast majority, of the whole body on their side ; while they have, not an exclusive possession, but still a firm tenure, they resign and depart,—then, what will be their reflections ten years hence, as they shall see to what a condition the Church of England is reduced. For, if their cause is lost in the Society, *à fortiori*, it is lost in the Church at large. For their case is even stronger in the Society than in the Church. It has all the same arguments and the same witnesses in its favour, with the additional and peculiar strength derived from the origin, and history, and constitution of the Society. Wherefore, we repeat, give up the Society, and all is indeed given up and gone ! And yet such things as secession and abandonment have been seriously proposed. Oh, infatuation ! Oh, shame ! Men are to quit their own field, with their own ploughshare standing upon it. “ *Quam autem habet æquitatem, ut agrum, qui non habuit, habeat, qui autem habuit, amittat ?* ”

But the seceders can form a new Society, and conduct it according to the old principles and the old system of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Alas ! who will place reliance in the fresh schemes of divided and disheartened men, who have already delivered up, without one shadow of necessity, their own loved and time-honoured Association ? With what hopes, and under what auspices, will their work be begun ? But let us suppose the first difficulties overcome : let us suppose the new Society undertaken ; let us suppose it formed ; let us suppose it in action. To that new Society let those self-banished exiles contribute their subscriptions : to that new society let them make their donations : to that new society let them bequeath their legacies. Very well. But what guarantee can there be, that the same game shall not be played ; that the same wretched cycle shall not be repeated ? What guarantee can there be, that these irresolute occupants will not have sown the grain, only to be reaped by the intruder ? And that persons of another party will not be encouraged, even by the present precedent, to seize upon the fresh association, when it has been matured and consolidated ? The same qualities of weakness and indecision, which can give up one Society, will give up two, or two thousand. And what is *their* love of truth, who allow error to be dominant ; or what *their* magnanimity who fling away, from a dread of inconvenience and annoyance, the things which they yet hold to be most valuable and sacred ? If need should actually arise—we earnestly contend, that it has not yet arisen—let a new Society be instituted : but still we, for our parts, will never migrate from the old. We say to those friends—for whom our esteem and respect is so great, that the fuller expression of our sentiments might sound like flattery—that,

if there must be a secession, it is not for *them* to secede—if there must be a departure, it is not for *them* to go. Rather, the state of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge imperatively demands of them, that they should attend its every meeting: that they should give the benefit of their established character, of their influence, of their experience, of their wisdom, at its every meeting. It is their absence which emboldens their opponents. But, even if they stay away, there are others, whose determination is taken. They will not desert. If there should be none to sit beside them, they would continue alone; they would endeavour to lift up their voice alone: they would remain, that the vindication of right might not fall into absolute desuetude, to utter a solemn protest in behalf of the founders of the Society, and to bear a solitary witness, that their memories were not altogether forgotten.

Again, upon the hypothesis, that there is to be a contest, we do wish that it should be thoroughly understood, and constantly kept in mind, what is the *nature* of that contest, and what the *relative position* of the parties who will be engaged in it. For what is the ground of that contest? It is not any longer a dispute about the extent of the Society's operations, or the best mode of regulating its pecuniary affairs, or managing its commercial and mechanical arrangements. Neither is it a difference of opinion about novel circumstances, which have recently started up, and therefore afford a fair field for discussion. Still less is it an opposition to strange and exotic doctrines lately introduced. It is just the reverse. It is an attempt to dismiss with contumely, or mutilate without remorse, the "*old and standard*"—we quote the words of an adversary,—"*the old and standard tracts*" of the Society. In other words, it is an attempt to alter the whole tone and spirit of its theology. This, and this only, is the origin of the present disagreements. If this attempt were given up, scarcely a spark, which could kindle controversy, would remain; but the august and holy designs of the Society could be pursued at once in peace and quietness.—And what is the relative position of the parties who must be engaged in the contest? The attitude, on the one side, is the defensive attitude of men, who would resist encroachment upon encroachment;—and for whom, in this resistance, we may surely claim, as compared with their assailants, an equal knowledge of sound divinity, an equal attachment to this venerable Society, an equal sincerity and conscientiousness of purpose, an equal zeal for the spread of religious knowledge, and the advancement of the kingdom of their Lord and Saviour. The attitude, on the other side, is the attitude of men, who, having stormed one post, are advancing to storm another: and some of these men, we conceive, have even entered the Society with the express

design of revolutionizing its character—a design, which must engender, of itself, the most suspicious vigilance, the most anxious uneasiness; and may eventually cause the most harassing obstructions to be thrown in the way of the admission of new members.—The argument to be founded on these considerations, together with the *limitations* within, but not *beyond* which, it is to be maintained, we keep back, as our readers will remember, *by design*. But we must state the case as it actually stands. For a misconception, or forgetfulness of its real features, is, perhaps, the main root of indecision and mischief. To regard the question as one of an altogether open and ordinary kind, and the parties as meeting on the same terms, is to place the matter upon quite a wrong basis, is to view the dispute in quite a fallacious shape and aspect, is to inflict upon *this* Society a palpable injustice, and to establish a precedent which may be most injurious to the steadfastness and repose of all *other* societies.

It is a painful feeling, which besets us at the close of our observations, to be aware, that we have not even touched upon some high and interesting subjects, which would at least have carried us out of the troubled region of feud and controversy:—such as the general principles, on which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge must now be conducted, with reference to those new and momentous circumstances, which we have mentioned in a preceding article:—such, again, as the connection which it must maintain between religion and human knowledge, and the mode of that connection. But, alas, it is almost vain to talk about those matters, while men's minds are set upon theological disputes. *First*, we must have *peace* in the Society; and *then* we may hope for the extension and completion of its admirable designs. Now, perhaps—yet it is not inclination, but a very painful sense of necessity, which has impelled us—we may be ranked among the belligerents. Yet we, too, would at some early opportunity, propose our plan of pacification, in the fond trust that it may be successful. For none, assuredly, can have a keener perception than ourselves, what a shock it would be to the whole extent of Christendom, if this Society, so great, so prosperous, so influential without; so potent for the highest good in both hemispheres, and over almost every territory of the habitable globe, should be shattered and fall to pieces by its internal disorders!

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

THEOLOGY.

IT is impossible even to write the word "Theology," without recurring, with a sigh, to the memory of those theologians—the one among the most illustrious, the other, at least, among the most laborious of our time—who, since the publication of our last number, have been called from their labour to their reward. Dr. Van Mildert—the learned, the pious, the munificent, the orthodox prelate—has been removed from the See of Durham by the hand of death: and his successor is Dr. Maltby;—Dr. Burton, the indefatigable scholar, the respected teacher, has been cut off in the noontide of manhood: and his substitute in the chair of Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford is Dr. Hampden. Great, in both cases, is the loss to the Church of England. Nor is it any disparagement to Dr. Maltby and Dr. Hampden to affirm, that, however able, and however estimable they may be, and their talents and virtues as individuals we are not calling into question, they cannot yet occupy that station in the hearts and minds of Churchmen which was filled by those who are no more.

Many, indeed, there are, who go about uttering the lamentable prophecy of "*woe, woe, woe!*"—and declaring, "Alas! the brightest stars have gone out from the firmament of our Church; and the ascendant fires which are to supply their absence, shine upon us with no fixed and steady lustre. The golden branches drop off from the tree of our theology; and they, which are engrafted into their vacant places, neither have the same leaves, nor are capable of *bearing the same fruit.*" Yet, if we can no longer say, as was our boast of old, "*uno avulso non deficit alter,*" it is not, assuredly it is not, that profound thinkers, and capital divines, and irreproachable clergymen, are wanting in our Universities and our Church. Our land is rich in excellent men worthy to be the successors of the best that have departed. It were invidious to mention names; and, even after furnishing a long list, we should still be compelled to omit others, whom we had wished to specify. What, then, is the reason, if far inferior theologians are appointed to the highest seats? It is, that the selection is made, not from the real body of the Clergy at large, but from a particular *clique*, a little *coterie* of speculatists, who decry speculation,—theorists, who attack theory,—men, who are imbued with a taint of uneradicable error; or else, who do not penetrate into the depth of their own notions, nor see the legitimate conclusions to be drawn from their own premises;—men, who either entertain tenets which are radically and lamentably unsound; or who, by the strangeness of their expressions, dress up orthodox sentiments in an obnoxious and offensive garb; and commit the almost incredible indiscretion of making their own language a travesty and caricature of their own opinions."

Now, who is there among us, that has not heard such complaints uttered and

repeated a hundred times within the last two months? How far are they true? If we looked to personal and prudential considerations, we should preserve a steady neutrality of silence, careful not to give offence or to make enemies; but we speak—and more particularly of Dr. Hampden—because far higher things are at stake than any good or evil which can happen to a few humble individuals.

We may not see the matter in quite the same light in which it has been regarded; but, as Dr. Hampden is to give a tone to English theology, and be the religious instructor of the most important pupils, there is one fallacy which we think it is most essential to explode: The seduction, by which young minds are peculiarly led away, is the notion of liberality and expansiveness as attached to particular schemes of doctrine, or modes of opinion. Dr. Hampden, too, and the school to which he belongs, appear themselves to fancy that their views are incomparably acute, and profound, and enlarged. We are anxious, therefore, to assure them, that these same views are, in point of fact, but a poor and superficial pedantry; confused, and jejune, and narrow-minded in the extreme, having no shadow of pretence to originality, except a fantastic method of expression; and sometimes beyond the vulgar comprehension on the simple principle

“That true no-meaning puzzles more than wit.”

In other days, they would have been merely laughed down as ridiculous; and their authors would have been enjoined to read and think a little longer before they ventured to put such crudities before the world; and to harmonize their own views before they endeavoured to palm them upon other people. But, unfortunately, they have become perilous from the character of these turbulent times, when so many light and worthless things have been brought suddenly to the surface. Still it would be a mockery to talk of conceptions, like Dr. Hampden's, as being impregnated with the spirit of comprehensive philosophy. Of practical wisdom they are altogether destitute; and by practical wisdom we mean not that low, and confined and mechanical habit of the mental vision, which never ascends to theory at all; but the adaptation of true theories to the widest range of actual and existing circumstances. These views evidently belong to men whose minds have never stepped forth into the general field of thought and action: they are views which have not even embraced the limits of an University, but have stopped short within the walls of a college: they breathe of a quadrangle; they smell of a common room.

But we ought, perhaps, to state, with a more particular specification, the views to which we allude. We mean, then, Dr. Hampden's assertions that the Bible contains nothing but facts; his protests against all systematic divinity, all methodical deductions from the Word of God. Men may argue that there are erroneous systems, and wrong deductions, and decrees, articles and confessions of faith, which serve only at once to mislead and fetter the human understanding. But what is this, after all, but the old and universally decried error of reasoning from the abuse of a thing against the use? Dr. Hampden is made *Professor of Divinity*; but will Dr. Hampden inform us, how he can hope to perform his duty as Professor, without having an exact and methodized knowledge of Divinity as a Science? or, how an exact and methodized knowledge is possible without arrange-

ment, and generalization of ideas? or, again, how an arrangement of ideas is possible without division and classification of ideas? or, how generalization of ideas is possible without general terms? Supposing, for the sake of argument, that Dr. Hampden's mind is framed with the same internal organization as the minds of other men, we will venture to say that, even while Dr. Hampden is disclaiming against systematic divinity, his own divinity is systematized in his own understanding, from the very nature and necessities of his intellectual constitution. The question is simply this: and it reduces Dr. Hampden to a very embarrassing dilemma. Is theology to be treated as a science, or is it not? If it is not, why is Dr. Hampden professor? If it is, how is it to be treated without classification and order? Theology, as a science, must resemble, in its *intellectual* mode of treatment, all the other sciences. We have not any peculiar faculty, or set of faculties, for its peculiar investigation. Let Dr. Hampden look at any science which he chooses to take—zoology, or botany, or chemistry, or mineralogy, or geology; or, again, politics, or jurisprudence, or ethics, or metaphysics, or æsthetics. Generalizations may have been rashly and prematurely made: conclusions may have been drawn from incommensurate premises; theories may have been framed before a sufficient number of facts was collected;—but men are compelled—nay, the merest child is compelled in his first observations of external nature—to gather phenomena into laws, and reduce into order and arrangement the mass of unconnected particulars. And so far, as we have said, the science of religion bears a resemblance to other sciences. But then, again, there is that great *dissimilarity*, which we have already shown in another place. In religion, there is incomparably less danger of precipitate and incomplete and defective system. The probability rather is, that the waters will be purer and brighter, as they are more near the fountain-head. So that in divinity, as compared with other sciences, there is precisely the same cogent reason for making it methodical, and, at the same time, far more facility, and far less peril, in methodizing. We need not add, that it is one thing to recognize the use of human systems, and quite another to invest them with infallible and sacred authority.

To imagine, therefore, that the absence of systematic divinity would promote peace, or root out heresies, is to display a profound ignorance of human nature and human history. Destroy all the systematic divinity which exists: sweep away all creeds, and articles, and confessions of faith, all harmonies of the Gospel, all methodical comments upon the word of God; remove all the landmarks which pious research and Christian erudition have set up—suppose at least that all this was possible—suppose that it was done; suppose, too, that the things so abolished were actually forgotten, actually obliterated from the minds of Christians, as well as from the records of Christianity—suppose that the Bible only was left, without note, or concordance, or supplement of any kind whatsoever; and what would happen? Simply that men, from an intellectual and metaphysical necessity, would immediately begin to rebuild what had been demolished, and to do the work over again, with the melancholy disadvantage of having it entirely to re-commence. They would go through the steps where we have now the results. They would proceed again—how could they help it?—

to generalize, and arrange, and classify separated passages; to weave schemes and systems of divinity out of the Bible; and to gather up the scattered verities of Revelation into some logical and scholastic form. Or, else, if no systems were made, then speculation, having no definite marks and guide-posts, would be set afloat upon a mere sea of confusion: then an abundant crop of wild heresies would spring up as in a garden untrimmed and unweeded; the tares would flourish and luxuriate until they choked the wheat; and all would be a tangled maze of uncertainty and disorder. There has been systematic divinity from the days of the Apostles, and systematic divinity there must always be.

In fact, the complaint against us may be, that we have rested the matter upon grounds *infinitely too low*, and that the case, as it regards religion, is *infinitely stronger* than we have represented it. And certain it is that we *might*, and hereafter probably we *shall*, take far higher ground, both *doctrinally* as to apostolical tradition and apostolical forms; and, *practically*, as to the absurdity of an established Church without some fixed and established terms of communion. But now we have been anxious to meet Dr. Hampden more in his own field, and reason with him more in his own way.

Dr. Hampden, however, or Dr. Hampden's friends, may contend, that he never expressed an objection against terms of Christian communion; and that, in other points, his opinions have been misconceived and exaggerated. It is said, for instance, that Dr. Hampden did not mean by *facts* what other people mean by *facts*, but used the term with a far greater latitude of interpretation. Perhaps, too, Dr. Hampden may have imbibed notions from Whateley, De Gerando, and other writers, without attaching to them in his own mind any precise and definite limitations. But then the questions return, why did he put them forth, or why is he made Professor of Divinity? How obvious is the peril of a vague rationalism clothed in equivocal expressions! Let us just observe, by way of example, this very expression "*facts*." Professor Hampden argues that there are only facts in the Bible, and, properly, no doctrines. Professor Powell tells us that we must look to Scripture for doctrines only, and not for facts. Professor Powell reverences the Bible as a collection of moral and spiritual revelations; but denies its authority as an historical document, having any bearing upon the facts which are investigated by science, and the mutations which have happened to the globe. And there *may* be significations, or modes of explanation, in which both these theories are just. But the *tendency of the language* is this. Even while the peculiar distinction of the Bible is, that it *connects a series of facts with a system of doctrines*, one class of theologians may seek to do away with the former, and another class may seek to do away with the latter; and so absolutely nothing will be left. It is not enough to say of a Divinity Professor, that his words may be taken in a most heterodox and mischievous sense, but that he means no harm. We want, and we expect, clear, precise, well-considered, and well-adjusted statements, which may serve as a guide to young minds, and a regulator of loose opinions. But here, at the very best, we have positions so vague, so uncertain, so inconsistent, so neutralizing and belying each other, that, instead of directing, they must mislead,—instead of fixing, they must unsettle,—instead of satisfying, they must confuse and bewilder.

True vigour of investigation and candour of speech we admire, wherever we can find them. We have admired them, sometimes, in Dr. Hampden and the masters of his school. But still the objection may be sustained, in too many instances, that their theology is new, or that it looks like new; or, at least, that it looks as if it wanted to be thought new. But neologisms in matters of revealed religion are *primâ facie* bad, as being neologisms. They always serve, more or less, to throw a shade of doubt over the revelation itself; to shake and loosen the venerable and time-honoured pillars of established belief. But as Dr. Hampden now appears *not* to be a neologian, his peculiar misfortune is, that without being a heretic, he has wantonly, or ignorantly, assumed the appearance of something worse than he is; without being a Socinian, he has sometimes clothed his sentiments with a disguise of Socinianism. And whence has this mischief arisen? From the circumstance, we must think and say, that Dr. Hampden does not know his own mind; that instead of working out his opinions for himself, he has imbibed them at second hand; he has been inoculated with the *virus* by others; but, while he has partly taken the distemper, he has not properly received it into his intellectual system; and thus exhibits the symptoms of a man half healthy and half diseased, the strangest and most anomalous which can well be conceived.

In some preceding pages will have been found a plain historical statement of the facts relating to Dr. Hampden, and the protests against his appointment at Oxford. We had not intended, indeed, to say a word more. *We* have nothing to retract or to alter. We have not accused Dr. Hampden of Socinianism; but we have accused him of nonsense. We have censured his speculations, not so much because they were dangerous heresies—though recent circumstances have shown that there is danger—as because they were a heap of shallow and contradictory paralogisms, made up, for the most part, from preceding authors, whose theories Dr. Hampden had swallowed, without being able to digest. Some remarks in his *Moral Philosophy* we praised as very sound and valuable, though certainly we could not have praised them as very original. When we first heard of his elevation to the chair of Divinity, the thing sounded to us, we confess, not so much as an awful peril to the Church, as an unaccountable and melancholy blunder. But we now hear that the tide is turning—at least in London—not perhaps in favour of Dr. Hampden, but against the men who have been most honest and most strenuous in marking their sense of the evil of his appointment; men, with whom we may not agree in every shade of opinion, but who are assuredly worthy of all respect and esteem, if respect and esteem can ever be earned by erudition and piety. Hence have we spoken somewhat irregularly, perhaps, in this department of our Review. General allegations have been brought forward about the unfairness of making garbled extracts, and tearing passages from their context. And this practice *may* be most unfair. Yet we have before us “*Statements of Christian Doctrine, extracted from the published writings of Dr. Hampden,*” of which we are told in an Advertisement, “*these extracts have been made with the knowledge and sanction of the Author.*” And if extracts may be made to prove Dr. Hampden’s orthodoxy, why may they not be made to prove Dr. Hampden’s heterodoxy? And if they *can* be made to

prove both, what is the third thing which they may prove into the bargain? It is difficult, too, to see what we, unfortunate Reviewers for instance, are to do, if, in stating objections to a work, we are not at liberty to cite the objectionable paragraphs, or sentences, or phrases; but must be compelled either to remain silent, or to reprint the whole volume in our Article. *General* allegations, too, cannot prove the point either way. It must be shown by particular instances that the extracts have been garbled; that the quotations have been unjustly selected, or incorrectly given, or that they would bear a very different sense if the context was at hand. Has *this* been done or attempted in the case of Dr. Hampden? "Oh, but the personal religion of Dr. Hampden is unimpeachable; his private character is most amiable and exemplary." These circumstances, which we entirely believe, scarcely, if at all, affect the matter in dispute. "Oh, but his private opinions are sound." Alas, when a man publishes a foolish or heterodox book, it is in vain to talk of his private opinions. What proportion of those who read the one, can be acquainted with the other? Or who is to suspect that there exists a discrepancy? Men *must* judge by the book, not by the private opinions of the author. It is the book which influences, and not the private opinions. It is the book that goes about the world, and not the private opinions. "Oh, but if there are some passages of a strange and awkward appearance, there are others of a quite different tendency." Alas, here the mischief is, that where a *Clergyman of an Established Church* prints some things which are orthodox, and other things quite inconsistent with them, which are unsound and fantastical, the latter *will* be regarded by the mass of mankind as his true and inward sentiments; while the former will be considered as saving clauses, introduced either by the remains of old habit and lingering prejudice, or by apprehensive doubt and professional delicacy. "Oh, but the appointment is made; and it is now *too late* to oppose it or remonstrate against it." Yet the opposition, the remonstrance, may tell upon *future* appointments, and be a warning to other writers, who might start with the same temperament of mind and the same kind of literary ambition which have been displayed by Dr. Hampden.

"But we ought to be quite satisfied with the Inaugural Lecture which Dr. Hampden has read and published." With that lecture, if taken by itself, we should be satisfied. That lecture appears to us, upon the whole, an able and valuable and pious exposition of Christian doctrine. Yet it sounds strangely as proceeding from his mouth. It is no great pleasure to talk about "*a man turning his back upon himself*;" it is positively painful to enlarge upon inconsistency and self-contradiction; or to ring the changes upon the old quotations, "*quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore*"—" *nil fuit unquam tam dispar sibi*," and half-a-hundred more. But really, without dwelling upon particular phrases and passages, we must say that the whole tone and spirit of this address is strangely dissimilar from the peculiar cast of sentiment and diction so conspicuous in Dr. Hampden's former productions. Nor can we help thinking that, if Dr. Hampden wished and intended that his former theology should convey the same meaning and leave the same impression as his present, my Lord Melbourne has promoted him by mistake, and placed him in the Chair through a misapprehension. How does

the Regius Professor of Divinity rebuke the Bampton Lecturer and the author of *Observations on Dissent*. Dr. Hampden neither retracts nor defends his previous writings, but he quite stultifies and nullifies them. He virtually puts his own publications in the fire, and consigns them to neglect and oblivion as the best fate which can await them. And so let it be. Let them be as burnt; let them be as forgotten. Let Dr. Hampden, a man of neither mean abilities nor poor attainments; a man, too, still in the prime and vigour of life—let him boldly avow, that in some at least of his views he was mistaken; and start afresh upon a new career; and we shall be among the first to hail his progress and congratulate him on his success. We seek no triumph over Dr. Hampden himself; but we do seek a declared and acknowledged victory over the literal acceptance of some of his extreme notions, from which, in fact, his late Lecture is as different as orthodoxy is from neology. The Inaugural Lecture has certainly produced this effect, that many persons, who have read it, no longer know what to think. A letter is before us from a most acute and excellent friend, who asks, if men will not be puzzled by “Dr. Hampden’s *prodigious manifesto of orthodoxy*.” It is a puzzle. Either Dr. Hampden must himself have misunderstood his own former declarations; or he has been at extraordinary pains to render the whole drift of his peculiar theology, either *unintelligible*, or intelligible in a false and most injurious sense. He may now say, perhaps,

“ I did mistake myself then all this while;
I find myself a marvellous proper man.”

If Dr. Hampden has changed his opinions, or discovered some innoxious meaning, well and good. In that case, let him state frankly, both in what way, and to what extent, he has changed them. If he has *not* changed them, his Lecture might have begun: “It may have excited some surprise in your minds to find me nominated and installed as Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. I am free to confess, that my present situation awakens somewhat of astonishment even in myself. It never entered into my calculations of futurity that the appellations of Dr. Hampden and Regius Professor of Divinity would become so intimately blended. In fact, had such been my anticipations, the world might have lost the benefit of some few among my printed and published sentiments. But, if my wonder is not small, my gratitude ought to be unbounded towards those worthy patrons who have made me Professor of the science of Theology, when I have done something to show that there ought to be no science of Theology at all. You may think it strange, however, that I should have accepted the appointment under such circumstances. Strange it may be; but personal considerations must give way to public good. And surely it is an advantage that there will no longer be a dead monotony and sameness in the theological teaching of this place; but, if from one Chair of Divinity the old scholastic notions are promulgated, from the other Chair, new and more awakening accents will issue forth, &c.”

But the matter is too serious for pleasantries; only we have endeavoured to rectify, in the least offensive way, a very prevalent mistake. It is, that men,

such as Dr. Hampden has been, are *attacked* and *persecuted* when they are opposed. *They* attack the Church; *they* persecute the Establishment. They are the aggressors and the only aggressors. Other men act rather from the necessities of self-defence, when they withstand the encroachments that would invalidate the authority of the Articles which they have sworn to maintain, and shake the stability of the Institution in which all their hopes, and fortunes and affections are now centred. To "*persecute*," as we conceive, implies to inflict some grievous and positive injury. But it is an abuse of language to talk of *persecution*, if Churchmen would guard their sanctuary, by uttering a solemn but not uncharitable protest against error; by keeping heterodoxy out of offices of dignity and influence; or, if it is placed in them, by circumscribing and abridging its opportunities of doing mischief, and using strenuous efforts that the system shall not spread. It is an abuse of language to say that these men persecute the Professor of Divinity. They may be stubborn; they may be impracticable; they may be wrong in remonstrating against an appointment by the Crown; they may be regardless of worldly and personal results as they act upon their conscientious convictions; they may pursue a doubtful course as far as the interests of the University are concerned; but Dr. Hampden, richly rewarded as he has been for opinions which he now seems inclined to abandon, and prepared, as he must have been, to take the evil consequences of his own acts as well as the good—Dr. Hampden, surely, has no reason to complain. Indeed, a very salutary lesson will have been given, if men like Dr. Hampden are taught that they cannot write upon religious subjects in a loose, ambiguous, pseudo-philosophical style; and employ expressions, upon which they may put one odd and unexpected sense, while all other persons in the kingdom, whether they who *admired* the sentiments or they who disapproved them, had already put another, without being called to a strict and scrutinizing account.

Having made these remarks in order to show that all which has been done, although it would be indefensible under ordinary circumstances, has not been without cause or justification in the present case, we have no desire to prolong the irritation or to cause annoyance to the Regius Professor in the exercise of his very important office. The opinion of the University has been made known. The Proctors have assumed the responsibility of putting their *veto* on the Convocation. Dr. Hampden has taken an orthodox line. Let him adhere to it, and we shall applaud with as much freedom and more pleasure than we have ever censured.

Upon the whole, however, it is most evident, that the opposition to Dr. Hampden, whether requisite or needless, has at least been untainted by a personal, or factious, or malignant character. It has been most thoroughly conscientious; it has been adverse rather than parallel to the current of private inclinations; it has been dictated solely by a zealous regard to the Scriptures and the Church. And the best proof is the reception of another appointment; namely, that of Dr. Longley to the vacant Bishopric. Now, Dr. Longley, as all agree in saying, is a man of amiable and pious mind, of polished and agreeable manners, of elegant and varied attainments. But who will deny that many men might be

named in a breath, older, or, if not older, yet riper in practical experience, more distinguished by their services to the Church, having clerical and theological claims beyond comparison higher and more prominent than Dr. Longley's, who have been passed over when he was raised to the Bench? And yet—inasmuch as Dr. Longley has done nothing to render himself obnoxious—although there are scarcely any grounds for ascertaining, or even judging, his endowments, and merits, and opinions as a *Divine*; his acquaintance with the general and parochial working of the system of the Establishment, his capacity to regulate a Diocese, to manage a body of Clergy, and to support the national Church at a conjuncture of no ordinary hazard, still the country and the University have, with the utmost cheerfulness, *taken him upon trust*; and not a murmur has been vented either against Dr. Longley, or the Prime Minister who was instrumental in appointing him. Let Dr. Hampden, then, be assured, that, if he has been singled out, they who have taken part against him, have taken it, not for their own sake, not for controversy and discord's sake; but for the sake of interests dearer to them than their own peace, or even the peace of their University!

Yet they, and we, it will be said, have been only fighting with shadows or with the wind; as Dr. Hampden now rejoices, that “*the Church interposes so usefully with her Creeds, and Articles, and Homilies, and Catechism, and Liturgy, and Canons. All these are subservient, in different manners and degrees, to the edifying of the body of Christ, to the strengthening of Christians in the most holy faith, to the devout understanding and practical reception of the Divine Revelation itself. Far be it from me to lessen the reverent estimation of these monuments of early piety and ancient zeal for the truths of God. I am satisfied in my own mind that they have been of essential use for maintaining the Christian religion in its integrity, in holding together the faithful in fast communion, in keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*” But then, why in the name of all that is reasonable or sacred, did Dr. Hampden, thus self-refuted and self-condemned, write as he has written? And with these words we drop the subject.

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

We throw aside our own remarks on the Registration Bill and the Marriage Bill, in order to recommend attention to a very earnest, forcible, and well-reasoned pamphlet which has just reached us from the Rev. W. H. Hale, namely, “*Remarks on the Two Bills now before Parliament, entitled, A Bill for Registering Births, Deaths, and Marriages, in England, and a Bill for Marriages in England.*” Mr. Hale, who, as Chaplain to the Bishop of London, may be far more familiar with the subject, attaches much less importance than we are inclined to attach to the *benefits* of the proposed registration. He argues that for all practical uses it is not needed; that it will be, in its working, of a harsh and inquisitorial character; that it will help to estrange the population from the Church, and the flock from the pastor; that “it will be found the heaviest blow which has yet been aimed at the practice of *infant baptism*”; that in many instances it may supersede *Christian Baptism* altogether; or that it may re-intro-

duce the mischief of the frequent performance of the Baptismal ceremony in private houses: while the whole details of the Bill may seriously diminish the income of many Clergymen in Towns. We do trust, however, that the flagrant and desperate iniquity will not be committed of stripping the *present incumbents* by the operation of this bill, without affording them fit and due compensation, in accordance with all social justice and all legislative analogy. Against the Marriage Bill, Mr. Hale contends, that, while it will not satisfy the Dissenters, it will, either by the defectiveness of its principles, or the clumsiness of its machinery, afford terrible facilities to clandestine marriages; and yet, by throwing impediments in the way of every other, multiply the abomination of "*concubinage in the place of marriage*;"—that it will serve, moreover, to "*undermine the connection between the people and the Church*," and, through its bearing upon the Poor Law Unions, to inflict an additional wound, which, alas, was not wanted, upon the parochial system of the country; and, still further, that it will throw disgrace upon marriage as a religious ceremony; and do much to degrade it from a divine institution, and a sacred ordinance, into a merely civil contract:—an objection, by the way, which we ourselves urged, and perhaps on even stronger grounds, against the Bill of Sir Robert Peel.

The Report of the Church Commissioners is, of course, luminous and able; and will prove, we trust, congenial with the true principles of Church Reform. To expect that some inconvenience will be mingled here, as in every other cup of novelty and alteration, with the benefit of the proposed changes, is only to hint, in other words, that there is no unmingled good in human nature or in human affairs.

For instance, the see of Bristol is to be abolished; and Dr. Longley is to be Bishop of *Ripon*. Well, we only hope that this system will not be pursued farther than is necessary. The present changes, we shall not venture to doubt, are demanded by the aspect of circumstances, and the exigencies of the time. Still words are things. And they who make can unmake. And what the Legislature does in the session of 1836, the Legislature can undo in the session of 1837. It would betray ignorance of human nature to imagine that the same veneration will be paid, and the same prescriptive sanction will be attached, to the Bishopric of *Ripon* as to the Bishopric of *Bristol*. The feeling has not the same root. There is not the same fence of antiquity to guard it; or the same spirit of old reverence to endear it; or the same long series of hallowing associations to consecrate it. It is probable, that, if the number of Bishops were preserved inviolate, and yet they were all to alter their "local habitation and their name," Episcopacy itself would scarcely be worth ten years' purchase. The precedent, too, has been set, and one constellation, as it were, is blotted out of the hierarchy. But, alas, after all, we can merely come to the sapient conclusion, that what is, is, and what must be, must be. "*Diruit, ædificat, mutat*," is the motto of the century; and, in all human probability, it will be the motto of the next,—and the next,—and the next for ever.

But these are subjects on which we may well distrust ourselves. We rather turn, for our rule and guide, to the pregnant words of Edmund Burke,—words

which we could wish every administration and every legislature to write as an epistle on their hearts. "All those who have affections which lead them to the consummation of civil order would recognize, even in its cradle, the child as legitimate, which has been produced from those principles of cogent expediency to which all just governments owe their birth, and on which they justify their continuance. * * * But in this, as in most questions of state, there is a middle. There is something else than the mere alternative of absolute destruction or unreformed existence. *Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna*. This is, in my opinion, a rule of profound sense, and ought never to depart from the mind of an honest reformer. * * * In all mutations (if mutations must be) the circumstance which will serve most to blunt the edge of their mischief, and to promote what good may be in them, is, that they should find us with our minds tenacious of justice, and tender of property. * * * It is with the greatest difficulty that I am able to separate policy from justice. Justice is itself the great standing policy of civil society; and any eminent departure from it, under any circumstances, lies under the suspicion of being no policy at all."

The bill for the Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales, bears upon it obvious marks of inaccuracy, arising from haste or inadvertence; and has clearly not yet been moulded into completeness and symmetry of shape. The Clergy, too, may be in some places losers; and there will always, and of necessity, be some hardships connected with a compulsory commutation, or, again, with a permanent, irrevocable composition which is to be obligatory through all future time. Even the *principle* of commutation may involve some evils and inconveniences, some departure from the highest and safest ground. But resistance, here, is neither desirable nor practicable. The proceedings, too, upon the Bill have been signalized by so good a spirit; it has been argued upon its merits in so philosophical and statesman-like a tone; instead of being made a party question, it has been hitherto discussed so steadily with a view to elicit what is true in itself and right towards all interests concerned, that we would not say one word to disturb the prevailing harmony, and willingly leave the matter to those members of the legislature, on both sides, who will have placed before them every proposition or suggestion which is likely to be useful.

There are, we ought to add, many zealous and right-hearted men who are crying out loudly for a Convocation, in order that the Clergy may assert their ancient right to legislate for themselves in matters relating to themselves. We apprehend, however, that the day for convocations is gone by; we fear that, if they could be restored, Convocations, of the lower house at least, would become, *internally*, scenes of controversy and disorder; and that they might exhibit the Clergy, as to their *external* relations, in an obnoxious, unfavourable light, without the actual attainment of any real advantage; in other words, that they might set the Clergy, as an *order*, in avowed or apparent opposition to the government or the majority of the people; and thus provoke obloquy without conferring any power. It is better we conceive, upon the whole, that Clergymen should be contented to express their opinions, or utter their protests, as exigencies arise, by addresses to their Diocesan, or petition to the legislature, in the pre-

vailing mode, and through the usual channels. At the same time we do sincerely wish that there could be a deliberative and judicial Synod of Archbishops and Bishops to settle, once for all, certain points relating to both faith and discipline.

But to proceed:—The Orange Associations are defunct. Nor are we among those who have followed them with lamentation to their graves, or who are inclined to write a “*resurgam*” for their epitaph. Cordially admiring the intentions and the integrity of many among the Orangemen, we have never been able to sympathise with Orange Institutions. Heaven forbid that so terrible a phoenix as a great Protestant Association or Union, a confederated amalgamation of all sects, should arise out of their ashes!

For the rest, we rejoice to think that the opposition to the Romanists is beginning to be conducted with a more skilful and judicious, and not a less firm or less intrepid spirit. In the Protestant Magazine, edited by Mr. Nangle, we find, indeed, such utterly unjustifiable expressions as “*the cannibalism of Popery*,” on account of the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the Eucharist; but the same writer talks, we believe, of *soul-murder* as applicable to some of the orthodox clergy of the Establishment. This unwise and intolerant virulence must soon die away, and Protestantism will be infinitely the gainer.

By the way, while our thoughts are upon enthusiasm and imprudence, we cannot but say one word about the kind of Advertisements which we perpetually see, of which the following is a specimen:—“St. Mary’s Parochial Chapel, Lambeth. Lent Lectures. On Wednesday Evenings, during the Season of Lent, commencing on Ash Wednesday, a Series of LECTURES will, by Divine permission, be delivered on the HISTORY OF NEHEMIAH, when a practical and spiritual illustration of his character, as a *religious reformer and zealous patriot* will be *attempted*, by the Rev. H. S. Plumptre, Minister of the Chapel. The service to commence at 7 o’clock. N. B. A Lecture is delivered in the Chapel every Wednesday evening throughout the year.” Thus it is that Parochial ties are weakened, and the system of the Church is sapped, or grows distempered, by men trumpeting forth their predication about “*religious reformers and zealous patriots*.” Why are these things done, and why are they advertised? Does Mr. Plumptre, with the rest of the advertizing fraternity, preach to the inhabitants of a district, or to the town and suburbs?

And what is meant by Lectures delivered by *divine permission*? The words, to be taken in a conditional sense, are strangely ambiguous; and if they were to be understood in the usual acceptation, they would be flat blasphemy. If Mr. Plumptre were to publish his Lectures as dedicated “by *permission*, or by special permission,” to the Archbishop of Canterbury, his readers would suppose, as a matter of course, that the permission was already granted on the one part, and ascertained to be granted on the other.

GENERAL LITERATURE—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Here we are compelled to say, that we only undertake to consider, when we have space and time, the general character and influence of classes of literature, viewed in their bearings upon the religion and morality of a land; but that we cannot enter into a criticism of particular productions. We make this statement, because several treatises on arts and sciences; several grammars, dialogues, and exercises; several works of imagination, such as poems on secular subjects, dramas, biographies, novels, &c. have been forwarded to us for review;—some of the latter, Seymour of Sudley for instance, of considerable merit. We are thankful to the donors: but they must be satisfied, at least for the present, with the expression of our thanks.

We hear of a variety of important works, some just forthcoming, some nearly finished, some projected or begun. Among the rest, we understand that the Rev. John Wood Warter, of Tarring, is engaged upon the Life and Labours of St. John Chrysostom; anxious to do for that eminent father of the Church Catholic, what has been so admirably done by Bishop Kaye for Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. If other inquirers have information or suggestions to give with respect to Chrysostom, Mr. Warter, we dare say, would be obliged by their transmission: and we would take this opportunity of stating, that we shall feel gratification and pride, if we can be made, until better methods are adopted and arranged, a medium of communication between Christian scholars interested in similar studies, and employed upon tasks calculated to advance the cause of the Gospel, and shed more honour upon the republic or commonwealth of theological literature. We do, however, confidently hope, that we shall soon have a Church Report—or something like a Church Record Society—that is, an association of persons having for their sole object, to collect, arrange, and put forth, in the most comprehensive manner, the Statistics of the Church.

But we must now come to our own omissions. Among the deficiencies to be supplied—and none can be more conscious of them than ourselves—must be ranked our inadequate notice of, perhaps, the most sacred department of sacred learning. Yet reasons, some of which must be obvious, connected with the temper and circumstances of the times, have lately interposed with the task, which we hope soon to accomplish, of examining, as the importance of the matter demands, what our own and the Continental scholars have done, and are doing, with reference to the Hebrew language, and the other Eastern tongues which have an affinity with the Hebrew.

Among the works which we most regret our *present* inability to notice as they deserve, are — The First Report of the English Poor Law Commissioners; Mr. Greswell's two Volumes on the Burial Service; the lamented Dr. Burton's History of the Church; Mr. Gilbert's elaborate Congregational Lectures on the Atonement; *the late Numbers of that excellent Series, the Edinburgh Cabinet Library; the Epitome of Niebuhr's History of Rome*, by Mr. Travers Twiss; *A View of the Creation of the World, in illustration of the Mosaic Record*, by the Rev. Charles James Burton; The Thoughts of Alexander Lord Pitsligo, with a

Biographical Sketch; the vigorous and philosophical *Chapters on Contemporary History*, by Sir John Walshe; *The Life of the Rev. Josiah Thompson*; Jowell's *Christian Visitor*; Taylor's *Memoirs of Howard, the Philanthropist*; *Sermons*, by W. E. Trenchard, M. A.; an eloquent, but rather fierce Sermon, in behalf of the Irish Clergy, by the Rev. Wm. Worthington; and some admirable French Sermons, preached in London, by M. Scholl.

The first volume of the collected works of Dr. Chalmers, we are under the necessity of leaving; for the treatise, which it contains, will not be complete until the appearance of the second. A consideration of the Edinburgh Church Lectures we must also postpone. To the Irish *Christian Examiner*, as, indeed, to the Presbyterian Review, on many accounts, and to the Scottish Christian Herald, we can only offer our good wishes. Glad, too, should we be, if our views could be so excursive, to refresh our minds with "The Life and Times of General Washington," forming part of the Family Library; or with "The Historical Conversations on Malta and Poland," by Mrs. Markham; or with Mr. F. Coghlan's Guide to the Rhine; or with the Magazine of Health, or the Magazine of Botany. Glad, too, should we be to recreate both mind and eyes together with Beattie's Views of Switzerland, or Winkle's Illustrations of the British and Foreign Cathedrals. But, alas, we have duller and sterner work before us.

Master-Pieces of English Prose Composition. Vol. I. Select Prose Works of Milton. Edited by J. H. St. John.

WE are here presented with the first number of a series, which is to contain "*the master-pieces of English Prose Literature*." The design in general appears to us happier than this commencement of the execution. With all our admiration of Milton,—an admiration which extends to the sterling and solid materials of his character, as well as to the majesty of his poetical genius, and which recognizes the strength of thought, and richness of diction, which are conspicuous in all his writings,—we have never been enabled to look upon his prose works as altogether the safest and most useful models, either in matter or in manner, in sentiment or in expression. The present volume is heralded by a kind of propitiatory dedication to the public, an address, and a preliminary discourse. Mr. J. A. St. John is the author of the last, as he probably is likewise of the two former. He writes with energy, and sometimes with eloquence, but with a sad want of prudence and discrimination. We suppose, however, that Mr. St. John is yet young: and we trust that, as he grows older, he will become more sober. The notes, we should add, display care and scholarship.

The Analogy of Faith. By Dr. Holloway.

WE can have no wish to speak harshly of a zealous and conscientious minister of the Gospel of Christ. But this volume is sent to us, like many others, for our opinion, and that opinion we must give. Dr. Holloway, then, appears to

us, from this production, a writer inconsequential in his reasoning, partial in his statements of Scripture, and narrow-minded, if not unsound, in his views of Christian doctrine. Many particulars of the analogy which he attempts to make out are altogether fanciful and far-fetched; and if we preserve silence upon his dogmatic allegations concerning election and grace as developed in the introduction, we are silent out of compassion. Why must Dr. Holloway talk of the Professor, who cannot agree with him, as “exhibiting in himself, by his self-righteousness, ignorance, and pride, a *frightful caricature of primeval Christianity?*”

1. *Churton's Illustrated Bible, with Notes.* By the Rev. Hobart Caunter.

2. *The Pictorial Bible.* C. Knight, 22, Ludgate Street.

THESE two undertakings are on a plan somewhat similar. We were happy to receive both works, for it is hardly possible to have two many editions of the Bible. The notes to the “*Illustrated Bible*,” published by Mr. Churton, seem at least equal to the notes in the other, both in number and value. But, as to the rest, as to convenience of size, and shape, and type, as to the subjects and execution of the engravings, we must say, that the “*Pictorial Bible*” bears away the palm. At the same time we entirely dislike, as sure to be ultimately prejudicial to the highest interests of literature, the unfair competition now set up against individual writers and publishers by some large society, which *adopts*—to use the softest word—plans likely to be successful, instead of originating and completing any thing, which would not otherwise be done or attempted. Not even slight improvements are always made: and, at best, *facile est inventis addere*. The editor, we see, of the “*Illustrative Bible*” is the Rev. Hobart Caunter, to whom, we believe, we are also indebted for some very interesting tales, part of the series called the *Romance of History*.

RELIGIOUS POETRY.

How any man, in this utilitarian, this rail-road, this steam-engine, this truly *iron age*, can have heart to write poetry, is a matter which quite passes our comprehension. Yet, here are lying before us, “*St. John at Patmos*,” by the Rev. W. L. Bowles;—a volume by Mr. Dale;—neither of these productions, however, being quite new;—“*The Songs of the Colonna*,”—“*The Polish Harp*,” by Jacob Jones;—“*Burt's Christianity*,” *with notes*—the verse, in fact, being more prosaic than the prose, and the notes being the best part of the poem,—with a variety of other effusions. Mr. Dale and Mr. Bowles we purposely reserve in common justice to themselves: for their sweet, and devotional, and gentle strains could have little chance, we fear, of a fair hearing in this hour of turbulent polemics;—when men would rather listen to the wildest and most unpopular project on a political question, than steep their senses and their thoughts in a delicious forgetfulness by the spells of a charmed imagination. There is one only production

at all bordering upon the realms of poesy, which we feel it incumbent upon us not to pass altogether *sub silentio*: It is called "*The Murdered Protestant Pastor*," by the Author of "*Rose-buds rescued, and presented to my Children*."

This poem, which has very lately been forwarded to us, is ushered in by the following brief introduction:—

"The following stanzas, written in the rapid haste of a monthly periodical publication, lay no claim to the title of poetry. They were thrown off, and are printed, only with reference to some particulars connected with the solemn question of Protestantism in Ireland."

Whether it be wise to "*throw off, in rapid haste*," upon such a subject, and with such a title, verses, which of course mingle fiction with truth, and would heighten terrible realities by poetical embellishments and exaggerations, we leave to the consideration of Mr. Wilks, as one of the Secretaries to the Subscription for the Relief of the Irish Clergy. Our only reason for noticing this slight republication at all, is the circumstance, that we may be thought to have dealt rather harshly with the volume intituled "*Rose-buds rescued*;" albeit we did little more than make merry with the name; feeling, at the same time, that Mr. Wilks had a full right, as both father and godfather, to call his intellectual bantling by whatever appellation he chose, and that we certainly had no wish to rebaptize it. "*The Murdered Protestant Martyr*" is, on the whole, though not quite Homeric or Miltonic, an improvement on "*The Rose-buds*," in vigour of thought and correctness of versification. That we may not be deemed unfair in our extracts, or our criticism, we subjoin at once the three stanzas, with which the poem opens, and the lyrical effusion with which it concludes.

" I saw him once—he was a reverend man—
 'Twas the last morn of his oft-clouded life :
 His casement oped as day its course began :
 The hour was calm; but lawless feuds were rife,
 And dawn and night-fall told of bloody strife.
 Again the lattice closed: he bent the knee
 As was his daily wont; nor child nor wife
 E'er broke that hour, which Heaven alone might see,
 To prayer and praise devote, and hallowed mystery.

But all could mark how calm his footstep trod,
 As forth he paced to quaff the balmy air;
 Like one who, rapt, had communed with his God,
 And smiling left remote all earthly care.
 Nor did he scorn his matin joy to share
 With his bold boyish playmates; or refuse,
 With gentle Rose, and Emily, and Clare,
 To tend the floret chilled by nightly dews;
 Or list to woodland song, and glow with Nature's hues

He was a heretic; for wedded priest
 Stains not *true church*, that teaches, better *far*
 Were lawless vice, than ring, and nuptial feast,
 And children cradled in *anathema*.
 And I must cross myself, and seek the bar
 Of holy confessor, to shrive the crime,
 That I with kindly words my strain did mar
 Of heretic, and deemed his prayer sublime,
 Or thought that bells unblest with hallowed sounds could chime."

" Blest Lord of the harvest, Protector Divine,
 List, list to the voice of our weeping!
 Thy dew-drops are soft, and thy sun-beam doth shine:
 Then, oh! why so thorny the reaping?

And Thine is the seed: but the stern flinty rock
 Recoils from man's impotent toiling;
 And each winged marauder his labour doth mock,
 The newly-sown germ-bed spoiling.

But see! the storm ceases; the sky is serene!
 Heaven hath listed the voice of our craving:
 Up-ploughed is the soil, and the meadows are green,
 And the bright golden crop is waving.

Yes, Erin! thou nursling of error and feud,
 Though dark and long fitful thy story,
 To the meek Prince of Peace shall thy vales be subdued,
 And beam forth Millennial glory."

Dr. Dickinson's *Vindication of a Memorial respecting Church Property in Ireland*, has arrived—together with some other works—too late: or we would have given it our best and most impartial consideration. A friend has forwarded to us "*The Catholicon*,"—a Romanist periodical of no mean ability. We see from it that the Papists have lately set up a new weekly newspaper, called *The Mediator, and British Catholic Advocate*; and that there is on the eve of appearing the first number of a *quarterly publication*, entitled *The Dublin Review*, under the auspices of Daniel O'Connell, N. Wiseman, D.D., and Michael J. Quin. All things assure us that both *vigour and discretion* are needed on the side of Protestants.

I N D E X

OF THE

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LONDON:

G. ROWORTH AND SONS, BELL YARD,
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